Perceptions and Teachings of National Identity and National Education: Case Studies of Hong Kong's Secondary School Teachers

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PhD

The University of York

Education

March 2012

ABSTRACT

Since the resumption of sovereignty by China in 1997, national identification with China has been a priority in Hong Kong SAR government's education policy agenda. Hong Kong has seen an increase of National Education programmes and activities which aim at cultivating a Chinese national identity based on ethnic and cultural terms. Since then, National Education has been promoted as an informal curriculum which is usually comprised of extra-curricular programmes or activities specifically devoted to cultivation of a Chinese national identity. It can be differentiated from formal subject curriculum. In 2010, the Chief Executive announced implementing a compulsory Moral and National Education in all primary and secondary schools.

This qualitative multiple-case study research falls in the field of citizenship education and attempts to explore the perceptions and teachings of national identity and National Education of 10 purposive samples of Hong Kong secondary school teachers, since secondary schools prepare students to be a youth citizen. The data collection was done in 2009-2010. The research participants come from different subsidy types (i.e. how much subsidy they get from the government on an annual basis), religious and sponsoring backgrounds (i.e. Catholic, Protestant, Buddhism, Confucius, Taoism, charity, professional and Chinese provincial bodies), and regions (i.e. Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and New Territories).

This study does not generalize findings beyond the sample cases to any population. Rather, it focuses on a sample of experienced, informative and illustrative secondary school teachers' perceptions on the topic. They were selected for their perceived abilities and willingness to provide the most valuable and insightful data that fit the purposes of this study, i.e. perceptions of national identity and National Education (i.e. meanings, aims, contents, pedagogies and evaluation methods).

The research methodologies are triangulated uses of examining school-based National Education documents (i.e. school's civic education year plan and activity plans), qualitative open-ended interviews, and non-participant field observations

of schools' National Education programmes/activities.

This study begins with an introductory chapter and then a contextual review of the literature of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong with an aim to locate this study's background. The explanation and justification of research design, sampling, methodology and analysis of the data follow. The research questions analyzes how do the research participants perceive their national identity, how did their national identity develop before and after 1997, their perceptions of National Education, aims, methods and evaluation in teaching National Education. The findings were examined and made references to appropriate literature discussion.

The findings reveal that underlying an increasing trend of Chinese national identification, there are different emphases in teachers' perceptions on national identity. Also, this increased sense of Chinese national identity does not exclude a local sense of Hong Kong identity. National identity is also understood in a wide array of ethnic, geographical, cultural, legal and civic terms. There were significant personal, political and social events that exerted impacts on their national identity too. Furthermore, perceptions of teaching National Education exhibited different meanings, aims, contents, pedagogies and evaluation methods among the research participants. Indeed, educational change is a process of marking sense of the multiple realities of people involved in the implementation process (Fullan, 1989; Lo, 2000). Thus, this study argues for more relevant empirical studies on the complex, integrated and multi-layered conceptualization of perceptions and meanings on national identity and National Education by teachers, as opposed to any unitary conception of national identity and National Education solely based on ethnic and cultural terms. Stronger supports for diverse curricular goals as well as design and teaching in National Education would be desired. Also, addressing the linkages between local, national and global citizenship education would help students' understanding in National Education.

The findings and discussions aims at contributing to scholarly understanding and original research about perceptions of national identity and National Education of Hong Kong in particular, as well as national identity within citizenship education in general. This matters to the implementation and success of citizenship education. This study also intends to remind teachers' trainers to

consider different perceptions on national identity and National Education when they plan citizenship education training. This study, hopefully, would be useful to principals and frontline teachers, teacher educators, policy-makers and researchers in Hong Kong and elsewhere who face the challenges in teaching national identity in citizenship education in a globalized age.

Keywords: Hong Kong secondary school teachers, national identity, National Education, perceptions, multiple-case study research, in-depth and open-ended interviews, non-participant field observations, documents analysis, multilayered perceptions.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

This thesis has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree other than Doctor of Philosophy of the University of York. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be made available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

Signed . . . . ∖ ▁▁ . . . . (candidate)

Date . . .23/5/2012 . . . .

For

Leung Yuk-Yu, Karina, my wife

1. Introduction

This study explores and investigates Hong Kong secondary school teachers' perceptions of national identity and National Education after more than 10 years of resumption of sovereignty by China in 1997.

Leung & Yuen (2009) argued that changes relating to the return of sovereignty in 1997, controversial policies in matters of civic education, and emerging concerns in matters of civic education are things which seem to interest Hong Kong's civic education academics most. National identity, as Smith (1991) argued, is also complex and not as simple as one usually think. Topics and issues of National identity and National Education are certainly found in General Studies, Civic Education and Liberal Studies subjects in Hong Kong, so they are important themes of learning. Therefore, this study sets out to explore and investigate Hong Kong teachers' perceptions on national identity and National Education in the context of controversies arising after 1997.

This introductory chapter includes:

1.1. Introduction to research study
1.2. Defining national identity and National Education
1.3. Aims and rationales of study
1.4. Research objectives and questions
1.5. Development of research design – pilot study and main study
1.6. Research methodology
1.7. Developments of National Education after 1997
1.8. Imperative of research study
1.9. Timeline of pilot and main study
1.10 Contributions of this research study
1.11 Summary of main findings
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1.1 Introduction to research study
This study is basically a qualitative research study on teachers' perceptions. Perceptions studies are commonly found in citizenship studies (Davies, Gregory

& Riley, 1999; Evans, 2004; Lee & Fouts, 2005). Teachers, in fact, are key players when it comes to the implementation of citizenship education in schools (Lee, 2010), and so it is value to investigate their perceptions. This study employs multiple-case study method (Stake, 2006) with examination of schools' National Education documents, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and non-participant field observations on schools' National Education programmes/activities as triangulated methodologies. The below is some introductory discussions about civic education, national identity and National Education, which may be helpful to readers of this dissertation.

In Hong Kong, civic education is taken to be the equivalent of citizenship education and is commonly used interchangeably because there is no differentiation between them in Hong Kong education. Civic education in Hong Kong usually contains elements such as rights and responsibilities, rule of law, respect of authority, election and voting, freedom in general, but not as wide as that of discussions and themes contained in citizenship education literature. Civic education in Hong Kong is usually regarded by teachers as informal education in the form of form of after-class learning or extra-curricular activities rather than formal education of school subjects. Although the government issued a non-mandatory curriculum guideline on civic education in junior secondary school in 1998, civic education has remained largely as extra-curricular activities in many schools. Also, despite the government put civic education as one of four *Key Learning Areas* in the Education Reform 2000, and as part of the *Other Learning Experiences* (OLE) in the New Senior Secondary education starting from 2009/10, civic education still remain peripheral in schools' curriculum.

National identity 'may be thought of as adherence to, or identification with, a corpus of national symbols' (Heidhues, 1988: 115). In summing up various scholars of national identity, Jiang (2006: 147) concluded that national identity is a 'feeling that one has towards one's imagined community, the fundamental features of which include a homeland, a common myth and historical memory, and a common, mass public culture. The consciousness of national identity makes possible or helps the arising of nationalism and nationalist movements'. On studying national identity in Chinese context, Tan (1988: 139) argued,

Chinese everywhere may bear the label 'Chinese' but the content of that

label, that is, the nature of being Chinese, differs from country to country and even from one region to another. The people who bear the label 'Chinese' do share certain common cultural traditions, but the details of these traditions differ in one way or another, depending on where these Chinese live.

Meanwhile, the term of 'National Education' refers to a body of educational practices that are conceptualized and defined by Hong Kong education officials in general, and commonly adopted by Hong Kong teachers, with an aim of cultivating a sense of Chinese national identity among the students, and it usually carries with it a flavour of Chinese patriotism. It is also usually conceptualized as informal learning and it usually includes knowledge, values and attitudes. The local educational community, however, does not call it as patriotic education, since there is a need to differentiate Hong Kong's National Education from the mainland Chinese patriotic education.

The importance of this study could be seen in shedding light on teacher's perceptions on a government initiated National Education curriculum aiming towards cultivation of a Chinese national identity in this globalization era. The juxtaposition of national identity in a globalized era deserved attention. Although civic education and National Education are mostly informal curriculum comprising of extra-curricular programmes/activities in Hong Kong secondary schools, the National Education curriculum was given an important official aim of cultivating a Chinese national identity. How Hong Kong teachers perceive such a politically important curriculum requires scholarly efforts. There are justifications on conducting this study later in this chapter.

This qualitative multiple-case study, with a pilot study conducted in early months of 2009 and main data collection conducted in school year of 2009-2010, inquires into the perceptions on meanings of national identity and National Education of 10 research participants. Multiple-case study is adopted here because it provides opportunity for one aspect of a problem (or research question in this study) to be studied in some depth (Bell, 2010). These purposive sampled Hong Kong secondary school civic education teachers are responsible for National Education in their schools, which belong to different school sponsor background and subsidy types. A summary of the features of 10 research participant schools are summarized below.

Table 1.1 Features of 10 research participant's schools

	Type of school	Background of school	Region	High, middle or low achieving students	Participation in Pilot /Main Study
Teacher 1	Direct-subsidy	Education corporation	Kowloon	Middle & Low	Both
Teacher 2	Aided	Confucius, Buddhism, Taoism	New Territories	Middle & Low	Both
Teacher 3	Aided	local educational charity group	New Territories	High & Middle	Both
Teacher 4	Aided	Buddhist	New Territories	High & Middle	Both
Teacher 5	Direct-subsidy	Education corporation	Kowloon	Mixed	Both
Teacher 6	Aided	Education corporation(Christianity)	Hong Kong Island	High & Middle	Both
Teacher 7	Government	Government	New Territories	High & Middle	Main Study only
Teacher 8	Direct Subsidy	'Pro-Beijing government' school	Hong Kong Island	Mixed	Main Study only
Teacher 9	Direct Subsidy	'Pro-Beijing government' school	Kowloon	Mixed	Main Study only
Teacher 10	Government	Government	Kowloon	Middle & Low	Main Study only

As noted from above, they are secondary school teachers coming from different subsidy types, sponsoring backgrounds, religions and geographical regions. They are responsible for Civic Education or National Education, both are largely

informal learning in nature which is not subject-based curriculum. These 10 research participants have substantial teaching experiences and they have rich and informed teaching experiences. They are also responsible for planning, designing and implementing National Education in their respective schools, which usually encompassed knowledge, skills, values and attitudes in the cultivation of a Chinese national identity. They are purposively sampled based on the researcher's previous understanding about their expertise in teaching Civic Education or National Education in their schools. More elaborations and justifications on the choices and features of research participants, methodologies used, and treatment of different sources of data will be given in Chapter 5 - Methodology.

The research methodologies adopted are:
1) examination of 10 research participant schools' National Education documents (i.e. school year plans and activity plans on National Education which have sufficient academic weight to allow for consideration of their inclusion);
2) in-depth, semi-structured and open-ended interviews on these 10 research participants; and
3) non-participant field observations on their National Education programmes/activities.

The findings from different methodologies are intended to triangulate with each other and give a thick, dense and overarching description of the perceptions on national identity and National Education as described by the research participants. The major findings of my study illustrate the different emphases of perceptions of national identity by 10 research participants, and the different meanings given on National Education in regard to aims, contents, teaching pedagogies and evaluation methods.

This study thus argues that teachers have got diversified perceptions of national identity and meanings of National Education, despite the official education policy calls for a unified conception of Chinese national identity based on ethnic and cultural terms, and a patriotic favour of National Education. There is a need to develop a complex, multi-layered perception of national identity in Hong Kong, and the complexities in describing National Education should be recognized by any stakeholder. These diversified perceptions have significant

implications to the implementation and success of the official policy of National Education. This will be returned to in later part of this chapter.

It is hoped that this study, with several theoretical and policy implications, will be useful to educational researchers, teacher practitioners, teachers' trainer, policy makers, and others who are interested in perceptions on national identity and citizenship education. Also, some possible future research agendas on national identity and National Education in citizenship education could be identified too, especially in regard to the complexities of perceptions involved.

The followings will define national identity and National Education used in this study.

1.2 Defining national identity and National Education

Some definitional clarification in this introductory chapter help to contextualize the meanings of main concepts employed in this study, although conceptual meanings and their operationalization will be returned to in Chapter 4 - Meanings and Operationalization of the Main Concepts. It should be noted that, however, concepts are not static, and it is impossible to conduct work without using concepts (Gerring, 2001).

National identity, as it is usually conceptualized, refers to the identification of a people to their ethnic, cultural, and blood lineage terms. He and Guo (2000) defined national identity as how one identifies with the nation he belongs to. Factors under consideration may comprise a sense of belonging, a sense of security, a feeling of national pride and the felt attachment to the nation, etc. Furthermore, the sustaining of such an identity can hinge on race, common culture, equal civic rights and shared political ideology. In citizenship education, Davies, Gregory, and Riley (1999) argued that models of citizenship which look beyond the nation state seems to speak less to them than do other characterizations. Teachers usually see citizenship as something which is given real expression mainly in local terms. In the local context, a definitional note can be made here that although the concept of 'national identity' in Chinese may not be fully equivalent to 'national identity' in English, this variance has been minimized by stressing on the national dimension, i.e. a group of people identity with each other who share common heritage and language, mass culture, memories, myths and symbols, a common legal rights and duties, as well as

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living in a homeland (Smith, 1991), of the concept itself during the data collection process.

It should be noted that national identity is an elusive concept. For example, ethnic Chinese in the Netherlands Indies (now Indonesia) before 1942 usually thought of themselves as Chinese without defining more closely what the word might mean (Heidhues, 1998). Tan (1998) also argued that the label 'Chinese' is complicated in the sense that the details of Chinese culture traditions differ in one way or another depending on their living places in the world, although 'Chinese' do share certain common cultural traditions. Within China, indeed, there exists a 'patchwork of local cultures' (Liu & Faure, 1996: 1), and Chinese culture is manifested differently in different areas. A related concept is 'cultural identity', which refers to 'a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to share memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture' (Smith, 1991: 25). Specifically about cultural and identity in China, Cohen (1991) argued that local Chinese culture is part and parcel of the overall Chinese culture, and so one cannot have a local identity without being part of the greater identity of being Chinese. Towards Hong Kong's education, Lee (2010) argued that within a Chinese cultural context, teachers need to adopt a transformational approach in teacher development and/or teacher strategy development that integrates a cultural orientation with the changing educational demands and expectations.

But within Hong Kong's socio-political context, national identity had been a topic left unmentioned to most Hong Kong people in the times of a British territory (before 1997) and to those people having linkages with Taiwan (Lee, 2004a) because of apolitical orientation in the society. Schools in Hong Kong also transmitted 'a common Hong Kong culture and identity and reinforced Cantonese cultural status groups through their resistance to using Putonghua as a medium of instruction' (Postiglione, 1997: 144). But this national identity issue was raised after the signing of *Sino-British Joint Declaration* in 1984 with a need to prepare for citizenship under the incoming Chinese regime. This issue has puzzled Hong Kong SAR since the resumption of Chinese sovereignty in 1997.

'National Education' refers to a body of educational design, curriculum and teaching practices which emerged in the post-handover Hong Kong in 1997

within the official reformist educational initiative. It has been a design of informal curriculum comprising of programme/activities aims which gear towards the cultivation of a Chinese national identity among kindergarten, primary and secondary schools, which may not be found in other formal and subject curriculum. Leung (2011 b) argued that towards Hong Kong's education, National Education is education about nationalism, and it aims at enhancing students' understanding about the nation, as well as enhancing their belonging to the nation and strengthening their national identity.

The background is that Hong Kong has been under the political imperative of cultivating its citizens' Chinese national identification, especially it has been perceived that after the July 1st rally of 2003, more works on National Education should be done (Vickers, 2011). The official National Education aims at cultivating the national identification of Hong Kong students of being an ethnic Chinese, and this national identification is directed to the political entity of People's Republic of China. Through National Education, students get the opportunities to learn more about China in school-based informal learning opportunities such as assemblies, project week and guest talks, as well as participating in Mainland China's exchange programmes, plus community-based China's learning activities which were organized by the government's Home Affairs Bureau, Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education, District Councils, community organizations, National Education volunteer groups, business or youths organizations, etc. In Hong Kong, teachers have been asked to develop 'school-based' curriculum which is directly relevant to the particularities of their schools and students (Brown, 1997). In fact, 'National Education' is the language commonly understood by Hong Kong educational community. In several interviews with this study's research participants, some teachers revealed that they were uncomfortable with such terminologies as 'patriotic education' or 'national identity education', whereas the former conveys a sense of teaching in way of forcing acceptance of Chinese national identity upon their students, while the latter seems to be clumsy and redundant in meanings. Such a distinction between the subject matter of 'National Education' in the present study and other similar terms used in Hong Kong's education is crucial for any research, and using the language that the research participants feel familiar with could ensure the validity of the findings and discussions in this main study.

Under the official mobilization of cultivating a Chinese national identity and

understanding nationalistic events such as spectacular economic growth, Olympic field & track events medals, aerospace technology breakthroughs, Beijing Olympics in 2008 and Shanghai Expo 2010, the local community has been engaged in a series of political campaigns of promoting a sense of Chinese national identity. Indeed, achievement in Olympic Games has been tied up with building up a nationalistic pride in China for a century (Xu, 2008).

By the time of data collection of this study in 2009-2010, the Hong Kong SAR's government Chief Executive announced in his *Policy Address 2010* that the government will invite the Curriculum Development Council, which is a government commissioned body to give advice on curriculum development, to review and develop a subject of Moral and National Education in both primary and secondary schools starting from the school year of 2013-14. The importance placed on National Education can also be seen in that there were two pages specifically written on National Education in the *Policy Address 2010* (Chief Executive, 2010), which is quite uncommon. According to the *Policy Address 2010*, the government will organize more Mainland China exchange programmes, study tours and volunteer activities so that the future generations may gain a deeper understanding of China and develop a stronger sense of Chinese national identity, as well as recognizing the common origin and close ethnic and cultural bonds between Mainland China and Hong Kong (Chief Executive, 2010). In the consultation document on introducing the subject of Moral and National Education, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Professor Lee Chack-fan said;

> MNE aims to provide students with systematic learning objectives, focusing on developing positive values and attitudes to enhance their personal and national qualities. It also facilitates students' identity-building under different domains, namely family, society, the nation and the world, and fosters their sense of commitment and contribution towards these respective domains.

Later on, policy refinements original stated that this subject would be implemented in all primary schools starting from 2012-13 and secondary schools in 2013-14, taking up 1 to 2 periods in each teaching week or cycle. The education officials also suggested that schools should make use of Form Teaching Period or other informal learning time to implement it. In 2011, the

Curriculum Development Council, together with Ad Hoc Committee on Moral and National Education, put forward a consultation document on this subject (CDC, 2011). In January 2012, there were news reports that this subject will be further postponed to 2015 in view of the feedback obtained from the consultation in 2011. All these testified to the growing policy importance given to National Education in this tiny special administrative region of China.

1.3 Aims and rationales of research study

This research study aims at contributing original research on understanding perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education by Hong Kong's secondary school teachers. National Education in Hong Kong context has much in relation with citizenship education literature and in practice, and it has been practised in all stages of education since 1997. But because of the need to confine this study to a manageable scale, the researcher just target the secondary school teachers. Discussions about National Education in kindergarten and primary schools will be touched upon with the purpose of illuminating the wider picture as necessary.

On the nature of this research study, it aims at arriving at an exploratory qualitative research study which intends to uncover the rich description of perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education by a purposive sampling of Hong Kong's secondary school teachers.

This study also builds on the belief that while the educational policy may say something about education, the implementation of it in school and classroom level may differ from the intended curriculum goals, largely because of teachers' perception and meanings may exert significant influence on the actual policy implementation. In England, early findings of the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (NFER, 2003: 4) reported that 'there is a considerable gap which exists between the policy aims for citizenship and the actual practice in schools and highlight some of the challenges which face those charged with implementing citizenship education, both at the policy and school/college level.' This suggests that teachers are pivotal in selecting what to teach. It is also plausible that teachers use their perceptions in their selection and translation of specific curriculum goals to a particular context.

The importance of inquiring into teachers' thinking was also shown by Fullan

(1991: 42). Fullan(1991) argued that among the three dimensions necessary for achieving intended outcomes in education, i.e. introducing new materials, changing teaching styles and changing beliefs, the last is the most difficult to implement for achieving intended outcomes. Changing beliefs is understood to be requiring long-lasting efforts to get the intended outcomes. Beliefs are also understood to be exerting effects of longer duration. In other words, what teachers think and believe - the meanings that their teaching and their subject has for them, endures the longest over time. Marsh (2011) also suggested that among types of curriculum reform which can be categorised as procedural change, technological change and re-conceptual change, the last one is the most difficult because it equates with bold reconsideration of schools, changes in the schedule, grouping of learners, personal configurations and use of physical and virtual space. In fact, there are certainly other dimensions which can influence teachers' beliefs in teaching, such as:

- available time;
- teaching resources;
- curriculum requirements;
- teachers and students interaction;
- relevant teaching experiences; and
- the school ethos and culture

But the above is, to a large extent, not central than that of teachers' beliefs (Evans, 2004). Teaching, after all, is a largely individualized deliberation and delivering processes, which involves selecting from one's previous knowledge, understanding and experience available to him/her. The next steps involve applying, implementing and evaluating the chosen teaching models and teaching strategies based on one's own teaching orientations and thinking. Other dimensions, of course, influence the selection process too, but it is unlikely that they will fundamentally alter a teacher's understanding of what is to be taught. This understanding implies that in any study which investigates the teachers' perception, an underlying assumption would be likely that what one thinks may not accord with what one teaches in a classroom. One may did that, but one may actually disagree with this.

Thus, a common theme running across in this research study is the belief that perception, in its most comprehensive form, is used and influenced by different

kinds of knowledge and understandings, and so studies of perceptions should be undertaken within a level of integration and complexity, with findings being triangulated, rather than a simplistic way of intuitive thinking that goes from perceptions to teaching directly. The extent and quality of teachers' meanings and understandings are important to what, why and how they teach, and so they are worthy of scholarly investigation and exploration for an educational inquiry.

1.4 Research objectives and questions

Put it simply, with the main purpose of this research study to investigate and explore teachers' perception on national identity and National Education, this research intends to achieve the following research objectives:

Part I. Perceptions and Development of National identity

a. To understand and explore the perceptions of Hong Kong secondary school teachers on the meanings of national identity.

b. To understand the reported pattern of change (if any) of Hong Kong secondary school teachers' perception on their own national identity, both before and after the handover of sovereignty in 1997.

c. To identify those significant personal, social or political events which contribute to their changing or persisting perceptions of their national identity.

Part II. Perceptions on Teaching of National Education

d. To explore the meanings of National Education among Hong Kong secondary school teachers.

e. To describe the perceptions on the aims, contents, pedagogies and evaluation methods of National Education in Hong Kong.

Conclusion

f. After considering the interactions between part I and Part II, to arrive at theoretical discussions and any implications of such perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education to the study and practices of citizenship education in Hong Kong's education, e.g. what are the changes in teachers' thinking about their national identity and National Education in a context influenced by significant changes in citizenship education in Hong Kong, and what could be addressed and put forward in

view of the development of National Education.

The research questions were developed based on the experiences learnt from some pilot cases in the pilot study, as well as from reading relevant literature as indication of what would be puzzling or problematic (Stake, 1995). The researcher also bears in mind that research questions should be crafted in a way of potentially problematic, able to be deeply connected to the contexts of case (Stake, 2005). The interview schedule in this study thus proceeded from asking participants' perceptions of their national identity, to understanding about their development of national identity, and then their meanings of National Education (see Appendix I). The idea of this flow of research questions is that it may be more comfortable to the research participants by asking them perceptions and then to their teaching practices, which usually necessitates an 'openness' to an outsider (i.e. the researcher) about their teaching conception, aims and pedagogies.

This multiple-case study research analyzes the following eight research questions which can be categorized into two main areas:

Part I. Perceptions and Development of National identity
a. How do Hong Kong secondary school teachers perceive the meanings of national identity?
b. Based on their memories, how did they perceive their national identity before the Chinese resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997?
c. How do they perceive their national identity now?
d. Based on their memories, how did their perceptions on their national identity develop since 1997?
e. What are the significant personal, political or social events informing their national identity development since 1997?

Part II. Perceptions on Teaching of National Education
f. What are their understandings and meanings of National Education?
g. What do they think about National Education's aims and content should be?
h. How do they think National Education should be taught with regard to pedagogies and the evaluation methods?

Efforts have been spent on ensuring that the above research questions and

specific information needs aligned with the emerging aims of this study and were comprehensive by referring to appropriate literature. Through the pilot study on six secondary school teachers (to be discussed in immediate section) which used a similar set of questions, the researcher was able to test the validity of the research questions above and make substantial improvements on the questions which were used in the main study. The researcher also consulted his thesis supervisor as well as second thesis advisor in order to ensure that adequate and rigorous questions to be asked in this study. Making references to questions adopted by some studies on national identities (Wong, 1997, 1998) and National Education (Leung, 2004a, 2008) also help to design and structure the questions used in this study. Broadly speaking, the rich and thick descriptions of perceptions and meanings of national identity, and perceptions on meanings of National Education by a purposive sample of Hong Kong secondary school's teachers are explored, investigated and analyzed in this research study.

1.5 Developments of research design – pilot study and main study

A rough idea of conducting this research study about perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education first emerged in autumn/winter 2007 when I started teaching civic education courses of Bachelor of Education degree in a teachers' training focus, multi-disciplinary orientations, university-level institution in Hong Kong. I had just completed a teacher's training with specialization in secondary school Liberal Studies subject in Hong Kong at that time, and having already spent two years in teaching at a university-level teachers' training institution. In teaching courses of civic education in Hong Kong, it is common to teach concepts and topics in relation to identity, identification, nation, national identity, and National Education, which are all concepts relevant to this research study. Thus, there are both professional and pragmatic reasons to conduct a perception study on national identity and National Education in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, there was hardly a particular moment which could be described as concretizing my research idea. I was alerted to what topics and concepts became relevant to my teaching in winter 2007, when I started to think about engaging in a doctoral study.

A research idea and considerations in main study design

A clear research idea emerged after conducting initial literature reviewing process throughout 2008 with an aim to develop research questions, plan the

pilot study aims and purposes, draft the research design and research questions, as well as locating the research participants and designing the in-depth interview schedule used in the pilot study.

The literature review in the pilot study involved careful consideration of a number of different types of literature, which come from academic and scholarly materials (through targeted search of academic books and journals with keywords related to the topic of this study such as national identity, National Education, citizenship education), curriculum or programme guidelines from government and non-governmental organizations, as well as school-based National Education documents which come from my acquaintance with schools which designed and implemented National Education. Looking into the specific literature about National Education in Hong Kong, national identity issue of Hong Kong people, and learning elements of national identity contained in the new senior *secondary Liberal Studies Curriculum and Assessment Guide (Secondary 4-6)* helped me to concretize my research idea. In fact, a considerable amount of literature data collected on National Education policy and school cases of National Education in the preliminary pilot stage was for first impression and exploratory understanding only. After setting the aims and purposes based on such exploratory understanding, and the initial contacts of research participants have been made, there are also issues over access to individuals and information that are needed for completion of a multiple-case study (Naumes & Naumes, 2006). All these considerations will be returned to later.

The type of research methodology in both pilot and main study fall into the category of qualitative research in education. The researcher acknowledges the value of quantitative research, but it is qualitative research that suits the type and needs of the research study here. Qualitative research is a field of inquiry with applicability crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matters. In its own development, there is a complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions surround the term qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), which includes positivism, post-structuralism, and the many qualitative research perspectives, or methods, connected to cultural and interpretive studies. There are also many methods and approaches that fall within qualitative research, such as interviewing, participant observation, and visual methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). For the perception study here, interview techniques help to
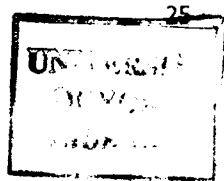
explore teachings' perception, while observations tell the connections between what they perceive and what they do.

In the present perceptions study, qualitative research methods of in-depth interviews, observation of schools' National Education programmes/activities, and schools' National Education documents analysis are used because they fit for the research purpose. Indeed, qualitative research privileges no single methodology over any other, and it is difficult to be defined clearly and it has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own (Sanger, 1996). The researcher also acknowledges that educational research has undergone various stages of development such as focusing on school interaction, sociological studies of schools, ethnographic immersion, theories of empowerment, feminist, post-structuralist, spirit of collaboration and action research, etc. (Sanger, 1996) These represented competing schools of research in education evolving philosophical positions.

Some relevant considerations of the characteristics of qualitative design employed in this study include (Janesick, 1994) as well as its application in this study:

1. Qualitative design is holistic. It looks at the larger picture, the whole picture, and begins with a search for understanding of the whole. In this study, it intends to look at how teachers perceive national identity and National Education in a holistic way with triangulated sources of data collection.
2. Qualitative design refers to the personal, face-to-face, and immediate interactions. Thus, in this study, it has adopted in-depth interviews and field observation to gain qualitative data.
3. Qualitative design is focused on understanding a given social setting, not necessarily on making predictions about that setting. This study seeks to understand how teachers perceive their national identity and the meanings of National Education as such and does not pretend to generalize findings.
4. Qualitative design demands that the researcher stay in the setting over time. There were at least two in-depth interviews and two field observations conducted with each research participant in order to obtain rich and in-depth qualitative data.
5. Qualitative design demands time in analysis equal to the time in the field. Overall speaking, the time spent on data collection of this study equals to

that of spending on data analysis.

6. Qualitative design requires the researcher to be the researcher instrument. This means the researcher must have the ability to observe behavior and must sharpen the skills necessary for observation and face-to-face interview. The researcher has trialed out relevant interview skills in the pilot study conducted in 2008, and the researcher has continuously improved his observation skills through on-the-job training.

7. Qualitative design incorporates informed consent decisions and is responsive to ethical concerns. These have been achieved by asking the research participants to read and sign consent form in advance and making reference to research ethics consideration beforehand.

8. Qualitative design requires ongoing analyses of the data. The analysis of data of this study began as early as the data started coming through and continued throughout the time of writing this study.

Apart from due considerations and careful implementations of the above characteristics of a qualitative research design, there were also considerations for adopting a multiple-case study design.

Adopting multiple-case study research

This multiple-case study, which intends that people can learn much that is general across cases (Stake, 2006), is an exploratory work (Hakim, 2000) and falls into the field of research on perceptions of their national identity and National Education by a purpose sample of Hong Kong secondary school teachers.

This study employs multiple-case study method in order to illustrate each case in richer depth and highlight cross-cases issues (Stake, 1995; 2006). Since scholarly studies about perception are primarily qualitative in nature, and the realities are complex and interconnected, case study just suits to obtain the descriptions and interpretation of each other (Stake, 1995). Yet, this study will also seek to understand the whole - the entity having cases and examples (Stake, 2006).

A pilot study and the learning from it

A pilot study allows the researcher to reduce the possibility and certainty of error (Babbie, 2010), as well as addressing the concerns of case study having the problems of selective reporting and the resulting dangers of distortion (Bell,

2010). Therefore, there were due considerations on the nature and number of purposive sample. The pilot study was also used to ascertain the nature of any available records, official or school documents, descriptive materials and other sources of evidence that may be drawn upon in addition to information already obtained from some usual data collection exercises such as interview surveys, informant interviews and observation, etc. (Hakim, 2000). Thus, the sources of data were expanded in the main study to include a wide variety of scholarly books, reports, Government Gazettes, official education and school-based National Education documents, etc. in order to inform both the literature review and discussion.

The topic of the pilot study was about perceptions of Hong Kong secondary school teachers on their national identity and meanings of National Education. The purpose of conducting a pilot study in January to June of 2009 was to inform a main study in late 2009, with in-depth interview as the main data collection method. Being not so familiar with teachers' perceptions on national identity and National Education at the beginning, a pilot study on six sample of Hong Kong secondary school civic education teachers was conducted with an aim of gaining a preliminary snapshot of their perceptions of national identity and National Education, and trying out the data collection method of in-depth interview in order to obtain operational experiences that improve the rigour of a research. The pilot study's informants were invited to comment on the clarity and the appropriateness of the interview questions, as well as the relevance of questions being asked after the interviews. The researcher also checked whether the way of framing questions could solicit from the respondents what I intended to ask, thus the validity of whether an item or instrument measures or describes what it is supposed to measure or describe (Bell, 2010).

The selection of sample requires more elaboration. As Babbie (2010) argued, it is not essential that any pretest subjects comprise a representative sample, but at least one should use people for whom the questionnaire is relevant. Also, as Hakim (2000) argued, some degree of prior knowledge maybe necessary for suitable cases to be selected, especially if focused sampling is used. Furthermore, in any qualitative research, it is the quality and richness of the data obtained that is important, rather than the size of sample (Patton, 1990). Apart from using my prior understanding about their teaching experiences, the researcher also consulted teachers' trainers at the Hong Kong Institute of Education on who

would be relevant experienced informants. All these considerations have ensured the validity in selecting the research participants in the pilot study. Therefore, 6 experienced and informed research participants were selected based on my professional understanding and informed suggestions from civic education trainers about whom could give rich and relevant data about their perceptions on national identity and the meanings of National Education.

The subsequent analysis of the pilot study findings was conducted in summer 2009. The research participants' suggestions have helped me to revise the drafting of interview questions for the main study. The pilot study findings also alerted the researcher to several matters. First, there should be a clearer focus of the research study, with a need to refine the writing of interview questions. The questions used in pilot study need to improve its sophistication and there was room for getting the data that fit the research purposes. Second, the pilot study alerted me the need of using multiple data collection methods for triangulation purposes, in view of the limited credibility of using one data collection method. Hence, the examinations of schools' National Education documents, in-depth interviews, and non-participant observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities were used as triangulation in the main study. Third, there was a need to improve my interview tactics and techniques in order to prompt the research participants to explain and elaborate on their ideas. Fourth, the purposive sampling choices could be expanded in order to cover wider sponsoring types and funding modes of secondary schools in Hong Kong. The main study opted for ten instead of six research participants. Specifically speaking, since confidence in the results of a multiple-case study design increases with the number of cases covered, with the greatest proportional gains being achieved when the number of cases is increased from one to two, three or more (Hakim, 2000), the main research study selected 10 research participants.

The researcher believed that such immediate and timely reflection, as well as writing rough notes right after the in-depth interviews, could help to retain the valuable lessons obtained in the pilot study. These reflections help to inform the main study's research design, research questions, sampling, choice of research methods, and the overall research implementation. In short, the focus was made clearer on perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education. There were, indeed, a few incidents that some important insights

seemed to be lost but recapped later through checking with the transcripts of in-depth interviews with the research participants of the pilot study. This alerted me to the importance of having a proper and systematic data collection and management system.

The main research study
The main research study was started in late 2009 and completed in late 2010. It adopted a qualitative orientation and multiple-case study research method (Stake, 2006; Naumes & Naumes, 2006) to yield qualitative findings on Hong Kong teachers' perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education. It also adopts multiple data collection methods. The research participants were chosen because they were significant or 'special' case for this study (Yin, 2009). As mentioned before, the learning from the pilot study had also informed the main study design.

The qualitative approach of this main study, however, does not imply that qualitative research method is more superior than quantitative research method, but qualitative orientation just suits the type and needs of research purposes in this perception study. Nevertheless, frequencies of National Education programmes/activities conducted by Education Bureau in recent three years, and the counting of relevant keywords while developing categories during the analysis of in-depth interviews, have necessitated the use of numbers in analysis. This qualitative multiple-case study research is also subjective and interpretive which explores perceptions and meanings, as opposed to a quantitative and objective research which looks for any causal explanation.

The choice of purposive sampling in the main study needs further elaboration. The key to an adequate sample size is being able to generate enough in-depth material that patterns, concepts, categories and understandings emerge from the data (Auberbach & Silverstein, 2003), rather than the sheer size of sample. It is the quality and richness of data that matters in the case study research. The cases selected are similar in way that they have got typical and substantive National Education in their schools, which were by no means superficial or formalistic. The research participants were all experienced teachers responsible for Civic Education or National Education in their schools. After explaining the study aims, they were invited to participate in the main study with informed consent. These similarities ensure that this multi-case study is informative and

illustrative. With such conceptions of purposive sample of research design, 10 research participant teachers have their schools' National Education documents examined and analyzed, interviewed twice by in-depth interviews, and their school-based National Education programmes/activities observed twice. All these provided, hopefully, sufficient triangulated data to answer the main study topic of 'Hong Kong secondary school teachers' perceptions of national identity and National Education'. The research questions posed would also be answered by interesting and illuminating findings which used different data sources to converge and inform a fuller picture. More on this will be returned to in Chapter 5.

It is hoped that not just qualitative, descriptive and elaborative findings can be drawn from such a study on perceptions and meanings, but also some theoretical and practical implications can be drawn in discussion (i.e. chapter 8), so that frontline teachers, educational researchers, teachers' trainers, policy makers and those interested in national identity and National Education can draw their conclusions. This study, however, does not expect to advocate any definitive or authoritative recommendations on the meanings of national identity and National Education in citizenship education. The researcher has also maintained non-intervention and non-advocacy position throughout the investigation, writing and finishing of this dissertation, but observing the role of an unobtrusive researcher.

In short, the implementation of the main study was carried out in Autumn 2009 to Autumn 2010, with subsequent data clarification and following-up questions conducted at the end of 2010. The writing of data analysis and discussion was conducted in 2011 and the first complete version of this dissertation was completed in early 2012. The final revision was done in March 2012 for submitting purpose.

Timeline of pilot and main study
The schedule of pilot and main study proceeded according to the needs of planning, designing and implementing a vigorous and reliable research study. The schedule of pilot and main study was as follows:

Table 1.2 Timeline of Pilot and Main Study

Time	Research tasks
October 2007 – December 2008	**Planning of pilot study and literature review** Pilot study planning and relevant literature review on national identity and National Education in Hong Kong; Setting of research questions (15 months)
January – April 2009	**Pilot study design and implementation** Designing questions for in-depth interviews; Implementing pilot study interview questions; Following-up interviews with 6 interviewees. (4 months)
April – June 2009	**Learning from pilot study to inform main study** Revising in-depth interview questions based on analyzes of pilot test interviews. (3 months)
January – December 2009 (concurrent with other schedule)	**Further literature review** Further literature review on national identity, National Education, and Hong Kong's National Education (12 months)
July – September 2009	**Main Study – collection of schools' National Education documents and implementation of 1st in-depth interviews** Collecting data of schools' National Education documents and conducting 10 in-depth interviews. (3 months) Note: ● Some schools documents (e.g. civic education year plans and National Education programme/activity plans, internal circulars, Education Bureau circulars, etc.) on National Education were obtained before the interviews so that the researcher could have a prior understanding about how National Education is perceived and how National Education works out in the research participants' schools, so as to inform the design and setting of in-depth interview questions. ● Each research participant was interviewed 2

	times to gain authentic, rich and detailed descriptions of interview findings (purpose of 1st interview: introduction of research aims, questions of the interview scheduled, and obtaining 1st batch of interview data so as to inform following-up 2nd in-depth interviews)
October – December 2009	**Main Study implementation – following up 2nd in-depth interviews** Following-up 2nd interviews with 10 research participants (3 months) (purpose of 2nd interview: clarifying and elaborating on issues prompt up after the 1st interview; setting appropriate new questions)
In academic year of 2009-2010	**Upgrading viva completed**
January 2010 – August 2010	**Main Study implementation – analyzing interview data** Analyzing and interpreting the interview data (8 months)
September – October 2010	**Main Study implementation – field observations of Schools' National Education programmes/activities** Observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities in school settings (2 months)
November 2010 – October 2011	**Writing a draft overall analysis and completing the first draft of thesis** (12 months)
October 2011 – January 2012	**Discussion with research participants on first draft of thesis; 'members checking' with scholars in the field of citizenship education in Hong Kong.** (4 months)
January – March 2012	**Final revision of the thesis** (3 months)
May 2012	**Viva**
Before August 2012	**Submission of the doctoral thesis** (within 2012)

The progression of this study, of course, proceeded according to the actual needs and implementation progress of this study. Each time period above may show some overlapping between them.

Justification of this study

Further justification can be made on the rationale of choosing the topic of this study. Pollmann (2007) argued that empirical research on national and

supranational identities of teachers is still relatively rare. Therefore, conducting a study on Hong Kong teachers' perceptions add to this area of research. Hall (2006) argued that modern life forced identity change, and the personal, social, and political contexts in relation to national identity changes deserve more scholarly attention. Academic literature about national identity also pointed to identities change in relation to evolving events and circumstances (Yuen & Byram, 2007). Thus, it is timely to conduct a study on perception of national identity and in particular looking into the impacts of personal, social and political events on their national identity. In regard to citizenship education in Hong Kong, Leung & Yuen (2009) argued that changes relating to the return of sovereignty in 1997, controversial policies in matters of civic education, and emerging concerns in matters of civic education are things which seem to interest Hong Kong's civic education academics most. The topic of national identity change resulting from resumption of Chinese sovereignty after 1997 and the controversial National Education just suit the concerns of Hong Kong's civic education scholars.

Teachers' teaching is very likely to influence students' attitudes and perceptions (Van Peer, 2006). Besides, teachers' beliefs, attitudes and perceptions have likely influences in students' 'knowledge acquisition and interpretation, task definition and selection, interpretation of course content, and comprehension monitoring' (Pajares, 1992: 328). The importance of understanding teachers' perceptions is also that it matters to what they select on the store of knowledge, which may include a range of factual information and understandings about civics stored in long-term memory (Branson, 2003), in order to teach in the classrooms. Therefore, there are good reasons for attempting to understand the perception of teachers.

This study, therefore, sets out to investigate the rich and thick understanding (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) of a purposive sample of 10 teachers from different school types, sponsoring background and geographical regions with a view to understand how they perceive their national identity and their perceptions on National Education.

1.6 Research methodology
The researcher started considering data collection method once the research questions fixed and the research samples identified in 2009. Janesick (1994: 211)

argued that 'once the researcher has a question, a site, a participant or a number of participants, and a reasonable time period to undertake the study, he or she needs to decide on the most appropriate data collection strategies suited to the study'. Sanger (1996: 52) also argued that researchers 'have to defend our methods and show that we have tried to iron out the worst excesses of bias, error and ambiguity. We always will have to show that we can articulate the methodological problems we face.' In fact, the methodology issue also points to the importance of obtaining the rigour of findings (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The followings will discuss and justify the research methodology used in this study briefly before going into some details in Chapter 5 Research methodology.

As mentioned before, this study employs a multiple-case study orientation (Stake, 2006). At the basic level, case study provides descriptive accounts of one or more cases, which is a richly detailed 'portrait' of a particular social phenomenon (Hakim, 2000). The 'case' refers to each research participant's perception on their national identity and National Education. There is an extended range of case studies including exploratory work, description and the testing out of hunches, hypotheses and ideas in varying combinations (Hakim, 2000), while this study belongs to exploratory work.

As for generalization in any case study, while Gerring (2007) argued that case study is best defined as an intensive study of a single case (or a small set of cases) with an aim to generalize across a larger set of cases of the same general type. The researcher here adopts the view that case study does not necessary lead to generalization, but rather to rich and intensive description of perceptions among multiple cases. These dense descriptions can shed light on the complexities of the phenomenon under investigation. Bassey (1999:12) argued that 'there were very few generalizations (in this absolute sense) about education – and even fewer, if any, that were useful to experienced teachers.' Furthermore, as Bassey (1981: 85) argues that 'an important criteria for judging the merit of a case study is the extent to which the details are sufficient and appropriate for a teacher working in a similar situation to relate his decision making to that described in the case study. The relatability of a case study is more important than its generalizability.' He considers if case studies 'are carried out systematically and critically, if they are aimed at the improvement of education, if they are relatable, an if by publication of the findings they extend the boundaries of existing knowledge, then they are valid forms of educational

research (Bassey, 1981: 86). Therefore, what should be judged is how the case study can relate to reader's educational or related situations (Bell, 2010).

Flyvbjerg (2001) further argued that case study produces the type of context-dependent knowledge which makes it possible to move from the lower to the higher levels in the learning process, which is of intrinsic value in itself. Thus, the contribution of this study lies in producing context-dependent knowledge about perceptions of Hong Kong secondary school teachers through case study method. To Flyvbjerg, in the study of human affairs, there exists only context-dependent knowledge. Since this study aims at finding rich descriptions about perceptions of national identity and National Education, by context-dependent knowledge, these refer to intuitive and holistic understanding of the research participants which stands in opposite to piecemeal and fragmented understanding. Flyvbjerg also maintained that if context-dependent knowledge has their intrinsic values, these would have radical consequences for the view of the case study in research and teaching, for context-dependent knowledge and experience is at the heart of expert activity. Such context-dependent knowledge and experiences figure at the center of the case study as a research and teaching method, or as a method of learning (Flyvberg, 2001). Finally, there probably cannot exist any predictive theory in topics within social science or education, but as Flyvbjerg(2001: 72) argued, 'social science has in the final instance nothing else to offer than concrete, context-dependent knowledge, and the case study is especially well-suited to produce this knowledge'. More explanation about the choice of case study research method will be given in Chapter 5 – Research Methodology.

The fieldwork for any case study may include analyses of administrative records and other documents, in-depth interviews, large-scale structured surveys (either personal interview or postal interviews), participant and non-participant observation and collecting any type of evidence that is relevant and available (Hakim, 2000). In this study, as mentioned before, analyses of school-based National Education documents, in-depth interviews and non-participant observation were adopted to collect relevant data about teachers' perceptions. These are intended for a multiple views of each research participant's case. Indeed, as Stake (1995) argued, qualitative researchers take pride in discovering and portraying the multiple views of a case. For the in-depth interviews, an interview schedule was developed (Appendix I), a data gathering form was also

developed for observation of schools' National Education programmes/activities (Appendix II), and criteria of selecting document data was also considered (see Chapter 5 Research Methodology).

1.7 Developments of National Education after 1997

The identity issue in pre-1997 handover created the background for National Education curriculum development after 1997. Hong Kong was a British territory before 1997 and the identity issue was always a problematic one with no clear identity entitled by Hong Kong people. While the British did not grant any citizenship but only travelling documents to the local people, the Communist China also did not have any legal basis to grant Hong Kong people any citizenship, though the latter had already made clear to the British in the early 1980s that it would resume sovereignty over Hong Kong with the expiry of tenancy of New Territories in 1997. Any identification was thus left to a regional and local cultural sense of 'Hong Kong people', rather than having meanings of a national one. The uncertainties associated with a national identity thus arise.

Since the resumption of Hong Kong's sovereignty by China in 1997, national identification with China has been one of the top priorities in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (i.e. Hong Kong SAR) Government's educational policy agenda (CDC, 2002). There was a priority attached by the new administration to promote National Education (Vickers, 2005). Before 1997, Hong Kong people had very few understandings about China, not to mention having any substantial sense of national identification with China. There was some cultural and ethnic sense of being a Chinese, but the political and national identification with China remained low. The resumption of Chinese sovereignty in 1997 necessitated a new development in political identification, i.e. from a British colonial 'subject' to a Chinese national citizen living in a Special Administrative Region of China who enjoys a special status under 'One Country, Two Systems'.

In post-1997 Hong Kong's education, there emerged government-initiated, non-government organization organized or sponsored, as well as school-based National Education programs, activities, seminars, exchange tours, etc. for both teachers and students. Leung and Ngai (2011) concluded that the scope of government's National Education programmes/activities is large and there are plenty of resources to support mainland exchange programmes and produce TV and internet programmes on themes of patriotism, new images and

achievements of China. Broadly speaking, these government's National Education programmes/activities aim at knowledge building and cultivating an ethnic and cultural sense of Chinese national identity among the kindergarten, primary, secondary and even tertiary students.

As for the National Education in schools, they belong to informal learning type (i.e. in contrast to subject-based curriculum) of school-based programmes/activities and exchange tours to China's cities and rural areas, as well as those official National Education programmes and activities organized by the Moral and Civic Education Section of Education Bureau. Overall speaking, the scale and magnitude of National Education programmes in Hong Kong is on an ever-increasing trend since 1997.

There are, nonetheless, some research studies on the phenomenon of promoting National Education in Hong Kong, and they mostly focus on the typologies and implementation of pedagogies of National Education. They provided some indication of how can we conceptualize teaching of National Education in Hong Kong. For example, Leung (2004, 2008) categorized in his observations of teaching of National Education in Hong Kong secondary schools as patriotic and critical-patriots approaches. Fairbrother (2003) found from Hong Kong students' revelation that their teachers regarded topics related to China as too sensitive and not much knowledge about China is being taught. Yet, how teachers characterize and perceive the meanings of national identity and National Education remained largely under-researched, and this study intends to fill this gap of knowledge by contributing some new findings on teachers' perceptions.

The above discussions on developments of national identity issue and National Education in Hong Kong will be returned to in Chapter 2 to 4, which are literature review sections. These two topics cannot be fully explained in terms of Western scholarship but should be made references to Chinese and the local contexts.

1.8 Imperatives of this research study
Studying the theoretical developments of national identity and analyzing the practical curriculum development of National Education with a citizenship education perspective have continued to be one of the focus of my professional

and academic interests since I joined an university level teachers' training institute in 2000. There is also a professional need to recognize how the implementation of National Education will be significantly influenced by the meanings that national identity has for a teaching practitioner.

Certainly, meanings are subjected to change over time, and in teaching, meanings shape practices. The extent and qualities of teachers' understanding shape what and how they teach. There are, of course, other contextual, cultural, and pedagogical factors such as time and resource, curriculum mandates, interactions with students, teaching experience and school culture that influence what and how do they teach (Evans, 2004). However, comparatively speaking, what matters more is the understanding of teachers because in teaching practices, one selects from the knowledge and expertise available, and these can shape what and how is to be taught (Evans, 2004). What and how one thinks influencing how does one teach (Clark & Yinger, 1997). The role of teachers in curriculum implementation also deserves investigation. Stenhouse (1975) argued the need to recognize 'teachers to be central to the curriculum exercise as doers, making judgements based on their knowledge and experience and the demands of practical situations'. Elbaz (1983, p.5) argues that teachers have 'personal practical knowledge' which stems from the integration of a teacher's theoretical knowledge and personal values and beliefs. In other words, little of what teachers do is spontaneously reactive without thinking and selection.

Another imperative in conducting this study regards the conceptual complexities of the intrinsic meanings of national identity and National Education and their lack of clarity being used in Hong Kong's education. Thompson (2001) argues that the role of social interaction in producing and reproducing national identities is virtually obscured. Despite there is a taken-for-granted assumption about the existences of nations and national identities, 'the form, content, and meaning of these categories remain open to individual interpretation and negotiation.' (Thompson, 2001: 24). Therefore, there are good reasons for scholarly attempts to understand and analyzes the meanings of national identity and National Education.

Finally, my own professional involvements in teachers' training of citizenship education in general and National Education in certain school-based

programmes also drive me to explore the theoretical bases and teachers'
perceptions of national identity and National Education. Since 2000, I have been
involved in training courses, programmes or activities on the theories, themes,
topics, issues and practices of citizenship education. These training ranged from
'one-off' one to three hour in-service teacher training workshops, minor and
elective civic education courses in a Bachelor of Education degree, to
government's tender courses on themes of citizenship education. National
identity and National Education, certainly, have figured much among topics of
citizenship education in my professional practice. Therefore, another pushing
force of this study is my professional need to teach national identity and
National Education.

1.9 Contributions of this research study

A research study should be contributing in some way to understanding and
action that can improve social circumstances, and the usefulness of a study
concerns its significance (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Also, a research project
should contribute to knowledge that has been under-explored (Bell, 2010).

It is noted in Chapter 2.5 Research on Hong Kong teachers' national identity that
this study's topic is under-researched. I argue that an understanding on how the
teachers perceive their national identity and their perceptions on meanings and
teaching of National Education could contribute to an informed understanding
about an emerging identity issue in Hong Kong, i.e. the official promulgation and
promotion of a Chinese national identity through National Education after 1997.
The significance of understanding the meanings of national identity in Hong
Kong education, and even to the Hong Kong society, is huge if not over-claiming.
Under 'One Country, Two Systems', Hong Kong has been administrated as a
special administrative region. National identity has become a problematic
question in terms of how a people (i.e. Hong Kong people) living in a place
adjacent to its 'motherland' and following another political and social trajectory,
but nevertheless sharing the same cultural and ethnic bonds with those living in
motherland, are engaging in a political project of fostering a genuine Chinese
national identity but upon which some of them have got reservations.

Putting national identity against global citizenship discussions also form this
study's contribution. Despite it is commonly acknowledged that we are living in
a globalized world, and thus global awareness and concerns are emphasized in

educating future generations, national identity is regarded as a *Priority Value* in Hong Kong's Education Reform (CDC, 2001). Although some non-governmental organizations like Oxfam (Hong Kong) and YMCA in Hong Kong promoted ideas such as 'global education', 'global citizenship', and 'global citizen', the primary and secondary schools, under the political climate of enhancing national identification with China, are supposed to place emphasis on cultivating students' national identity. Hence, the characterizations of research participants' perceptions on national identity and National Education are particularly valuable in this globalized age. Teachers, who as educators, can exert significant influences on future generations' perception on their national identity.

A final note on this study's contribution is that this study can possibly reveal what teachers have done, what they are doing, and possibly, what they will do on National Education in this globalized age. It will be of value to teachers, teachers' trainers, education policy makers, and researchers in education who may use this study's outcome, as they wish, to understand meanings of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong in particular, and making contributions to citizenship education in general. As Patton (2002) argues, no matter they are researchers, policymakers or practitioner, each group assesses the study's integrity using different criteria. Researchers may judge the conceptual framework and rigorous use of methodology, while policymakers want to know if the study addresses important policy concerns and how the results help them make policy and program decisions. For practitioners, they may think about the ways the results may shape their everyday work. Research participants may judge how ethically and sensitively their words and perspectives are portrayed. As yet, how do they understand the findings of this study remains readers' responsibilities.

1.11 Summary of main findings
To recap, this study intends to explore and investigate how national identities and National Education are perceived by the 10 sample teachers. The findings from this study, however, do not attempt to be generalized. Nor does this study claim any representativeness of the whole teacher population.

The findings, however, reveal that under the official proclamation of a single 'Chinese national identity', there are different emphases on research participants' perceptions of national identity. While some teachers perceive

their national identity as 'Chinese from Hong Kong' and some teachers have long been seeing themselves as 'Chinese', others reported an increasing trend of identification with a Chinese national identity, mostly because of their teaching duties of National Education or the rising image and status, and economic development of China in recent decade. This is a significant trend of perception of national identity and it may have implications for understanding the wider picture of how Hong Kong people perceive their national identity after 1997.

The personal, social, and political events have also exerted significant impacts on their perceptions of national identity, although these events are complicated and they are interwoven to a certain extent. The research participants mentioned personal connections with relatives in China, political campaigns and mobilizations in 1960s, the June 4th incident in 1989, economic developments in China, achievements in sports and aerospace technology, poisonous milk incident, politics and political system of China, human rights controversies, and personal reading and reflection, etc. in describing what could impact on their national identity. All these revealed that perceptions of national identity are complex and it would be hard to coin its formation.

The research participants have got diversified perceptions on the meanings of National Education too, as well as the aims, contents, teaching strategies and evaluation methods on it. While many of them emphasized on teaching the national flag and anthem in defining National Education, others define it in terms of having knowledge and understanding developments of China, belonging and identification, concerns about Chinese livelihood, Hong Kong as part of China, and understanding rights and responsibilities as a Chinese citizen.

As for the aims of National Education, there are categories such as learning about Chinese national flag and national anthem, understanding knowledge about China, learning about Chinese politics and political system, fostering a Chinese national identification, making efforts and contributions to the nation, cultivating oneself, developing analytical and critical thinking skills, love of China and Chinese people, and behavioural expectations.

As for pedagogies in teaching National Education, the categories developed include balanced approach, seeing goodness from worse cases, immersion/experiential learning, critical thinking approach and reflective

teaching. Meanwhile, in assessing learning outcomes of National Education, a few of them mentioned assessing their knowledge about China, others mentioned using different assessment method.

In other words, the research participants exhibited diversified meanings, aims of learning, teaching contents, pedagogies and assessment methods of National Education. Their characterisations are discussed with relevant theoretical perspectives, curriculum policy discussions, and pedagogical considerations in this thesis.

Based on the above findings, the researcher would like to argue for a complex, multi-layered and integrated conceptualization of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong, as opposed to any unitary perception of national identity and National Education solely based on ethnic and cultural terms. Also, this study suggested that the Hong Kong SAR's National Educational policy should be undertaken in an inter-connected perspective, taking into account of divergent descriptions and meanings of frontline educators. Finally, the findings reminded teachers' trainers to be wary of the different perceptions on national identity and different meanings of National Education when they engage in teachers' citizenship education training.

1.12 Limitation of this study

First, there are various forms of identities such as self (Vickers, 2005), ethnic, religious, cultural (Smith, 1991; Cogan & Derricott, 1998), familial, local, tribal, social (Heater, 2004), regional (Jackson, Gibb & White, 2006), European (Steiner, 1996), global (Dower & Williams, 2002; Clough & Holden, 1996), and gender (González & Seidler, 2008) identities. These reflect the complexities of the concept of identity. However, they are not the research focus of this study.

Second, although this study addresses perceptions of national identity and National Education, it does not intend to uncover any cause and effect relation between them within each sample teacher. In other words, there is no assumption of either one would cause the other one, given the complexities of human perception and actions which may require longitudinal studies to ascertain any relations between them. The triangulated findings may suggest some linkages between particular sample's perception of national identity and teaching of National Education. However, it is not my intention to uncover any

causal relationship between them.

This study also does not claim any representativeness. It only explores the perceptions of the sample teachers. At most, the present study offers a collection of situated case perceptions in a binding of larger research questions, and it abstains from formal projection to cases that are not examined. Using Stake's (2006) words, this study shows 'how a variety of components and constraints lead to a partly irreducible individualism among the cases. The common and unusual are portrayed, and both are situated in a complex of experience against a local and diverse background' (Stake, 1996: 90). Although the findings from the individual cases and the commonalities across the cases are weak representations of the complete population concerned, these findings can be useful for understanding the population and still unstudied individual cases (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

To recap, this study is exploratory in nature which seeks to explore research participants' perceptions and meanings and it does not intend to give explanations on how their national identities are formed and why they perceive the meanings of National Education as such. Also, the researcher is interested in exploring the cross-case similarities and issues in this multiple-case study research.

Nonetheless, Hakim (2000) reminded that a principal weakness of case studies is that the results can be shaped strongly by the interests and perspective of the researcher. This may affect the reliability of the findings. Thus, the researcher cautious against my professional interests and academic perspectives may affect the findings, discussion, cross-case analysis and conclusion of this study. Inviting checking from the research participants eases such concerns.

1.13 Sections ordering
This dissertation proceeds from an introduction which gives some overall indications to this study. Chapter 2 will be devoted to a review of previous research on national identity of Hong Kong people, while Chapter 3 will be an overview of Hong Kong's education system and in particular, the background of National Education policy in Hong Kong. Next, Chapter 4 discusses the meanings and operationalization of key concepts used in this study, which emerges from the contextual understanding of the previous two chapters. Selection and

justifications on research methods, explanations and justifications on the choice of multiple data collection methods will be explained in Chapter 5. Contextual understanding of National Education in each case and the overall characteristics of sample will be outlines in Chapter 6, while interpretation of findings on data from schools' National Education document analysis, in-depth interviews with the research participants, and observations of school National Education programmes/activities will be given in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, a discussion and exploration on the cross-case findings of this study form the scholarly contributions of this thesis. Finally, the concluding chapter includes some suggestions for further research opportunities. A table of the structure of this thesis is given below.

Table1.3 Section Ordering

Chapter 1	Introduction
Chapter 2	Previous Research on National Identity in Hong Kong
Chapter 3	Background of National Education in Hong Kong
Chapter 4	Meanings and operationalization of the main concepts
Chapter 5	Methodology
Chapter 6	Contextual understanding of National Education in Each Case
Chapter 7	Findings and discussion
Chapter 8	Discussions of Cross-case Issues
Chapter 9	Conclusion

2. Previous Research on National Identity in Hong Kong

This chapter aims at locating academic literature on the understandings and development of Hong Kong people's perceptions of national identity. The understanding about previous works and gaps of knowledge derived from literature review has informed the research aims, research design and research questions of this main study.

The purpose of doing literature review is to obtain an overview of what have been written and discussed about national identity and meanings of National Education in Hong Kong. Thus, it is able to juxtapose previous scholarly discussion to this study's research aims and research questions, and to identify any gaps between literature and the present study. This will, hopefully, demonstrate the researcher's familiarity with what others are doing and ability to analyse previous research critically, in order that further research and exploration can be pursued.

The selection timeframe of literature is both immediate before and after the handover of sovereignty in 1997. A discussion on development of politics in Hong Kong SAR in the present chapter also helps to situate and illuminate the political context of issues of national identity and National Education. The outline of this chapter is:

2.1. Research on perceptions of national identity of Hong Kong people in the immediate years before 1997
2.2. Perceptions on national identity immediately after the resumption of sovereignty by China in 1997
2.3. Politics of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region since 2000
2.4. Research on perceptions on national identity since 2000 – changing sense of local identity
2.5. Research on Hong Kong teachers' national identity

2.1 Research on perceptions of national identity of Hong Kong people in the immediate years before 1997

During the British colonial times before 1997, Hong Kong was depicted as 'predictable, clear, safe and run by a benevolent British administration, and

China as the opposite: chaotic, opaque, with an air of danger, and arbitrarily governed by semi-reconstructed communists (Allen, 1997: xi)'. Hong Kong as a colony was a distinct entity from 'all that over there' (i.e. China). Hong Kong was also depicted as representing the future of China, while China at that time carried the burden of the past (Allen, 1997).

Since the early 1950s, which was shortly after the establishment of People's Republic of China, Hong Kong had adopted a divergent capitalist development pathway as its motherland. It was a development which was built upon capitalist ideologies, western liberal commercial principles, rule of law, freedom of speech and movement, contract law system, and non-interventionist economic policy. The Chinese capitals brought about by the refugees of the P.R.C. establishment helped to develop labour-intensive manufacturing industries, and small and medium size firms which were flexible in their business operations. With the industrialization process in the 1960s, Hong Kong was famous for pioneering of broadcasting and media industries in East-Asia apart from Japan. In social services, there began provision of public housing to relieve the housing needs of poor people, clinics and hospitals which offer medical services to those needed population sector, proliferation of voluntary and social services organizations which filled in the gaps of social services in the society. The government's subsidy of nine-year free and compulsory education, official recognition of Chinese language status, and cracking down on corruption and bribery practices in police and civil service, etc. were all recognizable achievements in the 1970s. All these had created the conditions that are needed for a cosmopolitan city, instead of a Chinese city.

Hong Kong thus embarked on economic-driven, social, but not political developments since 1960s. It emerged as one of Asian economic miracles alongside with that of Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea, which were named as Four Little Dragons. Indeed, manufacturing industries prospered in the 1960s and 1970s, and they marked the great stride of development of Hong Kong. Then, it was followed by the rapid development of service industries in the 1980s, and in particular the financial and tourism industries in the early 1990s. By then, Hong Kong could be described as a colony which was a developing city but had already achieved many economic achievements that many parts of the world were still in the struggle of economic and societal developments.

By late 1960s, the colonial education policy engaged in community building that aimed at cultivating an emerging local identity (Kuah & Fong, 2010). This was triggered by the 1966 and 1967 social disturbances, resulting in curriculum emphases of civic duties and responsibilities, law and order, rather than civil and political rights. According to Lam (2005: 312), 'the aims of many of the activities organized for young people and for community development were explicitly stated as designed to promote public-spirited citizenship.' After the 1966 and 1967 riots, the British colonial government in Hong Kong carried out a series of measures to strengthen its legitimacy. In citizenship, it implemented the City District Office Scheme, improved social welfare services, nurtured a sense of belonging in the people, and developed civic education, which emphasized on duties, responsibilities, law and order.

In the early 1970s, Endacott (1973), however, noted that the Hong Kong Chinese have remained thoroughly Chinese in outlook, loyal to the great Chinese tradition rather than to any particular regime. A localized version of Chinese culture and traditions, so to speak, dominated the daily living despite western ideas and products communicated through the mass media and contacts with the world. Endacott also noted 'the population of Hong Kong has remained divided into a number of clans or communities, all of which have a degree of loyalty from their respective members' (1973: 323). This persistence of Chinese tradition and culture in Hong Kong suggested a stable local Chinese community was present in the shadow of economic takeoff and industrialization based on the model of business contracts and protection of private properties under the western capitalist system since the 1960s. Indeed, the refugees from China were *Han* Chinese originated from different provinces across China, and they brought in different provincial traditions and cultures into Hong Kong. The importance of Chinese tradition and culture should be underscored by any researcher who looks into the social conditions of Hong Kong in the period of 1960s and 1970s.

The local identity issue, nevertheless, has always been a topic of concern among academics. Allen (1997) argued that a local sense of 'Hong Kong Belonger (person)' began to be strengthened since the 1970s when Hong Kong society started to become stable and cohesive after the population influx of the 1950s and 1960s, following from the migration after founding of Communist China in 1949 and the impacts of political movements such as Cultural Revolution in 1966 to 1976 (Allen, 1997). This stabilized local population in the 1970s had brought

immense pressures on social, educational and welfare services from the Hong Kong colonial government, as the people began to perceive Hong Kong as the place where they would stay, not just a temporary settlement escaping from the political turmoil in China. There was also a saying that Hong Kong people should rely on themselves to make economic miracles, and Hong Kong people could make this miracle to a spectacular success as one of the Four Little Dragons in Asia.

The early 1980s were marked by a confidence crisis about the future status of Hong Kong. The story was that Hong Kong Island was ceded to the British in 1842 after the Opium War, with the New Territories later leased to the British for 99 years in 1898. The year of 1997 thus marked the end of the leasing of, at least the New Territories, to the British (Scott, 1989). The future talks on Hong Kong started in the early 1980s between the British and Chinese governments. There were news that some Hong Kong people hoping to cling on the administrative rule by the British but the sovereignty resumed by China. There were also some Hong Kong people wanted to participate in the future talks because they would like to express their concerns and get hold of their future life. These two ideals were, however, dismissed as soon as the future talks get in place, mainly because of the opposition from Chinese who insisted upon the Chinese sovereignty over Hong Kong, and refused to recognize any independent status of Hong Kong. This had dampened the sentiments of Hong Kong people in getting their voices heard. At the same time, rumours started to spread across this tiny city that China might end up with an earlier than expected resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong. This sparked off panic and confidence crisis in fears of political turmoil and campaigns across the border might spill into this tiny city. After rounds of talks between the British and Chinese government, the Sino-British Joint Declaration over the future of Hong Kong was finally signed in December 1984. This marked the concluding chapter of British rule over Hong Kong, and the establishment of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region within China after 1997. Hong Kong people were preparing to be received back into the embrace of the Chinese 'motherland' with an identity of Chinese citizens.

Hong Kong thus began to enter into the transition period, or the process of decolonization, starting from 1984 onwards (i.e. after the signing of Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 and before Hong Kong's reunification with China in 1997). Decolonization is not an easy process, as evidenced in most postcolonial

societies, reconstruction of community or citizen identities is one of the foremost tasks of the newly established postcolonial regimes, which include India, Algeria, and many other colonies in Asia or Africa (Anderson, 1991). During the transition period in Hong Kong, Lau (1998) noted that between 1985 and 1995, there were discernable differences between 'Hong Kongese' in Hong Kong and 'Chinese' in the mainland China on their political and social attitudes, as well as value orientations. These noticeable differences created misunderstanding between the two places, especially in terms of politics and culture. The colonial government also further promoted the subject of civic education in the 1980s in response to the impinging question of Hong Kong's political future (Lam, 2005), which include rights and responsibilities, and citizen's duties.

The 4th June incident in 1989, in which students from many parts of China gathered in Beijing wanting for democratic reform and rallying against rampant official bribery, ended up with military crackdown by the People's Liberation Army of China. This had made the Hong Kong people felt pessimistic after 1997. The flooding of patriotic emotions over the 4th June event and the reactions of Hong Kong people afterwards could be understood as a development of a local sense of identification (Lau, 1998). However, with the military crackdown on the students' democratic movement and the strengthening social control by the Chinese regime afterwards, many Hong Kong people casted their votes on the future by migrating to overseas countries. They wanted foreign passports and living secure for their families. Meanwhile, the decolonization and resinicization (i.e. the process of returning to a sense of Chinese) processes since the 1990s have further led many Hong Kong people to demand democracy (Ma & Fung, 2007) in fears of any undemocratic influences from China.

Approaching 1997, there emerged a sizable portion of splitting Hong Kong families. Some family members stay in a foreign country for securing passport guarantee, while other members continue to work in Hong Kong to earn a living. Splitting identity issue was found in the early 1990s. This was, indeed, an uncertain and turbulent period, and it was marked by counting the years before reunification with a Communist Red China, which stood for uncertainties in personal security, autonomy, ways of living and political institutions.

Turning to Hong Kong's ethnic composition which underline the ethnic identity,

as late as in 1997, the so-called cosmopolitan Hong Kong's population was actually mostly (around 95%) composed of ethnic Chinese, with most of them could be described as Cantonese, a loose label for those parents who emigrated from city of *Guangzhou* and the various counties and villages on both sides of the Pearl River Delta of *Guangdong* province in Southern China (Allen, 1997). Other socio-linguistic groups also existed in Hong Kong which could be traced back to Chinese counties and cities scattered mostly the south and south-east coastal regions of China (Allen, 1997). The majority of ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong before 1997 puts the question of national identity in spotlight, raising questions of the identity after 1997.

Local academic surveys, meanwhile, typically find that about 50 - 60% of the population called themselves as 'Hong Kong Belonger (person)' in the years just before 1997, while the rest 30% usually called themselves as 'Chinese' (meaning from China). The rest either called themselves as both or neither (Allen, 1997). Other studies also pointed to similar findings, with the majority of respondents identifying themselves with 'Hong Kong people' (Wong, 1996; Wong, 1997). Therefore, it can be described that before the handover in 1997, they were inclined to call themselves as 'Hong Kong people' if they were asked about their identity.

The above discussion about identity issue before 1997 raised the question that what would be the impacts of the sovereignty resumption of China on Hong Kong people's perceptions of identity? The followings will shed some light on this question. Meanwhile, given the intricate question of identity issues of Hong Kong people, one of the research questions concerns perceptions of national identity both before and after 1997.

2.2. Perceptions on national identity immediately after the resumption of sovereignty by China in 1997

Reunification with China did not change Hong Kong's society and politics overnight, and so does the national identity of Hong Kong people too. The development in national identity issue could only be described as an evolving process. The Hong Kong SAR government was hindered by the Asian economic crisis in 1998 so that its efforts were put on economic rather than on the nationalistic project side in the first few years after 1997.

There has been some academic research on the perception of national identity among the Hong Kong population since the handover in 1997. After the return of sovereignty in 1997, Lau and Kwan (1998) pointed out that years of separation between Hong Kong and China and the different ways of governance had led to Hong Kong's distinctive socio-economic development and the emergence of an indigenous culture, and in turn, a sense of Hong Kong-centeredness and 'Hongkongese' identity. Choi (2001) notes that most 'Hongkongese' have found the source of their identity in the local 'lifestyle', as experienced by 'grassroots' elements rather than the Chinese or expatriate elites. The local way of life has informed and moulded their identity development, thus giving them a sense of 'Hong Kong people', despite in the ethnic and cultural terms, they usually called themselves as a Chinese. This local identity development would be addressed in this study by asking how the research participants perceive their national identity before 1997 during the in-depth interview.

Meanwhile, some scholars have noted the changing identification of Hong Kong people in the post-1997 period. Since 1997, academics and local university polling centers have conducted opinion surveys on Hong Kong people's sense of national identification with China. Although there are different scales of research, types and numbers of respondents, all these surveys generally suggested that most people living in Hong Kong still considered themselves as 'Hong Kong people rather than Chinese people' in the early days of return of sovereignty (Lee, 2003). This suggested a lingering identification with local ways of lives both immediate before and after 1997. Lin (2002), nonetheless, warned that if Hong Kong people do not have a common or a similar sense of cultural identity and belonging to that of Chinese people on the mainland, and if Hong Kong people's sense of identity resides in a 'mongrel culture', which is developed through a 'chaotic' process of imitation from a variety of sources, the social stability of Hong Kong could be at risk. This in turn could represent a typical argument for patriotic and nationalistic project engineering by government and pro-Beijing government's non-governmental organizations and political parties in Hong Kong. In relation to the study here, there are questions in the interview schedule that ask for the research participants' perception on their national identity now and how did their national identity develop since 1997. Also, there is an interview question on what are the significant events that affect their perception of national identity.

The above discussions, hopefully, tell much about the problematic nature of the national identity of Hong Kong people. It is a complicated issue which has triggered scholarly debates and investigations in the years after the sovereignty change. The significance of conducting the present study could be seen in this light which contributes to the understanding of perceptions of national identity both before and after 1997.

Before reviewing the developments of Hong Kong people's perceptions on their national identity, however, it is also worthwhile to discuss the political development of this tiny city after 1997, which serves to enhance understanding about the political background in which perceptions on national identity and National Education evolve and develop.

2.3. Politics of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region since 2000

This section serves the purpose of casting this study background in a wider picture. The national identity issue and National Education have been tied up with the politics of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong's political system could be described as a consultative autocracy which places enormous efforts on consultation (Cheng, 1997b). But by the time of handover in 1997, Hong Kong society was already deeply divided along line of class, gender and ethnicity, despite these social divisions were temporarily overshadowed by the economic boom of the 1980s and 1990s (Pun & Wu, 2004). Hong Kong was rapidly undergoing transformation into a post-industrial city and enters the global condition at a pace greater than its citizens could have imagined in previous years (Pun & Wu, 2004). Stepping into the first decade of the 21st century, a widening and deep social class structure, social immobility, ongoing issues of identity, increasing cultural and multi-faith diversity, the challenges of globalization, and democratic development concerns since 2000 were at works to shape the unfolding social and political contexts of Hong Kong. The saying that 'as the stratification system becomes increasingly closed, education becomes a more crucial means of social mobility' (Tsang, 1993) is increasingly challenged in this globalized age.

At the top of local politics, the Chief Executive were selected by a committee of 800 prominent political, business, religious, cultural and labour leaders under

the stipulations of mini-constitution of *Basic Law*. But the election method of such 800 people was regarded as undemocratic and favoured by the Central Government of China. Some critics saw this as fallen short of public participation. Meanwhile, the relationship between the Chief Executive and Legislative Council could be described as always in a tension and mutual-mistrust rather than consultation and cooperation. Some plausible reasons are that the former is not chosen from the latter, and that the philosophy of governance of the Hong Kong SAR administration is executive-led, while the legislators argue for balance of powers between executive, legislative and judiciary branches.

The local democracy and social movements which were led by political parties, non-government organizations or on-line discussion groups exhibited tensions with the administration too. Ng (2011) argued that after 1997, Hong Kong people have grasped hold of the civic and political rights granted by the law and regarded freedom as core values. Through rally, petitions and columns writing, they fought for local democracy from the Central Government of China and social justice for the vulnerable minorities in Hong Kong. There have been a number of big controversies arising of tensions between the civil society and the Hong Kong SAR government, which have got implications for developing a sense of local identity, such as:

- Relocation of Star Ferry and Queen's Pier at Central, which are related to the saying of Hong Kong people's 'collective memory' and a local sense of 'Hong Kong people' identity.
- Massive re-development plan of Lei Tung Street (the so-called Wedding Card street) into business shopping mall despite the affected community asking for people's participation and neighbourhood identity in re-development plan. This matters to the building up of a communitarian sense of identity.
- post-1980s generations against the huge sum of money for building a high-speed railway connected with southern China in asserting
- protests to preserve natural sites against large scale real estates, bridges, or other construction development, which are related to 'returning land to people' movement
- Mass rallies on 1st July in each year for democratic elections of Chief Executive and Legislative Council elections, demanding 'power to the people' as their slogan.

The above testified to the unstable relationship and tensions between the administration and the local civil society. The local media such as press and film industries, however, already exhibited elements of self-censorship (Ma, 2007). The editorial shift for some media after 1997 was unambiguous. Since the 1980s, the Hong Kong media had gradually changed their attitude towards the PRC government from non-acceptance to grudging acceptance and then a positive view (Chan & Lee, 1989). After 1997, the editorials of five major newspapers in 1997 showed that the Chinese government was portrayed in a much more positive light than the Hong Kong SAR government (Ma, 2007). Partly because of the huge profits implications in doing and expanding business opportunities in the mainland China, protests or discontents about poor Chinese human rights records and slow political reforms could hardly be found, except a handful of media and newspapers which are sometimes seen as facing difficulties of press autonomy in the post-handover Hong Kong. Instead, a proliferation of pro-Beijing government associations and groups, spanning across politics, business, cultural, women and education, could be found in Hong Kong.

Another major feature of post-colonial politics of Hong Kong SAR government is that speculation of how much influences of China has exerted upon the local politics. Allegations of Chinese political and financial involvements in local district board and legislative council elections after 1997, the police handling of local democratic protests against the Liaison Office of Central Government of People's Republic of China, the interpretation of *Basic Law* in repudiating the 2007/08 universal suffrage of Chief Executive by the Standing Committee of People's National Congress, and the suspected massive mobilization of local pro-Beijing government political parties and groups in against Legislative Council By-election (so-called 'universal suffrage' to express people's desire for Chief Executive and Legislative Council's elections) in 2010, all these add up to concerns about Chinese involvement in the local politics, and the topic of this study, which is about national identity and National Education, also draw speculations that how much Chinese influences have been exerted upon.

Hong Kong politics, however, does not exhibit one-way nationalization by the Chinese influences. The local civil society has developed over the years after 1997, with a sense of local people governing and influencing the local affairs. Leung (2006) reported that a handful of socially and politically active students

have tried to cultivate a democratic culture in other youths. This has represented a politicization of youths in China. Towards National Education, the local society also voiced their serious concerns.

Seeing the above political development in Hong Kong SAR, the national identity and National Education issues are among an array of contested and widely debated political issues in the local community. They were further complicated by the Chinese political factor, of which there have been explicit political messages from the Chinese political leaders to urge the Hong Kong SAR government to cultivate national identity and enhance National Education in this tiny special administrative region.

The followings discuss the changes in perceptions on national identity in Hong Kong since 2000 with an aim to caste a background understanding on the topic of this study, and the importance of conducting this study on teachers' perceptions could be seen by making reference to the controversies of national identity in the wider society.

2.4. Research on perceptions on national identity since 2000 –changing sense of a local identity

Ku and Pun (2004) noted that Hong Kong has been caught in the midst of changing identities since 2000. The nationalistic project by the Hong Kong SAR government created contradictions between the ideas of patriotic subject and civil and political citizens, and between patriotism and a new ethic of self called forth to meet the challenge of globalization. Furthermore, in the national level, Tse (2004) notes there was an acute 'identity problem or crisis' as suggested by the Chinese government and its supporters, which was given rise by a strong local identity and distrust of China, and which resulted in an assertion of Hong Kong identity against a Chinese identity.

With the economic, science and aero-space technology, and sports achievements of China since 2000, however, the national identity issue of Hong Kong people began to have new and significant factors in actions. The grandeur achievements of China, which have caught the eyes of the world (Xu, 2008), have only drawn Hong Kong people closer to China in psychological terms. National achievements certainly contributed to the formation of national pride. A heightened sense of Chinese national identification began to take hold in the

last few years of the first decade of 21st century, especially in view of the paramount achievements in 2004 Athens Olympic Games, 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, 2010 Expo in Shanghai, as well as achievements in the sophisticated aero-space technology. Indeed, sports and nationalism has been tied up in modern China, and participation in sports is used to reimage China to the world (Xu, 2008).

According to the surveys in 1996-2007, Hong Kong people tended to have a good evaluation of their local identity (Ma & Fung, 2007). On items such as 'valuing free speech', 'valuing press freedom', 'valuing privacy', 'valuing equality', 'outspoken' and 'westernized', there is very large gap between Hong Kong people's self-perceptions and their perceptions of mainlanders. Hong Kong people were seen as sensitive to the contrast between the authoritarian Chinese state and a free pluralistic Hong Kong society. On the other hand, there is a convergence in such values as 'ambitious', 'adaptable', 'practical', and 'clever' over these six course of studies from 1996 to 2007. Ma & Fung (2007) concluded that Hong Kong people were being absorbed into the Chinese nation:

> Hong Kong people see themselves as becoming similar to mainlanders in the market and economic domain – just as Hong Kong has had a 'market mentality' for several decades, so too increasingly does the mainland. The latter is not only following capitalistic values in its socialist market economy but also a potential market and financial resource for Hong Kong people.
> (Ma & Fung, 2007: 175)

Ma & Fung (2007) thus argued that Hong Kong people still held a quite distinct local identity between 1996 and 2002, but for at least some characteristics, the identity distance between Hongkongese versus mainlanders was reducing: Hong Kong people by 2002 perceived mainlanders as just as ambitious as Hong Kong people, which is a marked difference from six years earlier. Another marked difference is that in the 2002 survey Hongkongers saw, for the first time, mainland Chinese as being more optimistic than themselves, which reflected Hong Kong's economic downturn as opposed to the booming economy of mainland China. The emergence of a booming Chinese market represents a great attraction to Hongkongers as an easy exit from the widespread pessimism in Hong Kong due to its declining economy in the early years after 1997.

Vickers (2005) argued there was a 'growing and distinctive sense of local identity, with one that is full of contradictions. 'Hongkongese' identity has largely consisted of a sense of pride in the local way of life, and the cosmopolitan sophistication of this 'international city', contrasted with the relative backward and poverty of the mainland' (Vickers, 2005: 75), and 'a set of values that can be characterized as typically middle class and liberal reinforces a desire to maintain Hong Kong's separateness from the mainland, particularly amongst younger generations who have grown up here' (Vickers, 2005: 75).

There are, however, disagreements that Hong Kongese constitutes a distinct 'people'. Lin (2002) claimed that Hong Kong 'culture' is in fact 'a mongrel culture', derived through a 'chaotic' process of 'imitation' from a variety of sources, in which many of them may be foreign. But a common or at least a similar sense of cultural identity and belonging to that of Chinese people on the mainland is needed, since social stability is rest upon it. Hong Kong may develop an independence movement because of this 'mongrel culture', which is assumed to be a bad thing by Lin (2002).

Hong Kong people's identity in the post-handover period is hard to be coined. Carroll (2005) noted the emphasis on the fluidity, borderless, and multiple layers of contemporary Hong Kong people's identity. Yip (2008), a political advisor to the first Chief Executive of Hong Kong SAR government, noted the different levels of identities that existed in Hong Kong, i.e. local, regional, occupational and global identities. Meanwhile, some academic polling studies also pointed to the fluctuating identification with Chinese national identity among the respondents (Yip, 2008), in particular there are significant divisions of Hong Kong people in describing themselves in national term. The polling study by the *Public Opinion Programme (POP)* of the University of Hong Kong's in 2007 found that 32% of respondents describing themselves as 'Chinese Hong Kongese', 23 % 'Hong Kongese', 26% 'Chinese', and 17% 'Hong Kong Chinese', which showed not many significant differences with the results done half a year before in 2006 (*Wenweipo*, 27/6/2007). This result showed a complicated picture of Hong Kong people's identification. Yet, in some instances, there was a surge of respondents identifying themselves with 'Chinese', especially when there were nationalistic pride events such as the first Chinese astronaut in 2003, Beijing Olympics in 2008, the first astronaut outer-space walking in 2008. Also, incidents involving Chinese diplomatic assistances to Hong Kong people could

also contribute to a Chinese national identification. For example, the tragic incident of Hong Kong people taken as hostages and finally killed in the Philippines and the subsequent mediating efforts by Chinese foreign embassy in 2010 had increased the immediate sense of national identification of Hong Kong people, according to the news.

In concluding the survey results on local and national identifications conducted in 1996 to 2006, Ma & Fung (2010) noted that more and more Hong Kong people claimed a mixed identity and seeing themselves as Hongkongers and Chinese. For example, the most significant category of identification has been the category 'Hongkongers but also Chinese', which was claimed by 38.1% of respondents, and 'Chinese but also Hongkongers' was claimed by 21.2% in 2006, which added up to almost 60% of respondents of the 2006 survey in the categories of a double identification as both Hongkongers and Chinese. It seemed to suggest their perceptions of Hong Kong-mainland differences are disappearing in terms of economic values but are still conspicuous in terms of political values. The binary mapping of China and Hong Kong has become inappropriate 'since the identity boundary between Hong Kong and China was blurred and complicated by the de facto return of Hong Kong to China' (Ma & Fung, 2010:174). Ma & Fung (2010) also concluded that Hong Kong people identify themselves with the cultural and historical aspects of their national identity more, while political identification remained weak.

Overall speaking, judging from the above scholarly analyses and public opinion surveys which showed a fluctuating and mixed national identification of Hong Kong people, the national identity issue in Hong Kong could said to be evolving. This fluctuation in national identification among Hong Kong people, if viewed as a continuum before and after 1997, could be understood as efforts searching for an identity after the change in sovereignty. These assertions illuminated trends worthy for the analyses and discussion. Thus, this study prompted the research participants to elaborate on their meanings of national identity, and the change of perceptions on their national identity.

2.5 Research on Hong Kong teachers' national identity
As seen from above, there were some studies about how the general population of Hong Kong perceive their national identity. Yet how do the teachers, who have got significant professional roles in cultivating the national identity of Hong Kong's future generations, perceive national identity and the way they teach

about National Education are, by and large, under-researched.

Some scholarly studies, indeed, analyzed how teachers teach National Education, such as Lee (2004a) found that teachers generally agree that teaching about national hero is an important means to enhance students' national identity and they reported that hero and role models are taught in Chinese history classes. The teaching methodology used is, however, introducing ways of assessing both the merits and demerits of national hero. Meanwhile, Leung (2008) studied on the typologies adopted by the Hong Kong secondary school teachers in teaching National Education and concluded with 'cosmopolitan and civic nationalism', 'cultural nationalism', and 'totalitarian nationalism' approaches. These represented different teaching orientations and epistemologies in teaching National Education. There were also studies on the curriculum role of nationalistic education in Hong Kong. Leung (2004, 2008) described the National Education in the 2000s as 're-politicized' the once 'de-politicized' civic education curriculum shortly after the handover in Hong Kong (Leung, 2004a, 2008). On the student' perception of their identity, Yeung & Leung (1992) found that Hong Kong youths held great distances from China while retaining a strong sense of Hong Kongese before 1997. Even Yuen & Byram (2007) also found from their teachers' sample that many students believe that they are Hong Kongers even after 1997. Discontent with the administration under the First Chief Executive Tung Chee Hwa was influential in undermining the development of national identity among the students.

While these academic discussions can contribute to understand how teachers teach National Education and how students perceive their national identity, the researcher in this study would like to contribute to a scholarly understanding of the perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education by Hong Kong secondary school teachers. Filling a gap of knowledge would be the major contributions of the study here.

The following chapter will discuss the context of National Education policy in Hong Kong, which aims at locating the education development of Hong Kong in general, and the origin and development of National Education policy and curriculum in particular.

3. Background of National Education in Hong Kong

The intent of this chapter is to locate the background of Hong Kong education system in general, and the development of National Education policy in Hong Kong secondary schools in particular. This helps to expose the educational context in which the topic of this study evolves and unfolds, and to serve justifying the needs and importance of the present study.

The researcher search the library of Hong Kong Institute of Education by looking into authored and edited books on topics and themes of Hong Kong civic and citizenship education, in particular in relation to national identity and National Education, as well as conducting keyword searches on the research database such as Academic Search Premier and ERIC to locate the peer-reviewed journal articles that specifically discuss the background of National Education in Hong Kong. The researcher is also interested in journal articles in the social science citation index based on their general scholarly reputation, and their particular concern with citizenship education or related fields. Indeed, it would be a search of the relevant literature that fills in one's knowledge of the subject and learning what others have said about it (Babbie, 2010). This chapter of descriptive materials will form the basics of conceptual understanding in the following chapter 4 – Meanings and operationalization of the main concepts. The structure of this chapter is:

3.1 Relevance of main research questions to Hong Kong education
3.2 Education system in Hong Kong after 1997
3.3 The macro-policy level: education reform & controversial education issues
3.4 An overview of civic education and perceptions on citizenship in Hong Kong
3.5 Policy agenda of National Education after 1997
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    review and the context of Hong Kong's education
3.7 Hong Kong SAR Government's promotion of National Education since the early
    2000s and the societal responses
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Education

3.11 Schools in responding to the government's callings of National Education

3.1. Relevance of main research questions to Hong Kong's education

This research study, to recap, explores and investigates the perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education as perceived by a sample of Hong Kong secondary school civic education teachers, and it contains the following eight main research questions:

● <u>Perceptions on National identity</u>

1. How do Hong Kong secondary school teachers perceive the meanings of national identity?

2. Based on their memories, how did they perceive their national identity before the Chinese resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997?

3. How do they perceive their national identity now?

4. Based on their memories, how did their perceptions on their national identity develop since 1997?

5. What are the significant personal, political or social events informing their national identity development since 1997?

● <u>Perceptions on teaching of National Education</u>

6. What are their understandings and meanings of National Education?

7. What do they think about National Education's aims and content should be?

8. How do they think National Education should be taught with regard to pedagogies and the evaluation methods?

Indeed, the topics of national identity and National Education have puzzled the educational community of Hong Kong since the return of sovereignty in 1997. An obvious and important feature of the National Education programmes in Hong Kong is that they constitute a nationalistic movement emerging after 1997 with clear aims of cultivating Chinese identification, which was certainly unprecedented given the previous colonial rule when Hong Kong was 'governed by broadly democratic values but institutionally undemocratic' (Davies, 1983: 103). The gaining of a Chinese national citizenship after 1997, however, has not

followed naturally with a spontaneous Chinese national identification. The British colonial rule had left Hong Kong people neither a sense of legitimate identification with the British, nor did they have any sense of Chinese national identification even though they are Chinese in ethnic terms. After the resumption of sovereignty by China, the Hong Kong SAR government has reiterated that there is a political need to foster a national identification with 'Chinese' among the local Hong Kong Chinese population (Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010). Therefore, the government embarked on cultivating national identification both in the society and in education.

The following section first discusses the education system of Hong Kong in general to situate the educational background for readers of this dissertation. Then, the education reform initiatives starting from 2000 will be briefly discussed before examining the specific policy initiative of National Education, which is amongst the topic of this study.

3.2 Education system in Hong Kong after 1997

Cheng (2011) described Hong Kong's education in the pre-1997 period as a pyramid in which schools were characterised by competitive examinations and only those successful could be survive after Form 5 secondary education. Cheng (2011) also the social change was slow in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, with cycles of societal changes lasted longer. Casting into the larger picture, Hong Kong was regarded as the forefront zone under the British colonial rule where 'the East meets the West'. Yet, the Chinese ethnicity and cultural traditions were allowed and promoted by the British administration in order to restrain the spillover of modern Chinese nationalism and political ideologies (Kuah & Fong, 2010). The education system was one of the key agents that impacted on the formation of collective identities in Hong Kong.

With 1997 approaching, the speciality about the sovereignty transition of Hong Kong was that it differed from most other colonial transitions in Asia and Africa because it occurred at the end of the 20th century rather than earlier, i.e. in the heydays of decolonization after the World War II. The temporal situation of Hong Kong after 1997 is certainly different from other colonies in the 1950s and 1960s. Hong Kong did not see a drastic change in its various institutions during the transition. In describing the change of the contextual educational background, Oliver (1996: 3) comments could be applied on Hong Kong's

educational context that 'change can be viewed as simply a continuous process of evolution, whereby transition is part of the normal sequence of events. There may well be times of greater change and less change, but generally an organization or educational system is perceived as being in a state of natural flux'. In line with this argument, a smooth transition of education system was, modestly speaking, evidenced in Hong Kong in the immediate transition years.

After 1997, Hong Kong's educational system has basically remained the same as the last days of British rule, which could be characterized by open to all at the foundation, but competitive in study places as student moving upward (Cheng, 1997a). It was also characterized by selection principle for university education rather than an equalitarian principle. Parents have very high expectations on their students to get high marks in the secondary schools, so that their siblings can get a place in the university and as an unique route for upward social mobility (Cheng, 1997a). Bond (1991) also noted the parents' influences on their children in studying. Doing well in examinations, homework is supervised and extended for a long period, tutors are hired, and socialization is largely confined to family outings are some examples of parents' influences in Hong Kong. Parents in Hong Kong regard education as the proper and unique route for upward social mobility (Cheng, 1997a) too. Teachers working in this type of education system are, as could be expected, under significant high pressures to produce public examination results, in order that their schools could attract high quality students.

In school establishments, the number of secondary schools in Hong Kong remained relatively stable during the transition years both before and after 1997, with 468 secondary schools at the time of the resumption of Chinese sovereignty in 1997. The total students population numbered, however, showed a steady decline since 1998 because of the low birth rate of Hong Kong, while that of Chinese mainland people giving birth in Hong Kong saw a relatively increasing trend. As at 2000/01, there were 458 secondary schools, while it had increased to 499 in 2008/09 (see Table 3.1 below). It should be noted that there had been a substantial increase of Direct Subsidy Scheme schools in Hong Kong, in which privately run schools are given greater autonomy in their choice of curriculum, management and staffing issues if they can fulfil government standards of class size and teacher quality. However, the school's fees in direct subsidy schools are usually higher and more variations are found between them.

Nonetheless, parents in Hong Kong have showed a stronger preference for Direct Subsidy School because of their higher status than subsidy schools, and the seemingly success in helping the students to achieve better results in public examinations. Other types of schools include Government schools which are run by the Education Bureau. The teachers enjoy civil servants status and thus a better remuneration package. The Aided schools are sponsored by various educational, religious, charitable, provincial or professional bodies with financial assistances from the government on a yearly basis and being accountable on that. Other sponsoring bodies include associations from people coming from a specific county in China, business, trading or management associations, families in commemorating a deceased member, alumni of education bodies, etc. Aided schools can, however, opt out of the government aided mode by joining the Direct Subsidy Scheme. Indeed, there have been a noticeable number of secondary schools did so since 2000 (Adamson & Li, 2004) because of wanting more autonomy in curriculum and use of expenditure.

Table 3.1 Number of Different Types of Secondary Schools in Hong Kong

Type	Number of schools as at 2000/01	Number of schools as at 2008/09
Government	37	35
Aided	363	367
Capitulated Aided	9	4
Direct Subsidy Scheme	25	60
Private	24	33
Total	458	499

Table 1. Number of secondary schools in Hong Kong after 1997

Source:

Replies to Legislative Councillor, Secretary of Education, Education Bureau, Hong Kong SAR Government (http://www.cheungmankwong.org.hk/question/q090114-1.html)

Another development that would possibly affect the student numbers is the impact of mainland Chinese pregnant mothers who has chosen to give birth in Hong Kong since 2008. According to the *Basic Law* of Hong Kong, anyone who is ethnic Chinese in origin and was born in Hong Kong is entitled to the right of abode. This has sparked off a large number of Chinese pregnant mothers coming

to Hong Kong and created a pressure on the capacities of public and private hospitals. While the impacts on the health sector have already been seen, the impacts on education has not yet floated up since these locally born Chinese babies were still very young and whether they choose to exercise their rights to education in Hong Kong is an unknown.

As for the educational missions of local schools, the publicly funded schools, which include all but Private schools, followed the official aim as stated in the cover page of *Education Commission Report No. 7* (1997):

> School education should develop the potential of every individual child, so that our students become independent-minded and socially-aware adults, equipped with the knowledge, skills and attitudes which help them to lead a full life as individuals and play a positive role in the life of the community.

What can be discerned from the above paragraph are emphasis on individualism and students' well-roundness. However, during implementation, this intended curriculum faces the parents' demands of seeing schooling as mainly achieving results and grades in public examinations and gaining access to tertiary education (Adamson & Li, 2004). The consequence is an implemented curriculum with strong academic orientation and subject boundaries, examination performances, result reports and homework (Adamson & Li, 2004). Thus, the parents and public examinations have exerted influences on the implemented curriculum in Hong Kong.

In school subjects, the Chinese language, English language and Mathematics usually received significant share of bulletin boards and lesson time, while General Studies (primary school) or PSHE Key Learning Areas (secondary school) received lesser shares. This may reflect an academic inclination towards Chinese and English languages and Mathematics in Hong Kong secondary schools (Cheng, 1997a). The education system is characterized by interim subject test and final examinations, with a high expectation on the academic achievements of language subjects. But this inclination maybe changed given the importance placed on Senior Secondary Liberal Studies which had been introduced in 2009/10. Also, the topics of this study, i.e. national identity and National Education, can also be expected to be been given more emphasis by the Hong Kong SAR government in the future. In fact, since Liberal Studies contains

learning elements of China, it has been linked up with teaching of national identity, i.e. National Education. In Liberal Studies, students are required to study Hong Kong people's sense of national identity, while considering their local and global identity (Yuen & Byram, 2007). The introduction of Liberal Studies has created high hopes for cultivating competent future generations who can conduct independent enquiry studies, analyze topics and issues from different perspectives, and form their own judgement based on reasons.

Regarding to the general perceptions on teaching mode in Hong Kong, it is usually regarded as focusing on teaching declarative knowledge to the students (Biggs & Watkins, 1995), out of practical constraints of cost and benefits of large class size. Direct instruction mode is also commonly found across Hong Kong's classrooms, with flavours of 'transmission' or 'content-driven'. 'Chalk and talk' is also a common teaching approach (Leung, 2004b; Print, 1999; Watkins & Biggs, 2001). Essential knowledge and skills are seen as fixed and to be passed on from one cohort to the next cohort of students. Curriculum is also seen as in terms of fairly limited number of academic subject-based disciplines delivered by the teacher, with the requisite expert knowledge, to the student (Miller & Sellar, 1985). Students are often depicted as passive recipient of knowledge. Teaching with this transmission of knowledge orientation emphasized on mastery of content and basic skills (e.g. classroom lecture, reading contents, copying notes, practise or drill skill activities). Yet, Watkins & Biggs (2001) suggested that the tightly orchestrated teacher-centered teaching in Chinese learning context could still allow students to be active even in large classes, and that western teaching innovations such as constructivist teaching methods and problem-based learning were found to work well with Chinese learners if carefully implemented. Meanwhile, Chan (2008) found that Chinese pedagogies were not easily stereotyped and rather, they emerged in response to changing educational contexts and to changing demands on teaching and learning. Such pedagogies found in Chinese learning contexts, with a focus on knowledge, draw the researcher's attention to ask about research participants' perception on pedagogies of National Education in this study.

Entering into the education reform era since 2000, Lee (2005) found that Hong Kong teachers' responses to the characteristics of citizenship education placed significant emphasis on knowledge of current events. The knowledge transmission feature of Hong Kong's classroom necessitates further discussion.

The classroom learning environment is viewed primarily as a location, using the classification of Miller & Sellar (1985), where important content is transmitted from the teacher to the student (Miller & Sellar, 1985). Rules for class behaviour are usually top-down and desks are often organized in rows to ensure that teacher can directly address students and that interruptions by other classmates can be minimized. The task of the classroom learning is to repair deficits or gaps in students' understandings and that particular didactic studies will transmit information to the students usually by means of words. These teaching orientations, indeed, may have implications on the future implementation of Moral and National Education in Hong Kong. Bulletin boards in the classroom is also organized by the subject teachers and most often convey important course content knowledge or students' works that reflect main area of learning. Therefore, this study also examines school's National Education documents in order to obtain data on how teachers perceive teaching of national identity.

As for teaching plans, resources and materials used in the classroom teaching, Hong Kong secondary schools teachers relying mostly upon the textbooks and their accompanied multi-media resources, published by the privately run publishers companies, and sometimes videos produced by the private broadcasting companies or government's educational bodies. A promising trend, however, is that many school teachers are now developing their school-based teaching plans and materials in different Key Learning Areas and subjects. The political implication of using the private publishers' textbooks, however, was that the Hong Kong SAR government advised the publishers to observe 'One China' policy as a Chinese nationalistic imperative. This meant the contents of textbooks should only recognize the People's Republic of China as representing the sovereign 'China', and not to fall into any recognition of Taiwan as representing 'China'. This also resulted in students' learning much more about China than Taiwan.

On the other hand, towards Hong Kong's textbook markets, the publishers publish subject textbooks largely in accordance with curriculum guidelines set out by the Curriculum Development Council, which is an semi-official body composed of education officials, tertiary education experts, principals, teachers and representatives of school's sponsoring bodies. Though the government's subject curriculum guideline is not statutory, but closely adherence to curriculum guideline by the publishers is expected. Therefore, for the sake of

political correctness and in fear of any government's criticism, no mention of 'Taiwan' can be expected in any textbook after 1997, and 'China' refers solely to the People's Republic of China. Meanwhile, we still could expect school-based teaching plans and materials on National Education would be used by Hong Kong secondary school teachers, as at the time of writing this thesis in 2009-10, the government has not yet finalized the curriculum guideline for Moral and National Education.

Turning to assessment, Biggs & Watkins (1995) suggest that there are two major approaches to assessment: assessing for selection and assessing for the effects of education. While the former is based on the assumption that students have fixed abilities, assessing educational outcome is based on the assumption that students change through learning. In Hong Kong, testing for selection has been more widespread (Biggs & Watkins, 1995). Assessment practices primarily aim to assess knowledge acquisition, conceptual understanding, and skills development, such as listening, reading, speaking and writing skills in language subjects, inter-personal communication, problem solving, inquiry, decision making, collaboration, information technology, self-management, discipline, and study skills in PSHE learning area. In certain secondary schools, teaching emphasizes on critical thinking and creative thinking across subjects too. Content quizzes, data response, short answer tests (e.g. fill in the blanks, matching, multiple choice, short question), as well as long questions are usually adopted in Hong Kong schools as assessment practices, although portfolio assessment, reflective journals and e-portfolio, etc. are increasingly used by some primary and secondary schools too. In short, summative assessment rather than formative assessment is the prevalent mode of assessment adopted by local secondary school teachers, although in recent years, schools are changing their assessment culture by adopting some formative assessment modes across different subjects.

In fact, although the education authority (CDC, 2001) has pointed to the need of cultivating generic skills and attitude such as critical thinking, collaborative learning and problem solving skills with the onset of education reform in the early 2000s, prevalent teaching aims written across subjects and learning areas in Hong Kong schools still focus on knowledge learning. It may have much to do with the pressures of Hong Kong public examinations, which results in an examination-oriented teaching orientations and school culture. A concern with

examinations makes transmission an acceptable delivery of instruction (Almonte-Acosta, 2010).

3.3 The macro policy level: education reform & controversial educational issues
This section discusses specifically on the initiatives and policies adopted in Hong Kong's education reform. Hong Kong's education, alongside with education reform worldwide, has undergone major reforms with a number of new educational initiatives since the late 1990s and well into the years of 2000s.

First, reading to learn, information technology, project learning, and moral and civic education are put as *Four Key Tasks* in the education reform. The introduction of interdisciplinary subjects such as General Studies in primary schools and Integrated Humanities in secondary schools, which include learning of China and the cultivation of a Chinese national identity, and a clear designated school's medium of instruction policy (i.e. either English medium or Chinese medium) have great implications on students' learning. All these aimed at, according to the Hong Kong SAR government saying, enhancing the competitiveness and sophistication of the local education system, especially under the globalization era in which world-wide competition and market forces drive the demands on the training needs of the students.

These new educational initiatives meant that schools were given extra government subsidies to implement them. Funding for enhancing English language proficiency, staff development training courses on various professional development and curriculum initiatives, refurnishing schools' library collections, infrastructure development for information technology and teaching aids, government district offices' school-based professional supports to develop project learning and other new initiatives, curriculum resources for civic, moral and national education, etc. could be found in the immediate years after 2000. Government's funded project on school-based project learning on theme of Chinese national identity or topics of China could also be found. In addition, there are nine *Generic Skills* which aimed at cultivating transferrable skills such as communication, problem-solving, collaborative, creativity, critical thinking, information technology, self-management, discipline, and study skills, etc. Therefore, since 2000, schools have been busying themselves with training and cultivating students' generic skills, which could be part of a subject or as a stand-alone learning opportunity for the students. On the other hand, teacher

professional development is also increasingly recognized. For example, teachers are requested to fulfil certain amount of professional development hours by joining seminars, training workshops and experience sharing sessions organized by government, school-based, or professional education bodies.

Other curriculum reforms include the introduction of General Studies subject in primary school since 2002, which is an inter-disciplinary subject incorporating learning contents about China's geography, history, society, culture, population and ethnic minorities, and traditional arts. This subject has a specific Strand on 'Identification of National Identity and Chinese Culture', and fostering identification of Chinese national identity is one of its curriculum aims. The junior secondary has got topics of Chinese government and politics in subjects such as Social Studies and Integrated Humanities. In senior secondary, subjects such as the phasing out Integrated Humanities and Government and Public Affairs, and the newly introduced Liberal Studies subject in the new Secondary 4 to 5 (from 2009/10 onwards) contain topics and discussion questions about China. The Liberal Studies asks the students to learn about and discuss origins, achievements and challenges of economic reform in China, Communist Party political structure, modern day Chinese people's living, culture in modern China, the differences between rural and urban areas in China, technological developments, etc. All these learning elements aim at enhancing students' understanding about different aspects of China, and to foster a sense of Chinese national identity. It should be noted, however, the coverage about Chinese government and politics are fewer than those of Chinese culture and geography across different subjects in primary and secondary schools. Indeed, Lee (2004a) found that where national identity is treated in Hong Kong schools, it is usually covered from the perspective of cultural identity, rather than political identity.

Although the overall educational system in Hong Kong is relatively stable, as with most other places, there are still controversial issues. One of controversial issues in Hong Kong's education, which is related to the present study, was the mother-tongue education policy, or medium of instruction policy. This policy called for greater use of Chinese language as medium of instruction across subjects starting from the school year of 1998. Chinese-medium education outside China, as it was found in Singapore in the post-war decades, has the effects of building up a sense of identity of the Chinese-educated (Borthwick, 1998). It may be plausible that this mother-tongue education policy in Hong

Kong could raise the status of Chinese language, and it also aided the overall nationalistic project of Hong Kong SAR government after 1997.

The introduction of Liberal Studies in the new Senior Secondary School starting from 2009/10 could be regarded as another controversial issue in Hong Kong. This new and compulsory subject is basically an integrated and interdisciplinary study that emphasizes on using multiple perspectives and issue-inquiry skills to explore issues across spheres of individual, family, community, Hong Kong, China, and the world. The learning themes cover personal development, interpersonal development, local culture and heritage, cultural exchange, society development, Hong Kong and Chinese politics and democratic development, science progress, human impacts on environment, technological advances, public health and hygiene. With its contents about modern China and Chinese economic reform, learning objectives of cultivating a Chinese national identity could be found and thus contributing to National Education.

The accompanying change in integrated and inter-disciplinary curriculum in junior secondary is the planned introduction of Life and Society subject in 2012/13, which has its contents modelled on the senior secondary Liberal Studies. This subject focuses learning on personal and social domains. The government's curriculum planners intend to develop inquiry skills and integrated thinking among the junior form students, so that they will have a solid foundation of inquiry capabilities. Same as Liberal Studies, the Life and Society subject also has got topics and discussion issues about China, and thus it could be regarded as a subject which will assist in the cultivation of Chinese national identity among the junior secondary school students. The educational community, however, expressed their concerns that the Hong Kong SAR government is doing everything to put in elements about China in the school education at the expenses of developing the global concerns of the students. Students may become a nationalistic and patriotic person rather than having a global awareness (Leung & Ngai, 2011). This may not be conducive to a whole-person development in the sense of personal attributes and civic awareness.

Finally, another major education reform initiative, which also related to the topic of this study, is that from the school year of 1998/1999 onwards, Putonghua, the official language of China on top of different regional dialects,

was formally introduced in all primary and secondary schools as a language subject. Same as many postcolonial societies, language always connected with building up a national identity (Lam, 2005). Putonghua as a language subject had been offered in some primary and secondary schools as early as in the late 1980s, with an aim of fostering communication interchanges within the Greater China region, which include Putonghua able-speaking Chinese communities in China, Singapore, Malaysia, and Mandarin spoken in Taiwan. The post-1997 Putonghua policy serves to further enhance the language proficiency and promotes the mastery and usage of this Chinese national language in Hong Kong's education. In fact, there had been voices which call for wider use of this national language as medium of instruction in Hong Kong. Indeed, there has been an increasing trend of using Putonghua as the medium of instruction in teaching of Chinese Language in some secondary schools (Tsao, 2006), which was originally taught in the local dialect of Cantonese. The political implication of teaching this national language policy is that it may gradually supersede Cantonese as the medium of instruction in most non-English subjects in Hong Kong, and this certainly contributes to the national unification between China and Hong Kong.

3.4 An overview of civic education and perceptions on citizenship in Hong Kong

The term of civic education, or political education, as suggested by Tse (1999), carry denotative, descriptive and normative meanings, and they are often used interchangeably with other terms including moral education, citizenship education, civics, political literacy, political indoctrination, and nationalistic education in Hong Kong education. In nation-states, which are the dominant political communities in the world, political education is commonly tied closely with 'citizenship' education. That is also why political education is also commonly called civic education or citizenship education (Tse, 1999).

In Hong Kong's education, the official discourse of civic education practices of the Hong Kong SAR government after 1997 was part of 'repoliticizing' Hong Kong as a result of the political need of promoting nationalism (Lam, 2005; Leung, 2004a). The government has endeavoured to cultivate nationalism as a part of citizenship and to experiment with various constitutive stories of a Hong Kong identity that caters to its governance needs (Lam, 2005), which included the *Lion Rock Myth* and the economic theme of self-reliance that have

contributed to the economic success and societal development of Hong Kong in the past few decades. The Lion Rock Myth was embedded with nostalgic feelings, praise of traditional values, such as hard work, mutual help and tolerance, and a community spirit believed to underpin Hong Kong's economic takeoff in the 1970s (Lam, 2005). These have enhanced local identification through some appealing icons that invoked people's feelings and experiences in the economic success era in the 1970s and 1980s. Chou (2010) also suggests that Hong Kong people's identities are strongly connected with a cinematic impression, which described Hong Kong people as efficient, smart and able to make a fortune. All these have contributed to a sense of identification among the local community.

Meanwhile, the concepts of national identity and National Education have been controversial to any observer in Hong Kong's politics and education, and they are particularly related to civic education in Hong Kong. Tse(1999) argued that civic education aroused much public concern in Hong Kong during the transitional period, i.e. the mid-1980s following from the Sino-British talks over the future of Hong Kong. A number of curriculum guidelines on civic and moral education were issued by the colonial Hong Kong government in view of developing Hong Kong's society and politics. These curriculum guidelines are:

- *Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools* (1981)
- *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (1985)
- *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (1996)

These curriculum guidelines spelled out the aims, objectives, topics, themes, questions and issues that are recommended to be included in moral and civic education curriculum. On the pedagogical side, they recommended activity based (1981, 1985), valuing approach, information approach, inquiry approach, participatory and controversial issues (1996) as teaching methods. As early as in the *Guidelines* in 1985, it already stated that if free and informed discussion is encouraged and pupils are given the opportunity to reach conclusions based on balanced, objective appraisal of the evidences, the teaching approach will be less likely to be regarded as indoctrination. Furthermore, these *Guidelines* also recommended the schools to put elements of civic and moral education across subjects, thus an immersion approach was advocated. It should also be noted that the *Guideline* in 1996 mentioned the need to cultivate participatory and democratic citizens (Fok, 1998). If we take into account that it was announced

shortly before the handover of Hong Kong to China, the political implications of cultivating a participatory and democratic citizen deserved notice. But the *Guideline* in 1996 lacked discussion about national sovereignty as a conceptual framework, especially the nature of republic. This is a shortfall in nation-building concept (Tsang, 1996).

In relation to the study here, national identity was first addressed in the 1985 *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools*, specifically in the sections entitled 'the individual and society(Hong Kong)' and 'the individual and the nation' (Lee, 2004a: 68), in topics such as:

- sense of belonging to Hong Kong (p. 28)
- appreciation for the cultural heritage of Hong Kong (p. 28)
- sense of national identity and belonging (p. 30)
- love for the nation and pride in being Chinese (p. 30)
- respect for Chinese culture and tradition (p. 30)

National identity was again addressed in the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools*. The *1996 Guidelines* was reviewed with an aim to equip students to prepare for the transition to Hong Kong SAR (Hong Kong SAR Government, 1997). National identity became a hot issue with the handover of sovereignty approaching in 1997. Some major questions concerning the implementation of national identity in *1996 Guidelines* include (Lee, 2004a: 68):

- The second generation in Hong Kong has developed a Hong Kong identity, but the call for a Chinese identity emerged because of reintegration with China. In Hong Kong, there were people who long for such an identity, but there were also people who have a stronger identification as a Hong Konger.
- The issue is more complicated since a large number of Hong Kong people obtained overseas passports, mostly from Australia, Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. This dual citizenship added to the complications of national identity.
- An issue that came up during the consultation period preceding the 1996 *Guidelines on Civic Education* was a controversy over the definition of citizenship. Some contended that Hong Kong needed to move from urban (regional) citizenship to national citizenship. Others insisted that Hong Kong

people also needed a global perspective.

In the final years of the British colonial rule in Hong Kong, the need of strengthening civic education, which was thought to be including National Education and political education, was raised in the Legislative Council by Legislator Alfred Tso Shiu-Wai below:

> I would like to ask, Mr. Governor, whether the Government could expeditiously make civic education (including national education and political education) one of the compulsory subjects in the secondary curriculum so as to instil into our young generation a stronger sense of belonging... (Legislative Council meeting record, 12th May 1994)

After 1997, the Hong Kong SAR government intends to cultivate the Chinese national identification of the present population as well as the future generations through a nationalistic project. Since the People's Republic of China has been suspicious of the democratization of Hong Kong, the decolonization of Hong Kong was accompanied by a rising agenda in nationalism, and a weak version of democratization (Leung & Yuen, 2009). The Hong Kong SAR government officially stressed that it was necessary for Hong Kong younger generations to develop Chinese national identification so that they can grasp the golden chances created by the economic surge of China. With a nationalistic image of a 'good citizen' and an aim to facilitate the building of a new collective identity, the first Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive Tung Chee-Hwa said:

> we must step up civic education so that our youngsters will have a better understanding of China, the Chinese culture and history, the concept of 'One Country, Two Systems' and the *Basic Law*. Through better understanding, we hope to inculcate in them the passion and the concern for China, the pride of being Chinese, and a constant readiness to contribute towards the well-being of not just Hong Kong but the entire country. (Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive, 1998)

The First Chief Executive also used constitutive stories to build up citizen identity by invoking the neo-Confucianism and Asian values as values which should be

reaffirmed and respected in Hong Kong (Lam, 2005). The government's reiteration on the needs of national identification was always crouched in nationalistic and economic tones, thus facing some critics from democracy and human rights camps.

The Education Bureau and the Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education of the Home Affairs Bureau are responsible for promoting civic education in schools and community respectively. The Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education was established in 1986 and its primary aim is to promote civic education in the wider community. Shortly after 1997, this Committee was granted 8 million Hong Kong dollars to promote Basic Law. It also promoted various themes of civic education, which included respect for human rights, equal opportunities and good citizenship in order to instill a sense of belonging to Hong Kong, concern for the motherland (Hong Kong SAR Government, 1998: 146, 163). The need to strengthen civic education was also echoed by pro-Beijing government political parties and groups in the Legislative Council. A statement from Mr. Kennedy Wong, a legislator of pro-Beijing government political party was quoted as saying below:

> I think, for the Government, the immediate strengthening of
> civic education is a pressing matter of the moment. As is known
> to all, foundation has to be laid properly before a democratic
> government can be developed, and this foundation is built on
> civic education. The Chief Executive's Policy Address also states
> that our long-term goal is to elect the Chief Executive and all
> Members of the Legislative Council by universal suffrage. In view
> of this, we have to urge the Government to stipulate that civic
> education courses must be compulsory from primary school
> onwards... (Legislative Council meeting record, 15th October,
> 1997)

For the education sector, the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) of Hong Kong issued a curriculum reform document entitled *Learning to Learn – The Way Forward* (CDC, 2001). This document outlined many features of education reform, and Moral and Civic Education was identified as one of *Four Key Tasks* to help students becoming a good citizen. Citizenship education was clearly regarded as important in this curriculum reform document (Chai-Yip, Galloway

and Lee, 2010). A year later, the CDC urged the schools to nurture in students five priority values: perseverance, respecting others, responsibility, national identity, and commitment. National identity has thus become one important value in schools. The CDC also recommended the schools to adopt Life Event Approach in teaching moral and civic education, which aims to 'enable students to understand a range of events and issues that they might come across in schooling and future life, and to develop positive values and attitudes through dealing with them (CDC, 2002: 8). Besides, this approach is to cultivate a learner-focused orientation with authentic learning and multi-perspectives on important issues (CDC, 2002). It is also recommended that citizenship education could adopt cross-curricular themes. In short, the CDC suggested that any effective implementation of citizenship education should be child-centered, participatory, and implemented in authentic learning contexts.

In 2004, the Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education produced a series of TV programmes on themes of National Education. But the controversy is that it was broadcasted in the prime time of 6:00 and 6:30 p.m., which is the time just before news report, and the contents are solely about the achievements of China, thus drawing criticisms of indoctrination. In 2009 and 2010, the Committee again produced a series of TV programmes on themes of National Education. When facing criticisms of indoctrinating the public with TV programmes on National Education, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Joseph Li, said such TV programmes could not satisfy everyone and it is common to face criticism in Hong Kong. The Committee has put such TV promotion programmes on its website (http://www.cpce.gov.hk/chi/activity/nation_pro.htm).

Turning to the curriculum time, Chai-Yip, Galloway and Lee (2010) found that the curriculum time for citizenship education is rather limited. In formal school curriculum, elements of civic education can only be found in discrete topics in subjects such as Integrated Humanities and Liberal Studies. In a handful of secondary schools, there are formal civic education subject. Extra-curricular activities related to civic education are, if existing at all, minimum in numbers and mainly focus on topics related to the personal and community dimensions, rather than civic, political and social dimensions. For example, topics such as understanding oneself, handling inter-personal relationships, facing love and intimacy, and understanding one's own community are found more than government structure, political parties, election and voting, human rights and

democracy, and any controversial issues. Sometimes, civic education in schools is organized by non-government organizations instead. These non-governmental organizations' initiated civic education is usually different from the classroom-based activities, and they are characterized by elements such as full democracy, human rights, gender equality, anti-nuclear, environmental concerns, etc. They also usually adopt experiential and service learning approaches. In relation to the study here, there have been debates of civic education in Hong Kong which split into proponents of education for national identity and education for human rights and democracy (Lee & Bray, 1996; Leung & Ng, 2004).

As for teachers' perception on citizenship, according to Lee (2005), with a Chinese community sample of *Guangzhou, Hangzhou* and Hong Kong teachers, they regard the social dimension of citizenship, for example, social involvement and social awareness, as more important than other citizenship constructs such as informed, liberal, dutifulness, traditional and conservative/obedient. Moreover, all three Chinese cities regard the knowledge dimension of good citizenship as a top priority. To Hong Kong teachers, they define the term 'citizenship' in terms of rights and responsibilities towards community, society and government, and the obligation to obey laws and fulfill public duties. According to Lee (2005: 259), 'they tend to view citizenship from the social perspective, with a focus on duty and civic virtues such as obeying the law.' Thus, citizenship education in Hong Kong schools is usually defined by social involvement, social awareness, rights and responsibilities, community, society, government, obey the law, and public duties. Such qualities form the basics of citizenship education in which National Education emerges, which will be discussed below.

3.5 Policy agenda of National Education

Since 1997, national identification with China has been one of top educational policy priorities in Hong Kong. In fact, this nationalistic priority is also commonly found in most Asian countries, in which citizenship education can be described as entrusted with the mission of cultivating national identity, loyalty to one's own country and patriotism (Leung & Print, 2002). For example, in Singapore, Sim (2010) found that the main subject for citizenship education, i.e. Social Studies, is compulsory, examinable and it focuses on enhancing national awareness which pertains to the historical, economic and social development of

the country. Dean (2010) found that citizenship education in Pakistan has always been ideological, religious and nationalistic. In Japan, Kobara (2010) found that the goal of Social Studies covers a whole range of areas that serve the interests of the nation, the community, as well as the international community. In China, Zhou and Fairbrother (2010) found that nationalistic education has always been a focus of citizenship education. Thus, cultivating a national identity is regarded as an important function in Asian citizenship education, although Lee (2004c) argued that diversities should be taken into consideration when studying citizenship in Asia. Regarding Hong Kong's citizenship education, although Kennedy (2005) agreed that Asian citizenship is characterised by moral virtues and personal values rather than by civic and public values, a depoliticized civic and moral education is not good for Hong Kong in facing the complex and challenging future with uncertainties.

There have been several important official education policy documents which outline the imperatives to strengthen National Education in Hong Kong. The *Education Commission Report* in 1999 recommended that students should learn more about China, and to feel part of it. The *Basic Education Curriculum Guideline – Building on Strengths (Primary 1 to Secondary 3)* (CDC, 2002) pointed out a refocusing on moral and civic education, with national identity as one of the *Five Priority Values*. Also, according to Kan (2007), the Hong Kong SAR government has aimed to reform the education system in general and school curricula in particular to meet the needs of a knowledge-based society and to instil in the young a feeling of belonging and identity with China, as well as a sense of national pride. With these education priorities, the Moral and Civic Education section of Education Bureau has been promoting a Chinese national identity in Hong Kong schools. It organized seminars and workshops for teachers to understand about China, and subsidized various themes of study tours to China in order to expand the students' horizons.

There has been an increase of funding supports for National Education. The Hong Kong SAR government allocates millions of budget for District Boards and patriotic organizations to organize National Education events and activities for the communities. The government also offers incentives for primary and secondary schools to organize study tours to China, as well as subsidizing teachers' professional development tours on exploring and understanding about China's education (Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive, 2008, 2009, 2010). This is an

experiential learning approach in which after students and teachers having immersed themselves in an authentic learning environment in China, they could reflect upon China's tremendous improvements and achievements, and thus facilitating their national identification with China.

While teaching topics about China, a scholarly study found that most Hong Kong students revealed that their teachers regarded topics related to China too sensitive and 'little or no knowledge about China was conveyed to them in their schools' (Fairbrother, 2003: 97). However, the official nationalistic and patriotic initiatives have met some critics that the government is pushing the schools to do political indoctrination on the students by emphasizing the achievements and bright side of China only. They were afraid that students' conclusions about developments of China were imposed instead of arrived by free and informed discussion. These critics argued against the dangers of patriotism, i.e. loving the country without critical thinking on what the government does. Below is a brief account on the National Education policy as promulgated from the highest level of Hong Kong's administration.

The importance placed on National Education was particularly evidenced by the Hong Kong SAR Government Chief Executive's reiterations in his yearly *Policy Address* to the Legislative Council. In *Policy Address 2005-06*, the Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive (2005) stated that the government would enhance Hong Kong people's understanding about China and strengthen their Chinese national identification. This policy direction is in response to the increasing cultural and economic ties between China and Hong Kong. Subsequently, in his *Policy Address 2007-08*, the Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive (2007) also reiterated that the government would strengthen National Education for building up stronger ties with China. This echoed with the earlier remarks made by Mr. Hu Jintao, the President of the PRC, on 'more emphasis on national education for the youth in Hong Kong' at the welcoming banquet hosted by the Hong Kong SAR government on 30 June 2007. The *Policy Address 2007-08* announced that apart from working on the curriculum, the government also encouraged the schools to host the national flags in more occasions. Schools are also expected to establish the 'flag-raising' uniform groups, with flag-raising training and ceremonial manners provided, for the purpose of National Education. Next, in his *Policy Address 2008-09*, the Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive (2008) took advantage of the 60th national anniversary of the People's Republic of China and

made another important policy announcement: National Education would be regarded as the *de facto* policy of the government, and the government would push forward National Education by three-pronged approach: helping students understand the history and development of China through curriculum planning; providing students with opportunities to join study and exchange programmes to Chinese cities in order to build up their sense of Chinese national identity; and encouraging students to contribute to China's development. In celebrating the 60th Chinese National Anniversary in 2009, the government organized a variety of celebrations and activities for Hong Kong people to share the joys and better understand the China's latest developments. The Chief Executive (2009) said in his *Policy Address 2009-10*:

> Championed by the Government, the national education platform 'Passing on the Torch' was established early this year. In this school year, the Government will subsidize 37 000 students to join various Mainland exchange programmes. Through this platform, we establish close co-operation with voluntary groups. We have co-ordinated 45 exchange activities organized by NGOs, benefiting over 20 000 students. Also, we have included national education as one of the priority themes for the Quality Education Fund. In 2009, the Fund approved various activities, including projects to enhance learning effectiveness in national education and study tours to the Mainland.

In *Policy Address 2010-11*, the Chief Executive reiterated the importance of national identification with China by saying that it is government's established policy to promote National Education. The Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive (2010) said:

> We will increase opportunities for students to participate in Mainland learning and exchange activities. Our target is to subsidize every primary and secondary school student to join at least one Mainland exchange programme. We will organize 'Passing on the Torch' programme, providing some 4,000 additional places a year. We expect to achieve this by the 2015-16 school year. To better equip our teachers, we will

provide additional resources for student teachers to
participate in relevant professional study courses in the
Mainland.

Apart from increasing opportunities of joining the exchange programme, the government also announced that a review on the curriculum framework for moral and civic education at primary and secondary levels would be conducted by Curriculum Development Council in 2011, while Moral and National Education would be developed into an independent subject which would be offered in both primary and junior secondary schools. The Chief Executive announced that:

The EDB will invite the Curriculum Development Council to
review the curriculum framework for moral and civic
education at primary and secondary levels, and to develop an
independent subject on 'moral and national education'. This
initiative is expected to be implemented in the 2013-15
school year to further enhance the elements of national
education. (*Policy Address*, 2010-11)

While this new curriculum initiative expected to be implemented in the 2013-14 school year, there have been serious concerns and doubts from teacher unions and educational pressure groups. They worried about the patriotic and non-critical teaching orientations that may be associated with National Education (Ng, 2011). They also queried the implications of such nationalistic and patriotic practices. Instead, they argued that the government should make civic education into a compulsory and independent subject which would provide an all-round framework for understanding topics and issues broadly covered by moral, civic and national education. In replying to such queries, Mr. Michael Suen, the Secretary of Education Bureau, said that the new National and Moral Education subject was not a brainwashing exercise (SCMP, 2010). Yet, when asked by the reporters on whether 2010 Nobel Peace Prize Winner Mr. *Liu XiaoBo* would be included in the curriculum, the Education Secretary refused to make any comment on it. Furthermore, there were also incidents that officials drew criticisms because of poor handling of controversial issues. The Permanent Secretary of Education, which is the highest rank of civil servants in Education Bureau, once spoke of comparing the June 4th Incident to 'sands and rocks',

which means trivial and not worthy of mention in local understanding, during a speech at a secondary school. The community and the press were outraged by this saying which neglected the democratic ideals attached to a Chinese national identity (Li, 2011).

In 2011, a large scale opinion study on over 1,000 upper primary school students also revealed that students have serious concerns about the implementation of this new National and Moral Education subject. The students worried about what they have to learn and how the assessment practices in this subject (SCMP, 2011). Another academic survey conducted by the Hong Kong Institute of Education on 500 primary and secondary school students' parents and 207 pre-service teachers also showed that the opinions towards this new subject is diversified (*Mingpao*, 2011c; *Singato*, 2011). While 43% of parents support the introduction of this subject, 28% are against it. 37.6% of parents are afraid of subjective and bias contents when government introduces this subject. A majority of 62.2% parents agree that the National Education curriculum should include the June 4 incident in 1989 and Chinese human rights issues, next come Chinese economic development and achievements and 2008 Beijing Olympics (*Mingpao*, 2011c; *Singtao*, 2011). As for the pre-service teachers of the HKIEd, 52.4% worry about that the new subject of Moral and National Education would be a brain-washing exercise, while 38% of them support it but 29% of them against it. The recommendation by Prof. Mok Ka-ho, the HKIEd's Dean of Faculty of Arts & Sciences in 2011, is that Moral and National Education should include topics from multi-perspectives so as to cultivate critical thinking and avoid giving the impression of 'brain-washing'. Besides, the government should provide professional training, teaching resources and manpower in order to reduce the pressures on the teachers (*Mingpao*, 2011c; *Singato*, 2011). Therefore, the education community was split into two camps of welcoming and questioning the introduction of this mandatory and independent subject of National and Moral Education.

The competition for Chief Executive between the candidates from late 2011 to the early of 2012 also added much weight on the National Education debates (*Appledaily*, 2011). One candidate, Mr. Leung C.Y. has spoken clearly on the need for National Education. He gave the reason of because of lack of it, Hong Kong students confined themselves to understanding about local affairs and thus lacking national perspective. Another candidate, Mr. Tang, also agreed there is a

need for National Education. Therefore, it seems possibly that the next incumbent Chief Executive will push forward a formal subject of National Education in Hong Kong schools.

As at January 2012, there was a news report that the controversial National and Moral Education curriculum could be put off until 2015/16. There was a news source saying that the Moral and National Education Ad Hoc Committee had proposed postponing full introduction of the subject – in view of critics labelling it as brainwashing - until the 2015-16 academic year. The source also said schools would be given three years to get ready for the new curriculum. Also, the curriculum would not specifically cover sensitive topics such as the June 4, 1989, i.e. the crackdown on students' democracy movement in Tiananmen Square, but the schools can decide on their own. To allow flexibility, schools could start teaching this subject before 2015-16 if they were ready.

In summing up, after 1997, there was a top priority educational policy agenda to cultivate a Chinese national identity through National education of the students. Judging from the Chief Executive's statements in *Policy Address* throughout the years of 2008 to 2010, the Hong Kong SAR government treated national identity as both educational and political imperatives. In fact, politics exerted significant influences on education in Hong Kong (Chong, 1998), and the schools are expected to provide National Education learning experiences for their students in order to increase their understanding about China and foster their Chinese national identification. This policy is thought to be crucial for Hong Kong's reintegration with its motherland too, since identification is not just conceived in economic terms, but also on political orientation to the Chinese government. To recap, the researcher explores the recipient side of this policy: how teachers perceive their national identity and National Education.

3.6 National identification in civic education and history curriculum – literature review and the context of Hong Kong's education

Schools are usually viewed as locations to cultivate young persons to certain desired social values and political knowledge that aligned with national interests, and History and Social Studies curricula are viewed as where nationalistic goals were addressed, either formally or informally (Evans, 2004).

There are different arguments about the role of civic or citizenship education in the society. Citizenship education aims at preparing young people for participation in democratic polity (Heater, 2008). Civic or citizenship education serves the function of cultivating the essential characteristics of future citizens, especially in view of reversing the undesirable global trends (Cogan & Derricott, 1998). On the one hand, there is inclusive citizenship education as suggested by Kiwan (2008), in which diverse elements are included in citizenship education for the immigrant groups, and in particular how the 'journey' through citizenship courses, language training and citizenship testing in the U.K. can be seen as an 'entitlement' of immigrants. Meanwhile, scholar like Kymlicka (2009) would argue for peculiarities of promoting citizenship in the specific case of `multination' states and multicultural elements. It calls for a renewed emphasis on citizenship as a means for addressing the anxieties about the impact of immigration on social cohesion and integration.

In Asia-Pacific, there exists a scholarly debate about whether there exists Eastern and Western dichotomy on citizenship. Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) questioned whether such a dichotomy is valid and asking for reflection on whether, despite distinctive features, they share commonalities and are compatible. Lee (2004c) argued that citizenship concept, actually, originated in the West with its concepts of classical citizens, liberal citizens, multiple citizens and post-national citizens. Lee (2004c) further argued that Asian civic education, in particular the Confucian tradition, has three intermingled and distinct features: emphasis on harmony, spirituality and the development of individuality and the self. Different from the Western citizenship, the Asian concept of citizenship inclines toward the person and the relationship rather than rights and responsibilities. Lee (2004) concluded that civic education in Asia tends to be apolitical and is expressed in terms of moral education, rather than human rights and the democratic system. Nevertheless, Fairbrother (2005) pointed out that despite the seemingly apolitical nature of Asian civic education, the construction process of Asian civic education is in fact political. Also, Kennedy (2005) added that moral education in the Confucian tradition does not necessarily focus solely on personal and inward looking matters. According to the Confucian traditions, starting from oneself, a good individual will expect and work towards becoming a moral leader and then building up a moral society. This is, indeed, a political implication in a Confucian tradition of civic education. All the above could shed some light on the Asian's conception of civic education,

in which Hong Kong is certainly a part of it.

Amongst the curriculum in Hong Kong, according to Tse (2004), civic education is regarded as the social element of national identity to foster unity and commonalities among a population undermined by economic, ethnic and political cleavages. Civic Education was introduced as an elective academic subject in junior secondary schools in 1998, but in actual practice, not many secondary schools offered this subject because of other subjects like Social Studies, Economic & Public Affairs in junior secondary schools could fulfill citizenship teaching.

In relation to the study here, the nationalistic mission of the Hong Kong SAR government after 1997, strange to say, has not been entrusted into subject of civic education in the immediate post - 1997 period. In fact, some academics pointed out the 'de-politicised' nature of the civic education in Hong Kong, in terms of curriculum contents selection. Tse (1999) noted that in most schools, civic education, if we mean by nationalistic and democratic education, was basically absent in the early years of sovereignty resumption. Instead, civic education in schools is usually concerned with developing the moral virtues of good citizens. Education department was criticized by providing only knowledge of Hong Kong political institutions through Social Studies, Economic & Public Affairs with an aim of education for good citizenship (Fok, 1998). Cultivating morality and a good citizen in a society are top concerns of civic education in most schools. Also, while commenting on post-1997 civic education, Morris *et al.* (2000: 259) argue that 'the loyalty being promoted is not to the state per se, but to a sense of national identity based upon a homogenous and totalising sense of Chinese culture, morality and values'. Chinese culture, morality and values of citizens are thus keywords in civic education. Lee (2005) also described Hong Kong teachers as valuing the importance of Chinese traditions as their mainland Chinese counterparts in citizenship development.

Therefore, civic education is 'moralized' and 'culturalized' in the sense of taking away the civic and nationalistic missions in the period between the resumption of sovereignty in 1997 and the early 2000. Yet, in discussing the civic megatrends in framing civic education for Hong Kong, Kennedy (2005) mentioned several important megatrends: the democratic evolution, human rights and environmental issues, the emergent multiculturalism, as well as the

inter-connected issues of global, national and local identities. Most of these trends have been identified as important areas of international concerns and have been included in various education for democratic citizenship initiatives in different parts of the world (Naval, Print, & Veldhuis, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2006). Kennedy (2005) questioned whether an apolitical civic education in Hong Kong resulting from the strong influence Asian values is adequate in equipping Hong Kong youth to face the political future. In addition, Kennedy (2011: 7) also warned that 'a commitment to multiculturalism and multicultural policy is entirely lacking in Hong Kong so that support for ethnic minority students has been pursued within an integrationist framework that regards all members of society as being the same'. This affects how the school curriculum is viewed, with the Hong Kong SAR government's supports and actions reflect a mono-cultural view of educational provision. To the researcher, perhaps along the same line of thinking, National Education is also perceived in a mono-cultural view, in which Chinese national identity is conceived narrowly in terms of ethnic and cultural terms, while National Education would be mainly about achievements of China.

Taking this view into broader perspective, this 'depoliticised' nature of Hong Kong civic education in the early years of 2000s, however, is different from the patriotic education being practised in China. In China, patriotic education aims at instilling a sense of Chinese official nationalism with a strong favour of embracing the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (Yu, 1996). As Soysal and Wong (2006: 80) argue, in long periods of communist China, 'ideology commanded a very central place in the construction of socialist man and, therefore, was fully present in the official culture of the state system of education'. Nationalism in China also tied up with sports, which has been used to strengthen the nation with warlike spirit (Xu, 2008). Whereas in Hong Kong, the humanities curriculum in general, but History and Chinese History in particular, were the only formal curriculum used to promote national sentiments and to develop a feeling of Chinese identity among Hong Kong students before 1997. The followings discuss the role of Chinese history subject in national belonging.

Vickers (2005) noted that the Chinese History subject experts community in Hong Kong have assumed a key role in combating the alienating effects of Hong Kong's colonial experience by fostering in local students a sense of 'national

belonging'. In early 2000s, the Curriculum Development Institute of the
Education and Manpower Bureau released a Chinese history teaching pack on
local history, which adopted an openly nationalistic perspective. The writing of
the 'locality' is placed in the grand narrative of the national past, focusing on the
relations between the 'locality' and the 'mainland, rather than on the internal
development of the 'locality' itself. As a whole, the local history materials in
junior form Chinese History after 1997 served to illustrate the fundamental and
immutable 'Chineseness' of Hong Kong. The Chinese History subject community
defines 'Chineseness' of the local community by invoking 'Chinese culture' as an
essentially timeless and homogenous construct. All these are in contrast with
the apolitical orientation in the previous colonial government (Kan, 2007;
Vickers, 2005). Therefore, while civic education was 'depoliticized' in the sense
of taking away the nationalistic elements in the immediate years after 1997, the
humanities and history curricula have been entrusted with elements of
nationalistic sentiments in pre-handover Hong Kong. This was the period of
'depoliticization' of civic education as described by Leung (2004).

Yet, a big contrast in Hong Kong SAR government's educational policy of
politicizing Civic Education in terms of highlighting National Education have
made the whole education scenario totally different. It was, indeed, a change in
the policy mindset of the Hong Kong SAR government.

3.7 Hong Kong SAR Government's promotion of National Education since the early 2000s and the societal responses

The reunification of capitalist Hong Kong with the socialist China in 1997 has set
the context for a negotiation of identities. The Hong Kong SAR government has
tried to foster a stronger sense of Chinese national identity and a sense of
belonging among the younger generations through its education reform (Kuah
and Fong, 2010). The Hong Kong SAR government 'repoliticized' the issue of
national identity by putting in significant manpower resources and budget
allocation to promote National Education, which bypassing civic education, by
its own machineries after 1997.

Entering into the early years of 2000s, decolonization in Hong Kong is 'leading to
"nationalisaton" without full democratisation' (Tse, 2006: 60). After the policy
direction was set by the Hong Kong SAR government, the official education
department responsible for National Education is the Moral and Civic Education

Section, Curriculum Development Institute of the Education Bureau. It is responsible for the planning, implementation and promotion of National Education in kindergarten, primary and secondary schools. It has produced a teaching resources website which contains teaching plans and news reflections about topics of National Education. Also, it has published teaching resource kits on how to do National Education, in particular using Chinese cultural and moral values to foster national identification.

As for the learning components suggested for schools to implement National Education, it can be summarized as: knowledge, affective and action domains, and the details are:

(a) Knowledge domain
Understanding China in an all-round way
- History
- Arts & culture
- Contemporary situations
- People's lives
- Education
- Scientific innovations
- Aerospace and military achievements
- Ethnic minorities
- Sports achievements

(b) Affective domain
- The feelings and belonging to China
- Being pride of being a Chinese

(c) Action domain
- Willingness to give their supports to China
- Show commitment to China.

Apart from producing teaching plans and teaching resource kits for teaching the above domains, the Education Bureau also allocates large amount of resources and budget for National Education exchange tours, programmes and activities. Below is a summary of government's initiatives on National Education in recent years after 2008. These National Education initiatives can be categorized as exchange programmes, training for teachers, activities for teachers and students, large scale National Education programmes, and subsidies for National

Education programmes organized by schools.

Table 3.2   Hong Kong SAR Government's National Education Programmes and Activities (snapshots of 2008-2012)

Types of Government's National Education programmes/activities	Frequencies	Participant Targets
Exchange programmes		
National Education Programme: Exchange Programme to Beijing (since 2004)	4 trips per school year	Secondary Form 6 students to be nominated by schools, plus teachers as instructors (about 170 students, 17 teachers per trip)
National Education Seeds Programme: Exchange programme to Beijing (2008-2012)	4 trips per school year	Secondary Form 4 students were invited to be nominated by schools
Passing on the Torch - National Education Programme Series: National Education Exchange Programme on the Mainland for Junior Secondary and Upper Primary Students (government's half amount sponsorship of the costs to the teachers and students who joined the study trips organized by non-governmental organizations. Themes cover Chinese history, culture, economy, education, environment protection, military, arts,	Yearly basis (as at June 2009, there were 16 routes to choose from, ranging from two to four days study trip)	Primary 4 to 6 and Secondary 1 to 3 students are eligible to join

artifacts, architecture, people's beliefs, minorities.) (destinations: cities of *Pearl River Delta* Region of *Guangdong* province) (2008-2012)		
2010 Shanghai Expo visits	2009-10 school year	Secondary school students
Teachers Exchange Programme: Exchange programme to China (destinations: *Guangzhou city*, *Sun Yat-Sen University* and *Jinan University*)	4 trips per school year	Moral or Civic Education coordinators and teachers of all kindergarten, primary and secondary schools teachers
Training for teachers		
Lectures and seminars on political, economic, cultural, educational, technological aspects of China for teachers	Occasional basis	Moral or Civic Education coordinators and teachers of all primary and secondary school teachers
Flag-raising and Marching Training course (subsidized by Education Bureau and organized by the National Education Services Center)	Yearly basis	Principals, coordinators or teachers of Civic Education of primary and secondary schools and General Studies of primary schools
Integration between Guangdong and Hong Kong in late 19th century to early 20th century	22 September and 26 October, 2010	General studies of primary school, PSHE area secondary schools teachers, civic and moral education teachers in both primary and secondary schools
Talk by Hong Kong Deputies to the Chinese National People's Congress and Nation Commissar of the	2011	All Hong Kong secondary school teachers

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference		
Series on Knowledge Enrichment for Moral and National Education Curriculum (National domain) — Professional Development Programmes (2011-2012)	2011-2012	General studies of primary school, PSHE area secondary schools teachers, civic and moral education teachers in both primary and secondary schools
Training/Activities for students		
Hoisting of national flag in schools	On important days such as HKSAR Establishment Day and National Day of P.R.C.	All kindergarten, primary and secondary school students
Beijing 2008 Olympic Games 'Fuwa' Design competition	Early months of 2008	All kindergarten, primary and secondary school students
Summer military training camp (jointly organized by Education Bureau, Concerted Efforts Resource Center and People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong)	Yearly basis	All Form 3, 4, 6 secondary school students (about 150 male students, 50 female students per training camp)
May Fourth Youth Festival nationalistic activities series — flag raising, performances, rally, singing songs, etc. (jointly organized by the Education Bureau, Home Affairs Department, and 300 children and youth groups)	On 4th May each year	All kindergarten, primary and secondary school students
National Activity Series for Celebrating the 60th National Anniversary	2008-09 and 2009-10 school years	All kindergarten, primary and secondary school students

(e.g. Cards and Writing competitions)		
Project learning competition for 60th National Anniversary	2009	All primary and secondary school students
2011 Beijing, Hong Kong and Macau students summer camp in Beijing	2011	All secondary school students
Programmes/Activities for both teachers and students		
Training of school flag-raising team (jointly organized by the Education Bureau and Police Force)	Yearly basis	All kindergarten, primary and secondary school teachers and students
Rebuilding Sichun after earthquake – Hong Kong project exhibition	2011	All kindergarten, primary and secondary school teachers and students
Large scale National Education activities open for all schools		
100 days Countdown to Beijing Olympic Games Ceremony	On 30th April, 2008	All kindergarten, primary and secondary schools
'Passing the Torch' National Education ceremony	July, 2008	All kindergarten, primary and secondary schools
'Passing the Torch – Exploring and Inheriting Chinese Culture' national exchange activities (subsidized by Education Bureau and organized by societal and charity groups and non-governmental organizations) (destinations: *Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Nanjing, Xian, Zhengzhou*)	2009-2012	All primary and secondary schools
Subsidy for schools' National Education programmes		
'Understanding our Motherland' Programme	Yearly basis	All primary and secondary schools

The above shows that the Education Bureau has kept working on teachers' training on implementing National Education, celebrating Chinese national events or achievements, organizing various National Education programmes or activities for students, and arranging students' National Education exchange programmes to Chinese major cities. There are also regular government funding for primary and secondary schools to apply for organizing National Education programmes or activities. All these aim at enhancing the teaching competencies of teachers and encouraging students' participation, in which the number of participants is always counted as achievement targets by the Education Bureau.

3.8 National Education on a routine basis

Within the individual school level, on a routine basis after 1997, Hong Kong primary and secondary schools are required to hoist the Chinese national flag on the National Day of 1st October and the Hong Kong SAR Establishment Day on 1st July every year. This national flag-raising practice, of course, aims at promoting nationalistic feelings and proud of Chinese nation among the students.

In recent years, the nationalistic 4th May event of China has also been promoted by the Education Bureau for the primary and secondary schools to organize National Education activities in order to celebrate the national unity and strength of China.   Students attend the Chinese national flag raising ceremony at the handover landmark of *Golden Bauhinia Square*, youth parade, nationalistic talks and student performances on a yearly basis. In particular, the Education Bureau, with the supports of a pro-Beijing government's youth businessmen group, arranged representatives of Chinese ethnic minorities going to selected Hong Kong's primary and secondary schools on 4th May each year to stage nationalistic activities such as ethnic minorities' sports and cultural performances.

In response to these regular official National Education initiatives, leading local pro-democracy political figures cautioned against 'indoctrination', 'brainwashing' and 'ignoring political controversies' (Clem & Yau, 2008). They were afraid of education being politically manipulated. A long-term

pan-democratic legislator, Ms Emily Lau, also raised a question in the legislature on whether 'love of China' and 'love of the Communist Party of China' could be separated in National Education by the Hong Kong SAR government. Besides, she asked whether political sensitive controversies such as the 4th June Incident in 1989, the democratic activities and protest in Hong Kong and China, as well as the 1st July Rally each year would be taught in the National Education curriculum. These political arguments reveal the underlying socio-political cleavages with respect to the pursuit of liberal democracy in Hong Kong versus the nationalistic reunification with the communist China (Kuah & Fong, 2010).

Local scholars also commented on this embodiment of the national symbols in the schools. Kuah & Fong (2010) argued that this is only promoting the symbolization of the nation and the state but not trying to evoke the sense of the government and the Chinese Communist Party. The impacts, according to some studies on informal curriculum, depended upon the different backgrounds and personal experiences of individual students (Apple, 2004) and, of course, subject to the willingness of different schools in implementing the nationalistic ceremonies (Kuah & Fong, 2010). Leung(2011) also commented on the new subject of Moral and National Education as only emphasizing on the merits side of China, and without critical thinking, it is actually not National Education (Leung, 2011).

3.9 Occasional National Education events, programmes and activities
Hong Kong schools are encouraged to organize guest talks, seminars, workshops, news sharing on topics of National Education for their students, as well as on themes of major news, incidents or nationalistic events happening in China. All the above usually take the form of informal education in schools, which may take the forms of extra-curricular activities that fall outside the formal curriculum as scheduled by schools (La Belle, 1982).

Occasional spectacular national events such as 2008 Olympic Games and 2010 Shanghai Expo were also used as nationalistic purposes to build up a sense of Chinese national identification, so do the developments in Chinese aerospace technology and infrastructure served the Hong Kong SAR government's purpose of using Chinese nationalistic events to promote nationalistic sentiments towards China among Hong Kong's students.

The Education Bureau also has made use of these national events to boost up the image of China as a strong, modernized and emergent nation to the students by organizing a number of learning activities about the aerospace, science, technology, sports, and athletic achievements of China for Hong Kong's students, dialogue occasions with the Chinese aerospace men and national athletes, as well as nationalistic card design and writing competitions, etc. in order to celebrate various achievements in Olympics Games, economics, technology and military strengths. Students are expected to embrace a Chinese national identity and cultivate their pride of being a Chinese, and thus their identification with China through participation in such National Education activities. On the other hand, tragic events such as natural disasters also serve the purposes of arousing local people's emotions and feelings, thus mobilizing their love of China.

In short, the Hong Kong SAR government has put tremendous efforts and resources in promoting National Education. In the following section, I shall mention the latest development in Education Bureau which aims at further promoting National Education.

3.10 Reorganization of Section of Education Bureau in strengthening National Education

From the above, we can see that the Education Bureau of Hong Kong SAR Government has organized both routine and occasional events/activities to encourage schools providing National Education for their students. The scale of government initiatives on National Education is particularly eye-catching.

In mid-2010, the Education Bureau streamlined its section that is responsible for moral and civic education. The Moral and Civic Education Section was re-organized into Moral, Civic Education and National Education sections respectively. This signifies the growing policy importance attached to National Education. Originally, there were three teams of education officers and project staff working in the Moral and Civic Education Section, without clear division of labour among them on which team is responsible for National Education or Moral and Civic Education. But the large number of National Education exchange programmes and other National Education programmes/activities need more resources and manpower. Therefore, after the section's reorganization in mid-2010, there were two teams responsible for National Education, and one

team responsible for Civic and Moral Education. This reorganization streamlined the job duties and spheres of responsibilities within the Section, but perhaps more importantly, this also reflects the ever-growing importance attached to National Education. In conjunction with this re-organization, the National Education teams have set up *Pass the Torch platform*, which is an one-stop, on-line information sharing and publicity platform liaising the government, community groups and associations in promoting National Education (http://www.passontorch.org.hk/b5_html/index.html). This has strengthened the connections between all stakeholders in promoting National Education.

This reorganization of Education Bureau, indeed, reflects the ever-important National Education in education agenda, and the relative decline of the importance of Civic Education. This was also evidenced in the *Policy Address 2010*, in which the Chief Executive announced that the government would investigate the possibilities of introducing a subject of Moral and National Education in all primary and secondary schools. The Education Bureau would look into this Moral and National Education curriculum intensively. Taking a step back, Civic Education seems to be neglected.

But the Civic Education Teachers Association protested strongly against this Moral and National Education subject amidst growing government's intention to push forward National Education. They issued a press release to express their concerns about this new curriculum such as there are learning needs for Civic Education in the formal curriculum, and the worries of emphasizing too much National Education at the expense of Civic Education. They thought that by emphasizing on National Education, it would only promote values such as patriotic, loyalty, obedience to the government and inward looking to protect national self-interests. All these would stand in contrast with universal values such as human rights, democracy, freedom, rule of law and outward looking, especially since Hong Kong prides itself as an 'Asian World City'. They argued that universal values should be treasured in an interconnected, complex and globalized world in which every part of the world is now facing. In mid-2011, the Moral and National Education curriculum was under consultation, but it met with criticisms about the motives of this curriculum and whether criticism about China can be taught in this subject (*Mingpao*, 2011).

3.11 Schools in responding to the government callings of National Education

Most Hong Kong secondary schools have been responding to the government's callings of cultivating Chinese national identification among the students, although with different labels such as 'Patriotic Education', 'National Affairs Education', 'National Education' or others. All types of Hong Kong secondary schools usually receive the official memorandums and circulars from the Education Bureau regularly on all sorts of education policies, events, teachers training, and new initiatives. In somewhat a 'top-down' approach, all schools are supposed to response to the government's National Education events and activities, for example, arranging teachers to take part in one-off seminars and workshops of National Education, arranging students to join the National Education learning activities and exchange tours organized for teachers and students by Education Bureau, etc.

In primary schools, learning about the basics of China usually takes place in General Studies subject, which is an inter-disciplinary and integrated curriculum containing topics of personal, social, cultural, heritage, geography, historical, science, environmental, civics, technology, sex and health education. The coverage of China in this primary school General Studies is 'de-politicized' in its contents. In formal curriculum of Hong Kong secondary schools across different subjects or Key Learning Areas (KLA), there is usually no explicit reference to the term of 'National Education' as a learning goal, aim or objective. However, there are learning contents about topics and issues of China in different subjects or KLA. For instance, contents about China can be found in Integrated Humanities of Secondary Form 1 to Form 3 (since early 2000) and Form 4 to 5 (before school year of 2009/10), and through Liberal Studies in Senior Secondary 1 to 3 after 2009/10 (CDC & HKEAA, 2007). The Liberal Studies could be conceived of having learning elements of National Education, since it contains a module on 'Modern China' which is about the development and economic reform of China after the establishment of People's Republic of China in 1949. Thus, this subject could be regarded as facilitating senior secondary students to explore and inquire the latest developments of China.

As a whole, the learning objectives of the above primary and secondary schools' humanities curriculum in regard to China are usually written in cognitive and affective terms, with objectives such as understanding modern China's socio-cultural and economic development, cultivating nationalistic attitudes and

being proud of a Chinese. The humanities curriculum also usually focuses on topics of cultural, historical, geographical, economic and social aspects of China, rather than political or controversial topics. It should be noted that, elements of political aspect, if any, usually refers to recognizing the names of top Chinese political leadership, Chinese government structures and basic understanding about Chinese Communist party. They seldom touch upon controversial topics such as democratic development and human rights in China. In fact, some enthusiastic teachers, in their school-based practices, may also teach topics of politics in China, for example, the Chinese government structure, the central and provincial governments of China, history of Chinese Communist Party, and the relations between Central People's Government and Hong Kong SAR government, etc. However, sensitive issues like human rights problems, bribery cases in Chinese provincial governments, mass mobilization campaigns such as Cultural Revolution in 1966-1976, the military crackdown on democracy movement of 4th June in 1989, and arrests of political dissidents, are usually left out by the teachers in designing learning activities (Leung, 2004a).

As for providing experiential learning experiences in regard to National Education, many primary and secondary schools, apart from organizing National Education programmes or activities within their schools as part of extra-curricular activities, have been organizing both student and teacher exchange programmes to their mainland Chinese sister schools. They also invited their mainland Chinese schools counterparts to come to visit Hong Kong, and arranging Chinese students to have home-stays in local students' families. The activities during exchange programmes to China included group skill training activities, singing of traditional Chinese or nationalistic songs, Chinese musical instruments performances, celebrating nationalistic events such as 2008 Beijing Olympic Games by singing the theme song and engaging in performances together, project learning on a common nationalistic theme, sharing their study life, dancing and talents shows, visiting some historical and traditional sites, as well as engaging in learning activities during exchange.

In a nutshell, it is common for primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong to organize exchange tours in National Education, though there is a range of duration of exchange tour and the types of activities arranged in them. But the common goals are increasing students' understanding about various aspects of China, widening their exposure to contemporary education, politics, society,

culture and history in China, and of course, cultivating a sense of Chinese national identity among the students so that they would identify themselves as a Chinese. But this study intends to look further behind these National Education programmes and activities by asking how do teachers perceive the meanings and teaching method of National Education.

In concluding this chapter, the significance of carrying out this study is that while National Education seems to receive widespread attention, there is not any proper exploration and investigation into what are the perception and meanings of national identity of Hong Kong teachers, nor does there is an adequate exploration on perceptions towards the meanings, aims, contents, pedagogies and evaluation of National Education. An uncritical adoption and lack of discussion of meanings of national identity and National Education, as found in some media critics on National Education in Hong Kong, is clearly not conducive to the conceptual and pedagogical development. Thus, this study seeks to fill in such knowledge gap, with an aim of arriving at some complex, multi-layered and integrated understanding by a purposive sample of Hong Kong secondary school teachers. The following chapter will give an overview of the meanings and operations of main concepts in this study, after gaining some descriptive understanding about the developments of civic education and National Education in Hong Kong in this chapter.

4. Meanings and Operating the Main Concepts

This study has utilized concepts such as nation, nationalism, identity, national identity, citizenship education, and National Education. They form an intricate web of main concepts overarching this study. Defining such concepts will help to structure the meanings and facilitate readers' understandings in the description, analyses, discussion and elaboration of this study.

Both the western (in the meanings of liberal democracies) and eastern (mainly with reference to East Asian, Chinese and Hong Kong contexts) literature on the main concepts will be addressed below. The researcher made keyword searches in the Hong Kong Institute of Education's library and on-line scholarly websites such as Academic Search Premier and ERIC in order to identify the articles which contain such concepts. A search using key words 'nation', 'nationalism', 'identity', 'national identity', 'citizenship education', 'National Education', and in particular these keywords going together with 'Hong Kong' and 'China' was performed. In particular, this section shall analyze the major arguments that proponents of different national identities offered in recent years. In short, the purpose of this chapter is to locate this study within some relevant academic discussions in order to help understanding the meanings of 'national identity' and to be suggestive of, National Education, in this study.

This chapter is organized into five main sessions:
4.1 Nation
    4.1.1 The concept of 'Nation'
    4.1.2 Nation and government
    4.1.3 Nation and state
    4.1.4 Nation and globalization
    4.1.5 Nation and education
    4.1.6 Concept of 'Nation' in China
    4.1.7 Concept of 'Nation' in Hong Kong
4.2 Nationalism
    4.2.1 The concept of 'Nationalism'
    4.2.2 Concept of 'Nationalism' in Chinese and Hong Kong contexts
4.3 Identity
    4.3.1 Concept of 'identity' and 'multiple identities'

4.1 Nation

4.1.1 The concept of Nation

According to Anderson (1991), a nation can be referred as a human cultural and social community. A nation may also be described as a community of people whose sense of belonging together derives from their belief that they have a common homeland and experience of common traditions and historical development (Thompson, D., 1996). Thompson, A., however, noted that there is an assumption of 'the world is divided into discrete, culturally distinct nations. Nations exist and that individuals routinely identify themselves, and others, as belonging to our nation or, in the case of 'foreigners', to other nations.'(2001:22). An important consequence of these understandings is that the nation is 'objectified': people can *learn* their nation's history, *remember* their national identity and they can *express* this national identity (Thompson, A., 2001). Thompson, A. (2001) also notes that a number of writers have suggested ideas of nation and national identity embedding in contemporary ways of thinking and a need to address this phenomenon as one of the central problems in the world.

In the following section, I shall briefly review the concept of 'nation'.

Hans Kohn's *Ideas of Nationalism* (1944) was a seminal work in its influence on the approaches and arguments of scholars in the field of Nationalism. He argued that as products of history, nations or national identities are ever-changing, under-determined and indefinable, in strictly objective terms. The dichotomy of two main conceptions of nation as analyzed by Kohn below:

> Two main conceptions of nation... emerged in the inter-twining of
> influences and conditions; conflicting and fusing, they became embodied in
> currents of thought in all nations and, to a varying degree, in entire nations.
> The one was basically a rational and universal concept of political liberty
> and the rights of man...it founds its chief support in the political and
> economic strength of the educated middle classes and, with a shift of

emphasis, in the social-democratically organized labor movements. The other was basically founded on history, on monuments and graveyards, even harking back to the mysteries of ancient times and of tribal solidarity. It stressed the past, the diversity and self-sufficiency of nations. It found its support, above all, among the aristocracy and the masses. (1945: 574)

Kohn went on to equate this conceptual divide with a regional one:

Nationalism in the West arose in an effort to build a nation in the political reality and the struggle of the present without too much sentimental regard for the past; nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe created often, out of the myths of the past and the dreams of the future, an ideal fatherland, closely linked with the past, and expected to become sometimes a political reality... While Western nationalism was, in its origin, connected with the concepts of individual liberty, and rational cosmopolitanism current in the eighteenth century, the later nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia easily tended towards a contrary background. (1945: 330)

Kohn (1945) added that diffusion of nationalist ideas beyond the West tended to combine with resentment against the West. This has aggravated the contrast between East and West. The researcher noted such a resentment in China.

After the Second World War, with decolonization in process, there emerged a number of newly independent states that were coincided with ethnic nations. Later, as the literature about 'nation' becomes more complicated, Seton-Watson (1977), a historian, tried to distinguish between the 'old, continuous nations' and new nations. The former, which emerged in the *Middle Ages*, gradually integrated wider sections of the population through state expansion, growth of trade, communications expansion, and the rise of literatures. Although the 'new nations' were formed in the period of nationalism in recent centuries, they were nevertheless the ideological products of educated elites who mould their populations according to the national model of the 'old nations'.

Armstrong (1982), a political scientist, argued that the modern nations should be understood not as something unprecedented, but as products of a longer cycle of ethnic resurgence and decline. Modern nations are thus nothing new in

history and should be treated as a continuation of previous medieval kingdoms. Similarly, Reynolds (1984), a historian specialized in medieval history, argued that there were analogues of modern nationalism in the medieval kingdoms where common customs, law and myths of decent could be found. The implications of such theories are that nations should be understood in a historical and transformative perspective, rather than a truncated and piecemeal perspective.

Anderson (1991) argued that with the advent of books and printed world, in as much as most members never meet each other, yet they feel a common bond, it may be considered as an imagined community – or the nation, in which 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1991:.7). Meanwhile, according to Smith (1991), historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members, and common civic virtue and ideology are the components of the standard, Western model of the nation. Smith (1991: 17) also added that 'Members of the nation are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging'. Smith (1991) further defined the conceptual divergence between the civic-territorial model and the ethnic-genealogical model of the nation. This difference 'is so profound, and the kinds of nationalism to which these alternative models give rise are so varied, that some have despaired of finding any unitary concept of nationalism.' (Smith, 1991: 79)

The concepts of ethnic and civic nationalism (Smith, 1991) are particular relevant to China and Hong Kong. China advocates ethnic-based nationalism in recent years, while Hong Kong is a cosmopolitan city that emphasizes civic concepts such as civil and political rights, equality regardless of race, ethnicity and gender. Yet, elements of ethnic nationalism can also be found in Hong Kong.

A final note is that It is commonly assumed that the development and formation of nation-states within Europe developed out of the Westphalia treaty in the seventeen century (Colomer, 2007), and their experiences originated in specific political, historical and cultural contexts. In Western Europe, nation-states have developed within the background of tackling problems of geographical connections and language differences (Connor, 1994; Robb, 2007). But the concept of 'nation' in a Chinese context is complicated in the sense that China is

made up of five major ethnic nations and a multiplicity of ethnic minorities. However, when one talks about 'nation' in China, it usually refers to the *Han* majority, since China, in a dynasty and geographical sense, has long been governed by the *Han* majority, which was given such a name dating back to the pre-historical times of preceding the *Xia* dynasties. Over different imperial dynasties, *Han* majority mixed up with other major ethnic nations and ethnic minorities. Thus, the concept of 'nation' in China has its special ethnic origins and developments, with *Han* as majority. Therefore, the Chinese experiences cannot be simply compared with those traditions and developments of Western liberal democracy nations. This suggests that a specific and contextual approach to understand the concept of 'nation' in Chinese context is needed.

4.1.2 Nation and government

The relation between nation and government is always problematic. As the literature topic of this study has shown, the Hong Kong SAR government has actively promoted a sense of Chinese national identity.

There has been a sizable literature on the interactions between nation and the government. While medieval times in Europe may be characterized by ruling by the church and priests, one of the decisive criterions of the modern Western nation-state is 'the substantial separation of between the social structure and the exercise of judicial and administrative functions' (Bendix, 1977: 128), in which 'major functions of government such as the adjudication of legal disputes, the collection of revenue, the control of currency, military recruitment, the organization of the postal system, the construction of public facilities, and others' (Bendix, 1977: 128) were broken away from the inherited privileges that were common in the preceding medieval political life. The specific meaning of a national citizenship also lies in a direct relationship between the central organs of the nation-state and each member of the community through principles of equality, for example, the permissive right to vote and the obligatory to send their children to the schools (Bendix, 1977). Yet, nation state in the rest of the world may not always feature separation of social structure and the exercise of administrative functions. Take the Communist countries in Eastern Europe in the last century for an example, many communist states featured complete integration of social, administrative, political and judiciary functions in a single entity. The Middle East countries in the modern world, which are usually characterized by Muslim and tribal ideologies, also belong to another case.

On the importance of politics in fostering a nation, dating back to the last century, the sociologist Weber argued for the importance of political action for ethnic formation and persistence. He suggested that 'It is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity' (Smith, 1991: 26). On the processes of nation-building, it is true for both the present and the past that nation-states often make use of collective identities to motivate their citizens (Boerner, 1986). Other examples include encouraging intellectuals as well as physical achievements, calling service in battle, or paying of taxes to mobilize the citizens. In a general sense, each nation-state also attempted to create a culturally unified 'nation' by means of repression, coercion, symbols and compulsory school (Boerner, 1986). Symbols of nationhood are used to create social cohesion by arousing a deeply felt sense of a shared community, and these encompass the unique and distinctive values of the society (Pholsena, 2005). Smith (1991:77) argued that:

'...in many ways national symbols, customs, and ceremonies are the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism. They embody its basic concepts, making them visible and distinct for every member, communicating the tents of an abstract ideology in palpable, concrete terms that evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community.'

However, in practice, very few European countries had achieved any obvious ethnic or linguistic unity across their own territories. Also, not all of them were equally successful at integrating the disparate local units. For example, Inthorn (2007) argued on German media and national identity that there is not a true essence of the nation. Instead, the concept of nation is argued as a social construct that may be imagined differently in different contexts, and that there are competing versions of what it means to be German (Inthorn, 2007).

In the Chinese context, nation and government has always been tightly connected, with *Han* majority rule over China in most of the times. In most imperial dynasties, the whole nation efforts were given to expel foreign invasions, with some dynasties defeated by foreign ethnic nations. These on-going processes just made the *Han* majority mixed with minority nations. But the whole nation struggled after the revolution in 1911 and the failed attempts of establishing a Republic shortly, and the civil wars between Nationalist and

Communist Party had left the whole nation in a difficult period again. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, unity under the political saying of 'Chinese nations' and the legacy of traditional *Han* people centered Chinese culture have been actively promoted. Policies of encouraging *Han* people to live in minorities provinces have been adopted as a means of cultural assimilation by the Chinese government.

Ng (2011) argued that education is a tool for transmitting the ideology of a country. In the colonial times of Hong Kong, the government used 'depoliticized' and 'de-nation' to govern Hong Kong, so that Hong Kong people had a vague sense of their national identity (Ng, 2011). Ng has pointed out the use of education as a government tool in ideology. After the return of sovereignty, the Hong Kong SAR government has resorted to using education as a tool of ideology, and that's why the government has put forward National Education. This study attempts to study the perceptions of Hong Kong's secondary school teacher on national identity and National Education because it matters to the implementation success of the government's intention to use educational as a tool of nationalistic ideology. It also intends to find out how their perceptions develop before and after 1997.

4.1.3 Nation and state

The concept of 'Nation' is tied up with National Education in Hong Kong, as the Hong Kong SAR government has enforced a policy of promoting a sense of Chinese national identity to forge closer ties between Hong Kong and China. Although 'nation' is commonly used in informal discourse as equated with 'state' or 'country', it is not identical to 'state'. A useful differentiation would be the people in a nation-state consider themselves as a 'nation', but united in the political and legal structure of the 'state'. In this study, the research participants are asked to give their perceptions on their identity in 'nation', rather than the political meanings of 'state'.

With the widespread influences of the Western democracies in the modern times, the conceptions of 'nation' and 'state' have remained vital elements, although in somewhat altered form, in most non-Western conceptions of nation and state. Especially in Eastern Europe and Asia, the conceptions of 'nation' and 'state' 'challenged the dominance of the liberal Western model and added significant new elements, more attuned to the very different circumstances and

trajectory of non-Western communities (Smith, 1991). Kymlicka & He (2005) argued that the model of a centralized and homogenizing nation-state loses its lusture in Asia.

In China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has monopolized the state since 1949 by saying that it represents all Chinese under the political theories of 'Three Revolutionary Classes' and 'Three Represents' (Dickson, 2003). Even in ethnic terms, the CCP certainly represents *Han* majority, other four main ethnic nations and numerous ethnic minorities. The Chinese party-state, as what Scharr (1984) argued, claims its legitimacy by drawing attention to what it has accomplished or promises to accomplish for the Chinese population. So, any discussion of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong should also take note of how Chinese central government conceptualizes the relationship between nation and state in which the party-state could represent the *Han* majority, main ethnic nations and ethnic minorities.

4.1.4 Nation and globalization

Thompson, A. (2001) notes the pervasiveness of the national sentiments in social life despite contemporary arguments on how national borders, nation-states and national identities are being eroded by globalization forces. But in the globalized world nowadays, old concept such as nation, among other older cultures and solidarities such as neighborhood, work, class, has been weakened in a world that is much more mobile and less predictable. These changes have brought with them increased tensions and insecurities (Muir & Wetherwell, 2010). At the same time, the salience of identity is also growing, and there is a range of identity-related questions being discussed which touch upon race, gender and age in relation to the globalization phenomenon.

Indeed, globalization has created challenges of the supremacy of a nation but these proliferating questions are out of the scope of this study here. However, a discussion on identifying the connections between national identity and globalization may just be sufficient for the purpose of this present study. This will be dealt with in the session of 7.5.5. *National identity in a complex, multi-layered and integrated conception of identities*, in which suggestions of this study will also be made.

4.1.5 Nation and education

With regard to education, it is always charged with the mission of cultivating citizens' loyalty to a nation, and this applies to the Hong Kong SAR government's nationalistic project after 1997. Gellner (1964) commented that a good deal of cultural consensus is needed within political units if they are to prosper in the modern world. In a similar vein, state education systems usually choose to privilege one language in education in the interests of economic and military efficiency (Gellner, 1964).

From a worldwide perspective, in the U.K. dating back to the 1970s, the combination needs of lowering the age of voting to 18, the notion that politics was something that children should learn, the extent of political ignorance among young people, as well as a number of studies and reforms associated with the democratization of educational structures, all these saw the need to include politics in the curriculum. Furthermore, history teaching was commonly infused with the mission of instilling a sense of respect and proud to the political system in the U.K. (Davies, Gregory & Riley, 1999) In the U.S., civic education usually takes patriotism and loyalty to the nation as its aims (Brown, 2005), among other aims like understanding about the historical and political system, an active attitude to political authority, and belief in equality, political participation, analytical, communication skills, responsible citizens, and community awareness (Brown, 2005). In West Germany after World War II, political education shoulder the responsibilities to encourage students to think about their rights and responsibilities as citizens, drawing from their study of Germany's troubled past – including the Third Reich – and offering everyday situations as examples (Puaca, 2009). Also, as Welsh (2004) explained Australia's evolution into a nation state, history texts served as a way in which a nation or state can 'explain to the rest the world how this remarkable society has evolved into a nation' (p. xxxviii). In fact, nation-building architects always make extensive use of history to promote those historical narratives that embody the politically correct teleology of the state (Anderson, 1991; Smith, 2001). Meanwhile, Janmaat & Vickers (2007) argued that the historiographies of new states in Eastern Europe, as well as Russian Federation, China and elsewhere which engage in nation-building process, continue to be essentially 'monolithic and intolerant to alternative views as those of their communist predecessors (Janmaat & Vickers, 2007). To the researcher, China emphasized on a single official version of nation-building in particular.

In Asia, the decolonizing process after World War II had given rise to many newly independent nation-states which saw the need to cultivate citizens with loyalty and allegiances to the newly formed government. The main aim of Civics Education in Malaysia was to 'cultivate, instill and foster patriotism, the qualities of tolerance and being considerate, and independent attitude, self achievement, and the desire and ability to understand society's problems as well as be ready to act or contribute towards solving these problems' (Ministry of Education, Malaysia, 1979: 13). To Singapore, which was regarded as a typical example of developmental state (Castells, 1992), it has been regarded as quite successful in forging a Singaporean national identity in a multi-ethnic environment through public propaganda and education (Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004).

Cohen (1991) argued that in *Ming, Qing*, and *Republican* history of China, there could be an upward mobility argument in which the elite educate the state according to its own stereotypes. It does this by establishing schools, producing tracts that distinguish the orthodox from the heterodox, and by perpetuating practices sanctioned by the state. These measures largely succeed because the stereotypes of the elite are widely accepted (Cohen, 1991). After *Open Door Policy* in 1979, social participation in China which grounded on patriotism and national identity have been given emphasis (Lee, 2005), and that teachers regard the social dimension of citizenship, such as informed, dutifulness, traditional and conservative/obedient, as more important than the other citizenship constructs (Lee, 2005). Citizenship education is directed from the highest levels of the Chinese state, with over 50 directives explicitly addressing its goals, content, and implementation issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and various state organs since 1979 (Zhao & Fairbrother, 2010). These directives cover themes of curriculum and teaching of ideological character and political theory, moral education, patriotic education, and civic morality. The underlying belief is guided and promoted by Marxism-Leninism. It has been developed by Chinese leaders and theoreticians, which demonstrated the importance of the paternalistic state being inspired and faithful to ideology (Dickson, 2003). The post-reform era has seen a relative decrease in such Marxist-Leninist ideology in both society and education with increasing attention to social stability and people's material well-being. This de-emphasis in ideology is brought about by attention to economic development through openness to the outside world (Dickson, 2003). The

Chinese Communist state also attempts to inspire the Chinese population a commitment to the improvement of society by promoting emotional attachments such as national pride and dignity (Sautman, 2001; Zhao, 1998). All these developments in nationalistic sentiments in Chinese education which center on social improvement, national pride and dignity, seem to spark off 'spill-over' effects into Hong Kong's education.

In Hong Kong, education for the purpose of building up a sense of Chinese national identity and strengthening ties with China have been gaining policy importance, as the literature review in the previous chapter has shown. Since the handover in 1997, the Chief Executive and chief officials of the Hong Kong SAR government have repeatedly stressed that there is a need to integrate the local Hong Kong population with mainland Chinese in an all round way, not to mention education plays a key role in it (CDC, 2001, 2002). Being proud of Chinese and preserving the dignity of Chinese nation are the key goals. The Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive (2010) of Hong Kong reinstated that it is the government's established policy to promote National Education as previous years (Hong Kong SAR Chief Executive, 2007, 2008, 2009), and thus more resources will be spent on National Education in order to strengthen Hong Kong's ties with China. The researcher hereby argues that there is a need to investigate the perceptions of teachers on national identity and National Education, since it is teachers who implement such a high profile policy of National Education.

4.1.6 Concept of 'Nation' in Chinese context

The meanings of the above discussions in relation to this study can be made more clearly by putting the concept of 'nation' in a context of Chinese scholarly understanding. In China, the 'nation' is usually depicted as enjoying the triumph of an axial civilization power in the making of world civilization and human progress, while in the previous century this pointed to the many economic and political setbacks that China has experienced in modern hundred years of time, especially the decades before the establishment of the P.R.C (Soysal & Wong, 2006). He (2006) argued that China has got a long-standing (but an internally diverse) Confucian tradition, as well as various strands of Marxist thoughts. This Confucian tradition rests on a distinction between civilized core and uncivilized periphery. The *Han* majority have taken up the paternalistic role of 'older brothers' to the 'backward' minorities, and limited forms of local autonomy and

cultural rights were in place. Whether it is education in the national spirit, or ideological and political education, there is always a belief of national integration into the *Han* majority which is rooted in the historic idea of ethnic mixing. Therefore, it can be argued that 'nation' in China suggests a sense of unilateral ethnic integration into the *Han* majority, sometimes to the degree of absorbing the minorities into the *Han* Chinese majority.

Over the past three decades, Chinese society has witnessed a struggle for the relaxation of strict political control and authoritarian party rule, and there was an eagerness to build a democratic civil society, especially from the intellectual and grassroots sectors (Zhao & Fairbrother, 2010). However, patriotism and national identity has already deeply embedded in the modern Chinese society. On perceptions of citizenship (Lee, 2005), Chinese teachers, albeit based on a sample teachers of *Guangzhou*, view social participation as important, but grounded it on patriotism and national identity. Therefore, the concept of 'nation' has already taken roots in Chinese teachers' profession.

Recent changes in the orientation and curriculum of civic and moral education in China have also received widespread attention (Zhong & Lee, 2008). In Chinese secondary school curriculum, China as a nation, when compared to the United States, represents the theory of a historic civilization, while the United States represents the theory of progress in the modern world. A stable and advancing China is thought to be beneficial to the world community (Soysal & Wong, 2006). In a wider sense, the 'nation' portrayed in China is no longer confined to a rigid configuration of political ideologies and the triumphant past. Instead, a version of nationalism that is receptive to many of the common values shared by the world in general has emerged (Soysal & Wong, 2006: 80). Meanwhile, Callahan (2006) also noted that in China, the 'nation' does not arise from the political leaders alone. It also arises from the cultural governance of less official sites in art, film, literature, and public holidays. Take the *National Humiliation Day* for example, it goes beyond producing and containing nationalism. The Chinese people also consumes nationalism as part of a symbolic economy that can give rise to an identity. Therefore, the Chinese sense of 'nation' is increasingly characterized by non-political elements in recent decades.

The implication of the above understanding is that 'nation' in the Chinese context is complex and multi-layered. When discussing the concepts of national

identity or National Education in Hong Kong, one should pay attention to the complexity of meanings involved, and this study contributes to this knowledge gap.

4.1.7 Concept of 'Nation' in Hong Kong
With the above debates in mind, the conception of 'nation' in Hong Kong is also problematic because it is sometimes affected by its Chinese translation in daily life usage, which can be equated with 'country' and 'state' in literal meanings. Hence, in conducting this, the researcher has consulted the relevant literature to locate the most relevant meanings that are relevant and recognizable to Hong Kong people. The researcher also put great efforts to make clear the meanings of the 'nation', 'national identity', and 'National Education' to the research participants during in-depth interviews and field observations data collection. Meanwhile, there were some studies about the ethnic identity and national identity of Hong Kong people in the 1980s and 1990s (Lau and Kuan, 1988:178-87; Lau, 1992:152-153; Lee and Leung, 1995). These studies revealed that Hong Kong people usually placed ethnic identity above the national identity, which may suggest that they usually identified themselves with a 'cultural China' instead of 'political China', thus avoiding any political sense of identifying with Communist China.

4.2 Nationalism
4.2.1 The concept of 'Nationalism'
While there is a considerable debate over the historical origins of nationalism, most scholars accept that it, at least as an ideology and social movement itself, is a modern phenomenon originating in Europe (Smith, 1998). The development of nationalism is closely related to that of the modern nation state. Also, the push for popular sovereignty that came with the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century added weight to nationalism. Since then, nationalism has become one of the most significant political and social forces in liberal western democracies, especially as causes of both First and Second World Wars.

George Orwell (1945), in a memorable essay called 'The Sporting Spirit' appearing in a newspaper column, commented that the rise of nationalism is 'the lunatic modern habit of identifying oneself with large power units and seeing everything in terms of competitive prestige' (Orwell, 1945: no page number found). Nationalism can also refer to a form of nationalistic ideas

expressed in the social or political domains. It refers to an ideology, a sentiment, a form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation (Smith, 1993: 72). With these assertions, nationalism could be conceived as an ideology expressed in nationalistic and sentimental terms, carrying cultural, social and political implications.

Kohn (1944), a renowned scholar on nationalism, puts that both the idea and form of nationalism were developed before the age of nationalism actually came in the modern history. His prime ideas were the emergence and ascendancy of nationalism as a dominant force of the modern age, its interactions with irresistible forces such as democracy and industrialism, and there is a need to trace its pre-modern history, i.e. roughly the period before the French Revolution. Kohn (1944) also argued that nationalism, as a conscious attribution of meaning, gives nations and national identities the profile and momentum needed for action on a historical scale. For Kohn, this nationalist infusion of meaning into group identities was one of the three main currents of modern history, with the others were democracy and industrialism. The combination of these three forces has transformed the late eighteenth century's Europe, and then transformed the rest of the world. Kohn (1944) also distinguished 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism. While the former refers to accepting of citizens on grounds that they can freely adopt a given national identity, the latter refers to a decent blood-linkage nationalism. This dualistic analyses form a classic distinction of 'ethnic' and 'civic' nationalism, and they can be found in countries in the world with different basis of granting citizenship.

Another major contributor to the literature of nationalism is Gellner (1963). In his theory of *Thought and Change* (1963), Gellner argued that a good deal of cultural consensus is needed within political units if they are to prosper in the modern world. Thus, working on cultural integration is an area of nationalistic concern. Meanwhile, state education systems typically choose to privilege only one language in the interests of economic and military efficiency, thus disadvantaging any ambitious locality elites who had gained local cultural capital. Nationalists in striving for power, if any, were thus social revolutionaries who wanted to create a nation where none had really existed before. Traditional grouping that had resisted imperial pretensions were doomed to great disappointment at the hands of the new modernizing elite.

To Gellner (1983), his second theory of *Nations and Nationalism* can be expounded in a much higher level of abstraction. Gellner has introduced a scheme of philosophic history which justified his claim that nationalism was modern – there is a link between industrialization and the emergence of nationalism. Gellner adds that there are agents who homogenize national territories because they believe that this will aid the varied workings of social, economic and political life (Hall, 2006). Hall (2006), however, commented such a view lead to a consequence of structural conditions came to be seen in purely abstract terms, and in particular the insistence that industrial society simply needs nationalism because culturally cohesive community was a precondition of the proper working of a modern economy. But Gellner argued for a predominance of causal necessity of industrialism led to nationalism. Gellner also notes that not every ethnic or national community makes it into the world of modern nation-states. A selection mechanism seems to be at work, but Gellner has not ever theorized it. In view of the 1989 Communist Eastern bloc upheaval, Gellner emphasized the roles of non-material motives for nationalist mobilization and insisting that industrialism's 'need' for nationalism was put into action by entirely mundane desires of specific actors for power and influence (Hall, 1998).

To Hall (2006), the link between industrialization and nationalism is a distinctively structuralist account. This type of philosophy of social science emphasized causes so much more than meaning, but to Gellner, little attention needed to be paid to the ideas and meanings of nationalists. Hall (2006) commented on this assertion, while in academic circles, we usually content with theories that explain perhaps half of the variation of any particular variable, in the case of nationalism, it is the case that Gellner's account does not explain everything, as several European nationalist movements unquestionably predated the emergence of industrialization, such as the drive of Greek independence. Britain and France gained nationalist sentiments in the eighteenth century before the onset of industrial organization (Mann, 1992). Later, the Balkan nationalism abounded in no way we can tell there is already industrialization, and so did the nationalism emerged in the late *Qing* dynasty of China in the early 20th century with a 'primordial' conception of national-racial identity with its roots in the vision of China as an 'awakened' nation-state promoted by nationalist leaders such as the Chinese national father *Sun Yat-sen*

(Vickers, 2005). But there were cases where nationalism is linked to industrialization, albeit these are often intermingled with the more political causes of nationalist mobilization.

Nationalism certainly has its own severe critique too. Anderson (1983) argued that the fraternity found in the deep and horizontal comradeship when conceptualizing the nation 'makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings' (1983:7). Anderson further argues that:

> These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? I believe that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism. (1983:7)

Nationalism, to Kellas (1991), can be classified as ethnic nationalism, social nationalism, and official nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is 'the nationalism of ethnic groups who define their nation in exclusive terms, mainly on the basis of common descent' (Kellas, 1991: 51). Social nationalism is 'the nationalism of a nation which defines itself by social ties and culture rather than by common descent. This type of nationalism 'stresses the shared sense of national identity, community and culture.' (Kellas, 1991: 52) Official nationalism is 'the nationalism of the state, encompassing all those legally entitled to be citizens, irrespective of their ethnicity, national identity and culture' (Kellas, 1991: 52). According to Kellas (1991), some states are correctly called 'nation-states' in the sense that the state is exclusively composed of an ethnic nation or a social nation. Yet, most states are multiethnic and multinational, such as the United Kingdom which consists of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, and even China is composed of *Han* Chinese and 55 ethnic minorities. According to Vickers (2005), a 'primordial' conception of national-racial identity could be found among early Chinese nationalists in the early 20th century. This was a blend of traditional ethnic prejudices and political practice with neo-Darwinist conceptions of race and nation. This Chinese racially-defined nationalism was part of the natural order of things. Chinese nationalist ideology also tended to emphasize the importance of unity, solidarity, and military strength. By looking at how Hong Kong teachers perceive the meanings of national identity, this

study adds to the knowledge understanding in a Chinese context.

Another recent discussion about nationalism is the 'banal nationalism' coined by Bilig (1995), in which we are facing daily with 'banal' reminders, or 'flaggings', of our nations and our national identities. Callahan (2006) also argues for how politics is best analyzed as a series of performances through the cultural governance of less official sites in art, film, literature and public holidays, with example of 'Chinese National Humiliation Day activities go beyond producing and containing nationalism, and that Chinese people are also consuming nationalism as part of a symbolic economy that generates identity' (Callahan, 2006: 179). Therefore, in this study, one of the research questions inquires into what personal, social and political events affect their perceptions on national identity. Hong Kong is ethnically, culturally, and geographically part of China, and the spill-over effects of events happened in China may affect Hong Kong people's perceptions on national identity. This study aims at filling such a knowledge gap.

Mann (1993) emphasized on the social psychology created by state action. Social movements characteristically take their character from the states with which they interact. In particular, politically conscious and nationalist movements tend to emerge when states act in arbitrary manner, whether in terms of taxation, repression, exclusion or conscription (Mann, 1993). Exit became a very attractive option when voices were denied and loyalties to the state destroyed (Hirschman, 1970). In other words, nationalist and secessionist impulses often resulted from the drives of great powers to homogenize their territories (Hall, 2006). However, exit to Hong Kong is no option because Hong Kong's return to China was under the arrangement of 'One Country, Two Systems'. Nationalist movement in Hong Kong thus confined to adding claims to a Chinese national identity rather than on any saying of independence.

Nationalism became the primary forces after World War II which pushed ahead the founding of post-colonial sovereign independent states in various parts of the world, most notably in the decolonizing African and Asian countries. Following the disintegration of colonial powers and after denouncing colonial rules as undemocratic by the human rights principles as written in the *United Nations Charter*, a new era of nation-states was found. In fact, there have been recurrent waves of popular 'ethno-nationalism' in nineteenth-century Eastern

Europe and the Middle East, in twentieth-century Africa and Asia, and in Europe and the Soviet Union since the 1960s (Smith, 1991). In Hong Kong, post-colonial is a topic related to nationalism, because the year of 1997 signaled an end of British rule and the start of Chinese nation-building under 'One Country, Two Systems'. This study, nonetheless, inquires into perceptions on the ever important topics of national identity and National Education in education.

4.2.2 Concept of 'Nationalism' in Chinese and Hong Kong contexts

The meanings of nationalism in studying Hong Kong's politics and society of need further contextual elaboration. The nationalistic context of Hong Kong, which has been regarded as a thriving society with an established rule of law and an advanced economy (Allen, 1997) but not a strong sense of nationalism in most of the time of its existence, can be seen in the bigger picture of how nationalism developed in China. Of course, there were times of rampant nationalistic feelings in this society, such as the Great Strike in the 1920s in which the Hong Kong people protested against colonial powers in China, and during the crackdown on democracy movement in China in 1989. However, on the whole, Hong Kong has not seen many nationalistic activities throughout its history since the British rule in 1842.

During the late *Qing* dynasty period at the turn of 20th century, amid the political turbulence of the competitions between Royalists and Revolutionists in facing the threats posed by the colonial powers, China's nationalism fluctuates between ethnic or cultural-based national identity arguments (Shen & Chien, 2006), with the former emphasizing *Han* Chinese, while the latter denotes a more encompassing identity. Many scholars of modern Chinese history, who were under the influence of the modernist approach, contend that China was transited from an empire to a nation at the early twentieth century. Thus, Chinese nationalism is a typically modern phenomenon in the sense that the early revolutionaries employed the doctrine of nationalism to mobilize the people first to overthrow the Manchus and resist the invasion of western imperialism in late *Qing* period, as well as the neighbor Japanese (Jiang, 2006). As yet, it should be noted that Prasenjit Duara cautions against a radical disjuncture between pre-modern people and modern nation, and noted that 'the long history of complex civilization such as that of China does not fit the picture of isolated communities and a vertically separate but unified clerisy...There were large number of people in agrarian societies who were

conscious of their culture and identity at multiple levels, and in that sense were perhaps not nearly so different from their modern counterparts' (Duara, 1996:32).

The early 20th century also saw the need to reimage China through participation in international sports (Xu, 2008), especially after the 1911 Revolution and the 1920s- 1930s warlords' battles and the Civil War between Nationalist Party and Communist Party. Later on, Jones (2005) observes that a national narrative was always present even when China still indoctrinated its youth with communist ideology after the establishment of the Communist China in 1949. The political mobilization movements in 1960s to 1970s, however, served as deterrents to many Hong Kong people's national identifcation. China was regarded as a Red communist party-state country, and many Chinese people fled to Hong Kong in fear of killings in political campaigns. The perception that China was regarded as a red Communist country was feared by many Hong Kong people throughout the second half of the 20th century.

In fact, 'nationalism' to Hong Kong people was a taboo to be spoken of, except to those pro-Beijing Communist leftist camps in Hong Kong. They organized protests and demonstrations against the British colonial rule in Hong Kong alongside the tragic Cultural Revolution which started in 1966. The anti-colonial movements escalated into the 1966-67 riots which shocked the whole community by their abilities to create oppositions against the British colonial government in Hong Kong. Nationalism, or any national identification with China, was seen as favouring communism. But many Hong Kong people did not want to be involved in nationalism and Hong Kong people were prepared to acquiesce in the colonial rule for fear of something worse (Vickers, 2005).

The apprehension and uncertainty about the approaching return to Chinese rule led many Hong Kong people to think seriously about what defined their lifestyle. Hong Kong people were forced to think about what would be the way Hong Kong worked that made it so different from China (Vickers, 2005). The 4th June event in 1989, which saw military crackdown on university students' protest against corruption and calling for democracy and freedom, triggered the hidden patriotic feelings of nearly one million of Hong Kong people. Mass rally and demonstrations in support of democracy movement in China were organized, despite the Chinese government calling all these as 'anti-Chinese forces' and

'counter-revolutionary'. The relations between Hong Kong and China thus severed and entered into a mutual non-trust period before 1997. The 4th June event also helped to shape Hong Kong people's consciousness of a distinct and separate 'Hong Kong identity' (Vickers, 2005). Hong Kong was thus returned to China amid fears that China might use iron-fist to stamp out the democratic movements in Hong Kong.

The first few years after 1997, however, were dominated by economic repressions. The 1998 Asian Financial Crisis, Bird Flu virus in 1999, and the SARS outbreak in 2003 hit hard the economy of Hong Kong. In view of these, China gave Hong Kong economic benefits by allowing Chinese citizens to go to Hong Kong individually without the need to join the pre-arranged group tours. Also, a trade agreement i.e. Closer Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA), which allows products and services from Hong Kong to enter into China without paying heavy taxes, was signed. It was widely regarded as a huge economic gift given to Hong Kong SAR, which in turn drew envy from other Chinese cities and provinces. In fact, with significant economic growths since the late 1990s, Chinese nationalism seems to be on an ever increasing trend. This has exerted pressures on local Hong Kong identity because the latter was somewhat built upon the relative superiority of economic achievements as those in China.

In the first decade of 21st century, the successful advancements of aerospace technology and the spectacular hosting of 2008 Beijing Olympic Games have contributed to a heightened sense of Chinese nationalism in Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the late *Qing* history of imperialist aggression has been employed in arousing nationalism in China today, as the National Humiliation Day is 'one manifestation of the discourse of national humiliation, which recounts how at the hands of foreign invaders and corrupt Chinese regimes, sovereignty was lost, territory dismembered, and the Chinese people thus humiliated' (Callahan, 2006: 180). Nowadays, the special modernizing momentum that takes part in China has created the feelings that it can achieve what other developed countries can achieve. This may suggest why there have been some current affairs books which are titled as *'China can say "No"'*, *'China is not happy about the world'*, etc. in the aftermath of financial turmoil of 2008 that ravaged the United States and European countries. These books caught the attention of local media. A strong Chinese nationalism is already locking the doors of Hong Kong.

At the same time, the natural disasters happened in China also aroused nationalistic passions in Hong Kong. The earthquake strikes in *Sichuan, Gansu* and *Yunnan* provinces in 2009, 2010 and 2011 stirred up the sympathetic feelings of Hong Kong people. Disaster reliefs and donation appeals were widespread afterwards. Also, TV programmes were produced by the government and commercials to arouse people's sympathetic feelings towards the Chinese victims. The underlying message is that when Chinese in the mainland suffer, Hong Kong people should offer help. This is a form of nationalism that appeals to one's sympathy and Chinese ethnic bonds, and is commonly evoked in education too, as seen from the previous chapter of government's work on National Education.

4.3 Identity

4.3.1 Concepts of 'identity' and 'multiple identities'

Identity was originated from psychology, usually refers to the bio-psychological needs of facing difference. In academic studies, the concept of identity is coming to be placed high on the list of key analytical categories that orient academic research in recent decades (Goff & Dunn, 2004). As the literature proceeds, identity was used in other disciplines such as sociology, politics, and anthropology, too.

Identity, however, is 'produced and reproduced in the course of social interaction' (Jenkins, 1994:209), if one takes in the epistemology of interaction. To Muir and Wetherell (2010), identity is best understood as a process, rather than a thing. Each day we are engaged in the practice of 'identification': ascribing names and labels to people and things. Therefore, identities are contingent, organized and predictable.

Muir and Wetherell (2010) noted some sources of identities are difficult to change, for example, the skin colour and sex, and they form the basis of understandings of 'who we are' by constant repetition and interaction with others. Similarly, Strauss and Quinn (1997) noted some surprisingly strong understanding and thinking of themselves were widely shared by members of some social groups (Strauss & Quinn, 1997). These understandings are 'powerfully motivating sources of their action, and remarkably stable over succeeding generations' (1997:3). Indeed, in the past studies of national identity,

especially those ethnically based, it is presumed that identity is fixed, homogenous, natural, bounded, and easily defined. Such a conceptualization led to essentialization and stereotyping of the actors involved (Goff & Dunn, 2004). However, it is increasingly recognized that other sources such as sports allegiances and musical tastes are more open to personal crafting and design, and so they are more prone to change (Muir and Wetherell, 2010). Goff & Dunn (2004) found that some identities were evolving more than or more quickly than others, despite some identities retained a relatively degree of continuity over time, or have not altered noticeably. The present study adds into the above discussion by containing research questions on how did the research participants perceive their national identity before and after 1997.

Identity is commonly used to describe an individual's comprehension of oneself as a discrete and separate identity. Davies, Gregory & Riley described this as 'The way in which people see themselves or are seen by others is important for citizenship', and 'to be a citizen normally means that one belongs to a particular group' (1999: 2). People will possibly gain a sense of positive self-esteem by belonging to their identity groups too, which further a sense of being in a community. Also, this may mean that citizenship can have legal connotations and there may be issues related to perceptions of nationhood (Davies, Gregory & Riley, 1999).

'Identity politics' also emerges as a sub-field for discussions and disputes about to whom people give their loyalty (McCrone, et al., 1998). The weakening of old solidarities around neighbourhood, class, work and nation have contributed to changes of a world with increased tensions and insecurities, which in turn lead to new forms of identity politics (Muir & Wetherwell, 2010). This study, however, focuses on one of the old forms of identities, i.e. national identity, since it is emphasized by the Hong Kong SAR government as one of the top policy priorities both in education and society. The researcher acknowledged that nowadays the concept of global identity is gaining weight in scholarly discussion such as 'citizens of the world' (Davies, Gregory & Riley, 1999).

Frueh (2004), Arnold (2004), and Grovogui (2004) all argued that change in identities is related to evolving events and material circumstances. Identities could be conceptualized as fragmented, hybrid, contested, dynamic and evolving. Strauss & Quinn (1997: 9) argued that more works can be done on the either-or

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propositions of 'identities are predetermined and fixed or identities are completely constructed and fluid.' These understandings have informed the design of an in-depth interview question that asks for what are the significant events that have exerted impacts on development of national identity.

Meanwhile, multiple identities seem to pervade citizenship education discussions. Potter (2002) suggest that young learners as having multiple identities. They are learners in schools and citizens in society. As learners, they will be taking experiences, reflecting on experiences, sharing their reflections and deciding on better ways of learning, being and doing in the future. As future citizens in the society, they learn how to become a citizen in the future. Sen (2006) argued that 'there are a great variety of categories to which we simultaneously belong' (2006: 19). There should be two recognitions here: one is that 'identities are robustly plural, and that the importance of one identity need not obliterate the importance of others', and the second recognition is that 'a person has to make choices – explicitly or by implication – about what relative importance to attach, in a particular context, to the divergent loyalties and priorities that may compete for precedence' (2006: 19). Furthermore, plural identities, whether they are contrasting or non-contrasting, may compete for priority based on class, race, gender, religion, political commitments, professional obligations, or citizenship. Leung & Ngai (2011) found that there exist competing citizenship identities in Hong Kong in this global age, in particular the debates between local, national and global citizenship. The multiple identities issue in Hong Kong has become ever more important and, to a certain extent, it competes with national identity. The rationale of conducting this study on perception of national identity and National Education could be seen in contributing to understanding of national identity in Hong Kong in face of multiple-identities.

4.3.2 Citizenship education and Identity
The classic formulation of the meaning of citizenship in modern industrial democracies was analyzed in some details by T. H. Marshall who makes 'membership of a community', 'rights' and 'duties' as definitive features of citizenship (Carr, 2008). Citizenship, to Pamela J. Conover (1995), consists of three elements: membership in the political community, sense of citizenship, i.e. citizen identity, and practice, i.e. both political participation and civic activity. Thus, membership, sense of community, identity, rights and responsibilities are

keywords. Yet, it should be noted that citizenship is 'a paradigmatic example of an "essentially contested concept" – a concept whose very meaning is itself the subject of intense controversy and conflict between rival social and political groups' (Carr, 2008: 29). Splitter (2009) further argued that identity in citizenship is 'collective' in the sense of imposing a strict categorization on persons, so that their own sense of identity is consumed and defined by the group. Also, identity in citizenship does not generate adequate identity criteria for their (individual) members (i.e. persons).

A 'citizen's identification' refers to how an individual identify to his/her country in psychological and emotional dimensions. Out of the need to maintain and establish political order and social stability, a political entity usually tries to strengthen the identification of its members towards the political entity (Xiao, 2004). But there is also evidence of people identifying more strongly with local or gender groups than with national states (Davies, Gregory & Riley, 1999). This local identification may have implications for understanding local identity in Hong Kong.

Citizenship education nowadays goes far beyond classes in 'civics' (Kymlicka, 2008). It also 'involves acquiring a range of dispositions, virtues and loyalties that are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship' (Kymlicka, 2008: 128). Identity is also considered to be a key factor in citizenship education (Cogan, 1998), and sense of identity is usually defined in national terms, though most countries acknowledge the existence of multiple and overlapping identities (Cogan & Derricott, 1998).

In Hong Kong citizenship studies, there have been some useful investigations and arguments on multiple identities, with particular references to the global citizenship education (Lee & Leung, 2006). Leung & Ngai (2011) argued that with both globalization and localization, there are competing claims and different version of local, national and global identities.

With regard to global citizenship education literature, writer such as Nussbaum (1997) argued for 'cosmopolitan education' that will extend the classroom beyond national boundaries so that student will learn all individuals, irrespective of their location within particular nation-states. This is particularly appealing to Hong Kong education readers. In a comparative study on Shanghai and Hong

Kong education, Lee & Leung (2006) found that a large majority of Hong Kong and Shanghai principals and teachers support strengthening global citizenship education in their secondary school curriculum. While Hong Kong teachers mostly cited the reason of understanding and accepting multiple values, Shanghai teachers tended to cite the reason of raising the competitiveness of their students for global citizenship education. In addition, there are a number of non-government organizations which work on the idea of global citizen and global citizenship education in Hong Kong:

- Oxfam Hong Kong (Global Citizenship Education)
  http://www.oxfam.org.hk/en/globalcitizenshipeducation.aspx
- Chinese YMCA of Hong Kong (Be a Global Citizen Campaign)
  http://www.ymca.org.hk/big5/globalcitizen/GC_details_cn.html
- Asia and Pacific Alliance of YMCAs (Tokyo Statement on citizenship)
  http://www.asiapacificymca.org/statements/Forum_on_Global_Citizenship.htm
- Crossroads Foundation Ltd
  http://www.crossroads.org.hk
- SynergyNet (Global Citizens: General Education in the Age of Globalization)
  http://www.synergynet.org.hk/en_m9_detail.php?id=1219
- Humanity in Focus (Marching for global citizenship in Hong Kong)
  http://www.humanityfocus.org/en/ourwork/enews/gaza/Marching_for_global_citizenship _in_Hong_Kong.pdf
- World Vision- Hong Kong
  http://www.worldvision.org.hk/eng/watercampaign/photo.asp

4.4 National Identity
4.4.1 Concept of 'national identity'
There are scholarly discussion on the linkages between nation and national identity. Gellner (1983) suggested that the appeal of the ideas of nation and national identity is that they seem so straightforward that having a national identity seems to be we just seem to have them. Thompson, A. further argued that nations and national identities are 'fundamentally sociological categories with which each of us as individuals work in order to make sense of our social world' (2001: 24), and they are not naturally occurring. The social interactions that produce and reproduce national identities are always obscured. These trigger the researcher to conduct a study on how do teachers perceive their national identity and National Education, and in particular, what are the

significant events that affect their national identity.

In fact, Grew (1986) argued that there was a need to research on national identity, because the topic is a difficult one, and that many topics connected with it are still in dispute. Leung and Yuen (2009) also raised that the national identity issue in Hong Kong is a controversial one. The concept of national identity, modestly to say, still lacks a distinct and uncontroversial definition, which makes comparative research on national identity problematic (Davidov, 2009). This study intends to contribute to this difficult and controversial national identity issue.

As yet, some scholarly discussions on national identity could be outlined. On defining 'national identity', it refers to the distinctive features of a group of people, and a sense of belonging (Gellner, 1983). As long as the member never meets each other, a national identity can be formed by an imagined sense of community (Anderson, 1991), as well as a shared ethnicity or culture. In reality, two people may be separated by differences in personalities, belief systems, geographical locations, time and spoken language; yet they regard themselves, and be seen by others, as members of the same nation, with a shared ethnicity or culture. National identity can be described as attachment of group members toward their country and is expressed by a sense of belonging, love, loyalty, pride, and care toward the group and land (Bar-Tal, 1997: 246). Heater (2004) argue that in describing national identity, there is a list of a common set of attitudes, assumptions, dispositions and beliefs as its components.

On a societal level, national identity is crucial to the ways for many social and political actions organized, and so it affects the key issues of official policies such as social inclusion and exclusion (Kiely, et al, 2001). The process of integration within a nation involves the creation of and holding on to a feeling of community, a sense of solidarity with one's fellow-citizens, and a willingness to share the tribulations and benefits experienced by the community under the socialization processes (Heater, 2004). National identities can fulfill the intimate, internal functions for individuals in communities by the socialization of the members as 'nationals and citizens' (Smith, 1991: 16). Besides, the consolidation of national identities has enabled large masses of people to work together as citizens (Miller, 2000). This points to the bonding force that national identities have got on the world population, without which, there may not be able to generate the

concept of 'citizen'. As for the processes of integration, Schudson (1994) argued that national identity disseminate through the following ways: 1) language, print and education; 2) consumer culture and national markets; 3) national rituals; 4) mass media. All these contributed to the pervasiveness of national identity in a society, enabling it to be constructed and reconstructed in its dissemination. Furthermore, in the M.Phil study of the researcher, the literature review found that language in fostering national identity has received a good deal of scholarly attention (Chong, 1998).

As yet, some critics (Szegedy-Maszák, 1986) have argued for a reinterpretation of the concept of national identity, since its emphasis on a static concept of a fixed national character would do harm to understanding about other nations, and create mistrust between nations. They reject national citizenship as obsolete and even dangerous, so they argued for a globally oriented cosmopolitan citizenship that cuts across national loyalties (Nussbaum, 1996). Tan (2005) also suggested that there is a weakening of the nation-state identity which may in turn lead to a strengthening of universalistic identities. Indeed, a global identity seems to gain weight in recent year's citizenship education discussion. But, in the modern world, national identity is still considered as a central concept of group attachment. Despite there are global and regional identities such as the European Union, nations are still the core of individuals' social identities (Hjerm, 2001). Thompson, A. (2001) also notes the pervasiveness of the national sentiments in social life despite contemporary arguments on how national borders, nation-states and national identities are being eroded by globalization forces. The debates and interactions between national and global citizenship cast light on the discussion of this thesis.

Constructing national identity is one of the important political tasks of the nations. In the real world, one example of establishing a national identity is the efforts to establish Britishness. For British, as a postmodern nation to express a stable, shared idea of Britishness in a context within which the endless contestation between proliferating and fluid versions of identity, using the words of Edensor (2005), 'it creates problem from the start the quest for common cultural threads.' Another example is the French state which has had a policy of using cultural tools, particularly language, to forge a common identity than have some other civic nations such as Britain and the Netherlands (Barbour, 2000; Howell, 2000). There are also discussions about using stories of myths in

constructing national identity. For example, 'Greater Britain' functioned as a component of British national identity for those devoted to the ideal of a united empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Advocates of a united empire and historians also promoted and adapted what was essentially a cultural 'story' that helped shape and communicate this British identity (Lee, M., 2004).

Crossing the Atlantic Ocean, the American national identity, to Seymour Lipset, is an 'American Creed' that rests on the principles of liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire (1996: 19). This 'American Creed' extends and guarantees equal rights, liberties, and opportunities to all citizens within (Schlesinger, 1998). Yet, this 'American Creed' increasingly co-exists and competes with, and is sometimes eclipsed by, other strands that are also constitutive elements of American national identity (Streich, 2009). The American national identity would better be described as a variegated and complex one. Smith (1995:45) also noted that 'in the United States, which is the most dynamic arena of modernization, a powerful continental providential nationalism is not hard to mobilize... the sense of a separate and unique American history and destiny looms in the background, encouraging Americans to feel their common historical mission as the bearers of freedom and democracy.' Smith (1995) further suggested that the belief in an American Creed, Constitution and way of life, overarching the many cultures of its constituent ethnic groups, has remained a salient force. Meanwhile, Yuen & Byram (2007) noted the power of national flag in the USA where the pledge to the flag is part of school children's lives.

In China, Vickers (2005) found that the consciousness of Chinese weakness led the early Chinese nationalists to give unity and strength a greater priority in the aftermath of decline of *Qing* dynasty. Half a decade later on, the 'One China Principle' has become the central tenet of the People's Republic of China's state ideology since 1949. This was accentuated in the educational policies by adopting *Putonghua* as the single national language. Nationalist movements gave unity and strength an utmost importance (Vickers, 2005).

In Hong Kong, a sense of local identity could be traced back to the 1970s when there was no nationalistic imperative that one should belong to a nation. The memories of 1966 and 1967 riots also hindered identification with a Chinese

identity (Vickers, 2005). Just before the resumption of sovereignty in 1997, Hong Kong people were seen as having a strong indigenous ethnic identity, showing high ethnic pride (Wong, 1996). But the Chinese national identification showed a weaker tendency compared with a local sense of Hong Kong people, yet they were strong in emphasizing the Chinese historical-cultural past. Tensions were thus formed between the indigenous ethnic identity and the Chinese national identity (Wong, 1996). They saw themselves as more 'Hongkongese' than Chinese, and defining China from the perspectives of Hong Kong. Finally, those who valued freedom and human rights, preferred self-determination or would consider leaving Hong Kong were less likely to identity with China (Wong, 1996).

Lam (2005) pointed to the functions of constitutive stories in fostering a sense of community in the historical context of Hong Kong after WWII. While political narratives foster trust in the worth of a citizen identity by promising the people enhancement of their political power through institutions and policies, the constitutive stories show members of the community with shared identities, as defined by their common religion, race, ethnicity, language, culture, history, etc. (Lam, 2005) Hong Kong has thus been built upon stories of success by individual hardworking and strenuous efforts.

On the everyday manifestations of national identity, Billig (1995) suggests we are facing with 'banal' reminders, or 'flaggings', of our nations and our national identity. This includes the language in national newspapers or bulletins on the national news which appeal to 'us' as its imagined audiences, to the speech by national politicians and even to the descriptions of the 'national' weather. Therefore, this study seeks out to investigate how national identity and National Education are perceived by Hong Kong teachers through field observations on their teaching of National Education programmes and activities and collecting data from the information and bulletin boards.

Finally, historically speaking, concepts of national identity and nation-state are usually associated with the political concept of citizenship (Niens & Chastenay, 2008). Brubaker argued that citizenship was primarily the politics of nationhood, and that it related to identity rather than interest-based politics (Brubaker, 1992: 182). Citing the examples of Germany and France, which represented contrasting citizenship laws and thus conceptions of national identity, Brubaker argued that citizenship has been closely related to each country's political and

cultural traditions. Thus, scholars agreed that in the early nineteenth century, the 'German "Volk" (people) were seen as inherently superior', and ethnicity has developed 'as the core feature and normative value of the new German nationalism' (Hogwood 2000:127).

In this study, national identity certainly figure much in citizenship debates in Hong Kong, and that it is usually conceptualized as ethnic and culturally-based.

4.4.2 National identity and education
The educational link between formal education and national identities is widely acknowledged (Grosvenor, 1999; Lowe, 1999; Phillips, 1999; Coenders & Scheepers, 2003). Llobera (2001: 185) even argued that:

> Education is obviously one of the crucial dimensions in any attempt to develop a future European identity or at least more understanding and convergence among Europeans. If the school made the nation, it should also be a key factor in promoting Europeanness.

Nation and national identity as teaching themes have largely remained consistent in the general studies curriculum over time (Soysal & Wong, 2006), although a more pluralistic and open national and civic character are increasingly introduced in the social studies curriculum worldwide. The UNESCO team categorized the aims of education of countries, and found that developmental aims were quite common among countries studied in 1980 and 2000. This suggests 'an ideology of education that view it as a mechanism through which individuals are socialized for their own development and as a mechanism to facilitate nation-building and economic expansion is common' (Fiala, 2006: 23). Both measures (i.e. *Citizenship* and *National Identity* respectively) of national development appeared in about 50 percent of countries in 1980 and 2000, telling that this developmental theme is central to the educational ideology (Fiala, 2006). It is plausible that the link between the ideology of education and that of intended curriculum in a particular society are true by definition.

The following will be some literature about relationship between education and nationalism or national identity. In the early twentieth century, being a Canadian was usually aligned with a sense of nationalism. The development and

implementation of citizenship education in Canadian schools was for the purpose of nation-building. Duties and responsibilities of 'good' citizenship, values of loyalty and obedience, and national identity and national pride were some of the themes of learning that were integrated into the curriculum aiming at preparing youngsters for their citizenship roles (Evans, 2004). Later, with the *Canadian Citizenship Act* in 1947, educating for citizenship was still found in Social Studies and History curricula. Nationalist intentions and knowledge about government institutions continued to be emphasized.

In the United States, for more than 200 years between the time of the American founding to the early twenty-first century, Americans believed that the primary purpose of U.S. schools is to educate young people for citizenship (Branson, 2003). According to Branson (2003: 294), the United States founders 'knew that a free society must ultimately depend on its citizens on their knowledge, skills and civic virtue. They believed that schools must foster the qualities of mind and heart required for successful government within a constitutional monarchy'. Americans also believe that school have a civic mission, and since the first Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll in 1968, the public has not wavered in its conviction that the central mission of schools in educating young people for citizenship. The U.S. Congress *Educate America Act* (Pub. L. 103-227) further states that students 'will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including civics and government… so that they may be prepared for responsible citizenship.' To achieve all these goals, schools in the United States address citizenship in both formal and informal curriculum (Branson, 2003) by emphasizing the instruction of rights and responsibilities in their formal curriculum. In the early 1990s, primary sources, literature, songs, and technology were resources that history teachers sought for their students in order to fire the student's imagination as they contemplate the struggles that have unfolded in the American history (California Department of Education, 1991). At the same time, experiences and contributions of ethnic groups and women were integrated in the history curriculum framework in responding to the need of depth in understanding history. They also used topical examples of history and geography to build up national identity. In the early 2000s (Branson, 2003), three-fourths of all States have statues mandating instruction in specific civic topics, while more than half of all States required students to take a government or civics course in high school.

In England, at the early twentieth century, any signs of educating for citizenship in publicly funded schools tended to appear through the History curriculum (Heater, 2006). Same as in other parts of the world, citizenship education tended to emphasize nationalist intentions and the transmissions of knowledge about the structures and mechanisms of central and local governments (Heater, 2006). Teaching of citizenship usually took place in traditional subjects and avoiding controversial topics (Heater, 2008). In short, it emphasizes on a British national identity and exudes an aura of imperialism, cultivating the qualities of a 'good citizen', 'loyalty to institutions' and 'patriotic loyalty to the state'.

In many decades of England in the 20th century, citizenship education had been neglected (Davies, Evans, Reid, 2005). Whitty, Rowe and Appleton (1994) revealed the extent to which teachers ignored citizenship in its guise of a cross-curricular theme and explained the formidable pedagogical problems that are associated with its effective implementation. In the late 1990s, the emergence of citizenship education 'has had more to do, however, with rhetoric from policy makers and project participants than with action by teachers and pupils in schools' (Davies, Gregory, Riley, 1999:26).Yet this is not to argue that nothing at all is occurring in school's citizenship education.

Following the publication of the Crick Report (DfEE/QCA, 1998), citizenship education was introduced to secondary schools in 2002 as a statutory subject in the U.K. Primary schools are also required to show, when inspected, how they are preparing the students for citizenship education (Osler & Starkey, 2006). Davies, Evans, Reid (2005) outlined that four initiatives have been taken place. Firstly, works in relation to the blend of knowledge, skills and dispositions that will allow students to become involved in the exploration of issues in an active way. Work in history education has been developing understanding of procedural concepts such as tolerating, explaining and participating (Davies & Thorpe, 2003). Secondly, an interesting project led by the Citizenship Foundation was developing public discourse within a political literacy framework (Davies & Hogarth, 2004). The Crick Report in England drew further attention to what programmes of citizenship in schools should cover, and one trend of shifting in emphasis could be seen in moving from equality and rights to social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy (Arthur & Davies, 2008). Meanwhile, another reason why citizenship was relatively easy to gather support for its introduction in the National Curriculum

was the view that little had been done in this important area in education before (Davies, 1999). Kerr (2000: 73) described this as 'an historical shift in educational policy in this area.'

Elsewhere in the world, there have been interesting and thought-provoking developments of citizenship education. The 1990s decade witnessed a remarkable increase in interest and activities in civic and citizenship education in different parts of the world (Leung, 2004b). Reviews have been conducted in the former Soviet Union, the newly emerging democratic states in Eastern Europe and the established Western liberal democracies. They all emphasized the need of active engagement of young citizens in citizenship education.

While exploring the perceptions of teachers concerning citizenship and enterprise in Hungary and England, Davies, Fulop, Hutchings, Ross, Berkics (2004) found that the English teachers emphasized community issues and being socially active more often than those in Hungary. Hungarian teachers were less positive about state and civil society and more patriotic. Osler & Starkey (2006) argued that in both established and new democracies such as those of Eastern and Central Europe and Latin America, 'there is a recognition that democracy is essentially fragile and that it depends on the active engagement of citizens, not just in voting, but in developing and participating in sustainable and cohesive communities' (Osler & Starkey, 2006: 433).

In a comparative perspective, civic education was not high on some countries' agendas in 1993 when the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) Civic Education Study was initiated in the mid-1990s. Later, there was evidence that civic education has come to a prominent place in many places, usually as a result of the intensified process of consolidating democracy. Case studies have identified in the participating countries a common core of content that focused on democracy, national identity and diversity (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001). These developments reflect a growing interest and concern over civic education.

In East Asian and South-east Asian regions, educating for citizenship has remained largely tied up to the nation-states. After the decolonizing period since the end of World War II, nation formation and national identity figured much in various education systems of East Asian and South-east Asian countries. But the

human rights debate in the 1990s has signaled the departure of some South-east Asian countries concerns in citizenship education from the western notions. Chan (1995) noted that some Asian countries have developed their own versions of human rights, most notably through joint statement of the *Bangkok Declaration* in 1993. This is a political debate between particularistic discourses with nationalistic considerations versus the discourses of universality of human rights. The national identity issue is also conceived much stronger in the Asian countries than their western counterparts because there is a stronger emphasis on developing it during nation building processes.

In China, political education has been tied up with the discourses of Socialism and Communism after 1949. Since 2000, in educating the rising generations, the authority repeatedly issued directives on moral and ideological education that show a concern for the moral cultivation and well-being of the people (Chen, 2004). Meanwhile, patriotism and national identity could be easily found among perceptions of Chinese teachers on citizenship (Lee, 2005). Zhao & Fairbrother (2010) believe that the character that the Chinese Communist Party attempts to project through its action and demonstrate through citizenship education is one of paternalism. Chinese citizenship education is thus heavily politically related.

In Hong Kong's educational context, as mentioned in previous Chapter 3, national identity is one of the key strands in primary school General Studies curriculum, and one of the learning themes in the senior secondary school Liberal Studies curriculum since Education Reform in 2000. The Chinese History curriculum has been promoting a primordial, essentialist view of Hong Kong's 'Chineseness', proclaiming that 'from time immemorial' the region has been part of the 'Great Chinese National Family' (Vickers, 2005: 245). Whereas civic education was weak in the colonial period (Lo, 2001) and that permeation approach, subject-specific approach and integrated approached have been advocated in the *1996 Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (Leung, 2004b), the focus in citizenship education has been gradually dominated by National Education after 1997, which is the focus of this study. Human rights education, nonetheless, has never been a focus whether in government education policy and civic educators in schools (Leung, 2008). Citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong thus increasingly inclined towards Moral Education and National Education, while Civics is given less emphasis. Hence, this study is particularly relevant given the rising expectations and concerns about National Education.

Some scholars (Ross, 2007) argued for educating citizenship which moves away from a strict alignment with the nation state to one that connects with a broader base of understanding, and there have been specific countries' initiatives. In Canada, *Education for Peace, Human Rights, Democracy, International Understanding and Tolerance* (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2001), which was a study on the educational policy across Canada, revealed that traditional conceptions of citizenship education are shifting to goals and practices that forefront its transformative and global character. In local schools, based on the researcher's professional experiences, some primary and secondary schools already engaged in school-based global citizenship education as early as in 2003, when the researcher joined a university-schools partnership project. Themes of global citizenship education were identified and school-based subject and project learning curriculum were developed. The development of school-based global citizenship education in Hong Kong seems to pose a challenge, using Smith's (1991) description, to national identity as a doctrine and measure of human value.

Looking into the future, Davies, Evans, Reid (2005) argue that while national citizenship is still a strong force and education still largely serves the nation state, there are new forms of citizenship growing in the face of globalisation. This means that new forms of education need to be developed. Davies, Evans, Reid (2005) also note that there are significant differences between the characterizations that have been developed for global education and citizenship education. These differences are revealed through an examination of three areas: focus and origins; the attitude of the government and significant others; and the adoption of pedagogical approaches. Davies, Evans, Reid (2005) suggest looking beyond old barriers that have separated citizenship education and global education and to form a new global citizenship education. The above discussions prompt the researcher to look into the development of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong, which seems to be in contrast with the growth of global citizenship education advanced elsewhere in the world.

4.5 Meanings of 'national identity' and National Education for this study
The above shows a sizable theoretical discussion on nation, nationalism, identity, and national identity. They were developed, refined and extended by various scholars that convey emergent ideas, values, assumptions and elaborations.

I decided to focus on national identity and National Education so as to be able to engage an in-depth, open-ended exploration in this study. I noted that citizenship was weak in Hong Kong for most of the colonial period (Lo, 2001), and Hong Kong Chinese were politically 'aloof' (Lau & Kuan, 1988: 10) as a consequence of an essentially Confucian background. I also notice that an important task for the post-handover Hong Kong SAR government has been the strengthening of national citizenship. These understandings have triggered my idea to conduct this research study.

While operating the concept of 'national identity' in this study, it refers to how Hong Kong secondary school teachers perceive and describe themselves as members of a nation, and the 'nation' refers to Chinese in the People's Republic of China. National identity is usually conceptualized culturally and ethnically in Hong Kong, although the researcher acknowledges that it has social and political dimensions. 'National identity' is also differentiated from 'nationality', which is about the legal status of being a member of nation-state. A further note is that self, gender, local, regional, religious, occupational, cultural, or global identities in the narrow sense would not be dealt with in this study.

For National Education, as noted, this study intends to explore the perceptions of Hong Kong secondary school teachers on it, as well as its aims, contents, pedagogies and evaluation method. National Education refers to an education that moulds the citizens' characters and virtues of the learners in a nation. In Hong Kong, it is usually done through informal education in forms of assembly, guest talk, exchange programmes, exhibitions, and extra-curricular activities, which can be differentiated from formal subject-based curriculum. Also, it usually contains flavours of national characteristics and patriotism, loving China, and being proud of China. National flag, national anthem, national symbol, and knowledge about various aspects of China are common learning elements in Hong Kong's National Education. To a certain extent, Smith's (1991) discussion on the use of symbols such as flags, coinage, anthems, uniforms, monuments and ceremonies for the nation to provide a social bond is relevant in Hong Kong. Hong Kong society has seen using Chinese national flag, anthem, flag-raising uniform team, and nationalistic ceremonies to build up ethnic and cultural bonding between Hong Kong and China after 1997, and especially since 2000.

5. Methodology

The objective of this chapter is to provide an explanation of the methodology used in this main study. This chapter begins with a discussion on the qualitative research methodology used in general, and the case study method used in particular. Next, the justifications of purposive sampling (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Silverman, 2000) will be discussed. Then, the research ethics considerations adopted will be reviewed. The researcher bears in mind that treatment methods on data collected must be made as explicit and justified as possible (Yin, 2009). Hence, both the research instruments and treatment of data of methodologies of in-depth, open-ended interviews, non-participant field observation, and analysis of schools' National Education documents, which form the triangulation tools of this study, will be explicated later in this chapter. Last but not the least, credibility and validity issues, and protection of data will also be reviewed.

A special note can be made that the whole data collection plan was developed at the initial stage in early 2009, with subsequent refinements and fine-tuning made as the research needs arose. Some essential parts of this data collection process include defining the case study, listing the research questions, identification of sampling and data sources, allocation of data collection time, collection of data, and intended reporting of data (Stake, 1995).

This chapter includes the following sections:
5.1 Qualitative research study
5.2 The case study method
5.3 Research samples
5.4 Purposive sampling – pilot study and main study
    5.4.1 The pilot study experiences
    5.4.2 The main study
5.5 Research ethics considerations .
5.6 Research instruments
    5.6.1. Examination of schools' National Education documents
    5.6.2. In-depth, open-ended interviews
    5.6.3. Field observations of schools' National Education
        programmes/activities
5.7 Treatment of data

5.1 Qualitative research study

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this study uses qualitative research. The researcher acknowledges that a variety of methods, including both qualitative and quantitative methods, have been used in studying civic education (Leung & Yuen, 2009). This section will give an explanation of adopting mainly qualitative research method.

Qualitative research is difficult to be defined clearly and it has no theory or paradigm that is distinctively its own (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), but multiple theoretical paradigms claim use of qualitative research methods and strategies, from constructive to cultural studies, feminism, Marxism, and ethnic models of study. Nelson et al. (1992: 4) argue that:

> Qualitative research is an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities and the social and physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multi-paradigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multi-method approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective, and to the interpretive understanding of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political positions.

Denzin & Lincoln (1994) further argue that the social sciences and humanities have drawn closer together in a mutual focus on an interpretive, qualitative approach to research and theory. Researchers have opened up to ethnography,

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unstructured interviewing, textual analysis, and historical studies, instead of only statistics, experimental designs, and survey research. This cluster of methodologies emerges as a set of interpretive practices, privileging no single methodology over any other.

In qualitative research, it is the quality and richness of the data obtained that is important, rather than the size of the sample (Gerber, 2008), and it usually seeks to understand human experiences in chronologies (Stake, 1995). Qualitative research 'works with episodes of unique relationships to fashion a story or unique description of the case' (Stake, 1995: 63). In fact, a special interest of qualitative researchers also lies in understanding the perspectives of the subjects of a study. They try to establish an emphatic understanding for the reader, 'through description, sometimes thick description, conveying to the reader what experience itself would convey' (Stake, 1995: 39). Qualitative researchers also stress the socially constructed nature of reality, and emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, the kind of data collected would likely be qualitative in nature, and the methods would include interview transcripts and examining documents (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009), which are also the research methods adopted in this qualitative case study research.

In a qualitative research project, issues emerge, grow, and die. An imperative of qualitative research, therefore, is to look for issues which are worthy of analysis, and to find good moments to reveal the unique complexity of the case. Qualitative researchers treat the uniqueness of individual cases and contexts as important to understanding (Stake, 1995). This aims at exploring how the respondents perceive the question, issue or concept as such. In this study, while conducting the in-depth interviews, prompts or following-up questions were used to explore questions and issues that are worthy of further analysis.

In any qualitative research, the researcher pays attention directly to the particular setting of interest in order to observe, collect, and monitor his/her data. Having spent a considerable amount of time at the research participants' schools, the researcher of this study observed research participants in their classrooms or informal learning activities on National Education. The researcher came equipped with a note pad and a pen to take field notes, as well as with

photographic and videotaping equipment. The data were collected right at the scene and supplemented by the researcher's observations and insights about what occurred.

The following discussion turns to explanation and justifications of the case study method used in this study.

5.2 The case study method

As outlined in Chapter 1, this study employs case study research method as the main approach. The researcher intends to get close to the mini-cases under investigation and continuously obtaining new data during the data collection process so as to build up a well-informed picture of the mini-cases of teachers' perceptions of national identity and National Education.

There could be a number of justifications for using case study. First, the intrinsic value of case study research is that even in teaching, well-chosen case studies can help the students achieve competencies belonging to a higher level in the learning process, as under Dreyfus-model of learning, rather than just the context-independent knowledge which will only bring the students to the beginner's level. Second, case study is close to real-life situations, and its depth of details is important in two aspects: 1) it is important for the development of a nuanced view of reality, including the view that human behaviour cannot be meaningfully understood; and 2) cases are important for the researcher's own learning process in developing the skills to do good research (Flyvberg, 2001). If researchers wish to develop their own skills to a higher level, then concrete, context-dependent experience is central for them. Concrete experiences can be achieved via continued proximity to the studied reality and via feedback from those under study. All these suit particular to the nature of case study research.

This study aims at arriving at an in-depth case study of each research participant rather than generalization, so it prefers a non-generalization approach to case study findings. Yet, the researcher also notes that to Gerring (2007), case study research is an intensive study of a single case (or a small set of cases) with an aim to generalize across a larger set of cases of the same general type. It follows from this definition that case study may be small- or large-N (since a case study may provide few or many observations), qualitative or quantitative, experimental or observational. There is another view, which suits the

researcher's preference, is that one cannot generalize on the basis of a single case as it is usually considered to be detrimental to the case study as a scientific method (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Other scholars who share similar views about the values of case study in providing rich data about individual case include Ragin & Becker (1992). Flyvbjerg (2001: 73) even argued that 'concrete, context-dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vain search for theories and universals'. Since this research aims to find out how the research participants perceive their national identity and National Education, elaboration of concrete and context-dependent descriptions of national identity and National Education would be the preferred data rather than some theories, and so case study research is adopted here.

In this study, the researcher focuses on ten rich mini cases for in-depth, open-ended analysis. Stake (2005) argued that case study research can study either a few or a number of cases. The researcher, nonetheless, bears in mind noting the similarities across all the cases as well as concentrating on each single case as if it is the only one. The linkage between individual cases and the overall understanding is intrinsic to case study. Gerring (2007) noted that the case study rests implicitly on the existence of a micro-macro link in social behavior, while Stake (2006: vi) called it as 'Case-Quintain (i.e., the program or phenomenon) dilemma', i.e. a researcher needs to understand both the commonalities and differences across manifestations. The Quintain is studied in some of its situations and it is supposed that the complex meanings of the Quintain are 'understood differently and better because of the particular activity and contexts of each case' (Stake, 2006: 40). In other words, the researcher needs to put the single case into the wider collection of cases in perspectives, and to find out what is common and what is unique across the cases, and this is done through the categorization and theme generating of in-depth interview data, as well as examining the similarities and differences between school-based National Education documents of each research participant. The researcher looks for patterns of co-variation or correlation across a number of happenings, variables, and contexts, which means that things are happening together.

Meanwhile, the researcher in a case study research is more interested in the quality of a particular activity than in how often it occurs or how it would otherwise be evaluated. Indeed, qualitative case study research investigates the quality of relationships, activities, situations or materials (Fraenkel & Wallen,

2009). It seeks to understand how the research participants make sense out of their lives (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009) and the processes and phenomenon they are engaging in real lives, in terms of how they perceive their national identity and meanings of National Education.

With the above discussions in mind, the researcher of this study sets out to investigate a set of ten mini-cases with a view to explore perceptions of national identity and meanings of National Education both within and across the cases through a triangulation of research methods. As mentioned in earlier paragraphs, however, this study does not attempt to generalize the findings to the wider population. The following section discusses the selection of research samples.

5.3 Research samples

As was noted in Chapter 1, this study adopted purposive sampling, which is commonly used in case studies. In purposive sampling, researchers select cases to be included in the sample for their typicality, so as to illustrate features and processes in which they are interested (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Silverman, 2000). There are issues for consideration in selecting purposive samples such as the number and nature of the samples, the fit between research aims and choice of sampling, the access of and informed consent of the samples, as well as the background of the samples. All these had been adopted in this case study research, as illustrated in this chapter.

In this study, non-probability, purposive sampling (Arber, 1995; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009) was used. As Gerber (2008) argues, there are no formulas for calculating the minimum required sample size, as this is relative to the research aims and methodology employed. Since this study aims at exploring the quality and richness of the descriptions of perceptions of national identity and National Education, in-depth interviews and non-participants field observations with a purposive sample of secondary school teachers could provide sufficient data to answer the research questions. The purposive sampling method was used to solicit viewpoints from expert informants of Hong Kong's secondary school teachers who were mostly responsible for National Education in their own schools. They were chosen based on the researcher's understanding about their solid experiences in civic education or National Education in their respective schools. The researcher also understood the nature and quality of National Education provided in their schools. Their teaching experiences could enable to

offer valuable research findings on how they perceived national identity and National Education. Also, they were chosen because they covered some distinctive, and probably remarkable circumstances (Yin, 2009), and they were also the 'best' data source in the sense that they could help us understand the case (Stake, 1995). Finally, purposive sampling helped the researcher view the case from the inside out, i.e. to see it from the perspective of those involved (Gillham, 2000). These criteria would, hopefully, justify the selection of research participants in this study.

Informed consent was adhered to, so that this study could empower the research participants (Glesne, 2006). A consent form was sent to each participant to make him/her aware that his/her participation was voluntary, and they were as fully informed as possible about the study's purpose and audience. They understood what their agreement to participate in this study would entail, and that they might freely choose to stop participation at any point of the study (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). Informed consent also serves to protect the identities and privacy of all participants. They were aware that their names and specific duty roles woukd not be revealed in any discussion or written documents.

The target samples come from different subsidy background, covering different sponsoring body background in Hong Kong's education system. This is intended to reflect an adequate coverage of different school backgrounds in Hong Kong. The sample of research participants in this study can be referred in Table 1.1. Features of 10 research participants.

5.4 Purposive sampling – pilot study and main study
As was noted in Chapter 1, there were both pilot study and main study, with the former informing the research design, the drafting and piloting of interview questions of the latter. The pilot study helped improve the validity of the main study. Purposive sampling is commonly used in case studies, in which the researcher hand-pick cases to be included in the sample for their typicality, so as to illustrate the features and processes in which they are interested (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Silverman, 2000).

5.4.1 The pilot study experience
The selection of these ten chosen secondary school teachers in the main study was not, however, spontaneous. A pilot study was done in early 2009 to predate

the main study in 2009-2010. The pilot study enabled the researcher to narrow the research field and sharpen the relevant literature review as well as facilitate the liaison with the potential informants. The researcher's professional involvements in advising school-based National Education programmes on an occasional basis had informed the setting of interview schedule and the basis of developing the research design. Glesne (2006: 81) suggested that 'the things you see and hear about the people and circumstances of interest to you therefore become the nuggets around which you construct your questions'. For example, on the topic of perceptions of national identity and National Education, the researcher asked himself 'If this is what I intend to understand, what questions must I direct to which respondents?' This had triggered off the whole question setting process in the pilot study.

In winter 2008, six experienced secondary school teachers who were teaching civic education and school-based National Education were identified as potential informants through the researcher's understanding about them, with a few of them referred by citizenship education experts in the Hong Kong Institute of Education. Apart from the information richness (Stake, 1995) provided by these six experienced civic educators, the Dreyfus model of five levels in the human learning process, of which the highest level belongs to 'Expert', also acted as a selection reference in this pilot study sample selection process. By 'Expert', this means that the performer's (that is, the selected secondary school teachers) behavior is 'intuitive, holistic, and synchronic, understood in the way that a given situation releases a picture of problem, goal, plan, decision, and action in one instant and with no division into phases'. Experts are also 'characterized by a flowing, effortless performance, unhindered by analytical deliberations' (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 21). In a nutshell, the sample of research participants in this study was selected based on informed understanding about their individual expertise and experiences in teaching of civic education, and in particular, National Education. They are 'experts' in these areas.

To explicate the aims and contents of the pilot study, and obtain informed consent, the researcher made phone calls and even conducted school visits in late 2008. Voluntary agreement to join the pilot study was obtained afterwards. Explanation of the research method of in-depth, open-ended interviews was also successfully communicated to each of these six identified teachers. Finally, the pilot study on six purposively sampled teachers was able to be conducted in

the early months of 2009.

For the purpose of informing the main study later on, the pilot study findings were   reviewed both in terms of intrinsic meanings of the interview questions, and the linkages between research questions and the interview questions. The data collection instrument of in-depth interview questions was checked to ensure that all questions and instructions were so clear to enable the researcher to remove any items which did not yield usable data (Bell, 2010). The wording and format of questions were also analyzed to see whether they would present any difficulties for the data analysis of the main study (Bell, 2010).

With regard to the intrinsic meanings of the interview questions, the pilot study enabled the researcher to clear up the misunderstandings of some wordings as perceived by the interviewees, and to expose loopholes in the drafting of the interview questions, such as the need to focus on their own perceptions rather than their perceptions of their respective schools. In this revision process, the researcher also noted that interview questions tended to be more contextual and specific than research questions, and they required creativity and insight, rather than a mechanical translation of the research questions into an interview guide (Glesne, 2006). Hence, rigorous efforts were made on revising the interview questions to make them to be specific and relevant to the research purposes. For example, 'As long as you can remember, ...', 'Given your perception, ...', 'what comes to your minds?' were added in a few questions. In addition, prompts were added to questions on their perceptions of national identity and National Education, and the ordering of questions proceeded from general to specific. All these revisions based on the pilot study experiences had informed the research design of the main study. The main study's data collection took place from the latter half of 2009 to early 2010. A comparison of the differences between pilot and main study is given below.

Table 5.1 A Comparison between Pilot Study and Main Study

	Pilot Study	*Main study*
Time frame	Completed in March to June, 2009.	Data collection conducted from the latter half of 2009 to early 2010.
Purpose	To explore the subject matter and to streamline the interview questions.	A research design that is conducted in the form of case study.
Features of the study	• A preliminary literature review that covers the topic broadly. • Using case study method. • In-depth interviews on 6 teacher samples.	• Literature review on national identity, National Education, and Hong Kong's National Education policies. • Using case study method. • In-depth interviews on 10 teacher samples (at least two times done per teacher). • Examination of relevant school National Education documents.
Selection criteria of teachers as interviewees	• Target sampling on 6 teachers who were experienced in National or Civic Education. • Selected types of secondary schools in Hong Kong.	• 10 experienced Civic Education/National Education coordinators in schools. • Reflect different subsidy types of secondary schools in Hong Kong. • Reflect major types of sponsor

		background of secondary schools in Hong Kong.
Selection criteria of relevant school documents for documentary analysis	Not applicable	• The recent three years' documents of civic education team of respective schools. • Annual Civic Education team activity schedule or activity plans • Circulars from the Education Bureau on National Education (How do they read them? What type of circulars they have noticed? What are their responses?)
Non-participant field observations	Not applicable	• Observing school-based National Education programmes/activities. • At least two times done per research participant school • An observation guideline form was used (see Appendix II) to obtain research relevant data.

5.4.2 The main study

In the main study, the researcher expanded the data source to ten teachers, in order to capture a wider variety of research participants and 'saturated' the responses (Stake, 1995). As was noted before, this main study does not intend to

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be representative of any population. The merit of multiple-case study of these ten teachers lies in giving rich and dense descriptions (Stake, 1995).

For an easy understanding, a summary of the features of these ten research participants, plus the selection criteria of teachers as research participants and relevant schools' National Education documents are given below.

Features of samples
- Ten teacher samples (at least two interviews done per teacher to solicit qualitative, in-depth, and open-ended findings)
- Experienced and well-knowledgeable
- Responsible for National Education or Civic Education in secondary schools
- Informative and illustrative cases
- Accessible for interviews

Selection criteria of teachers as interviewees
- Coming from different subsidy types of secondary schools in Hong Kong
- Coming from major sponsor backgrounds of secondary schools in Hong Kong
- Coming from different geographical districts of Hong Kong

Selection criteria of schools' National Education documents
- The recent three years' school plans of the civic education team of respective school, which contain school plans on National Education
- Detailed National Education activity schedule or activity plans, and, if any, evaluation reports on National Education
- Received circulars and training materials about National Education programmes from the Education Bureau (questions to be looked into: How did they read them? What types and contents of circulars did they notice? How did they respond to these circulars? Why did they choose particular documents to be read?)

Selection criteria for school-based National Education programmes/activities
- School-based programmes/activities designed by research participants
- Clear aims and purposes in relation to National Education

- The duration is longer than 15 minutes (that therefore enable rich data to be collected)

A noteworthy point is that the need for variation across the samples is emphasized by Yin (2009), for it permits the researcher to examine whether national identity and National Education were perceived in similar or different fashion(s) across the cases. Meanwhile, the researcher also understood that opportunities and time should be taken to get acquainted with the people, the spaces, the schedules, and the problems of the case (Stake, 1995). Therefore, prior acquaintance with the sample teachers, familiarity with the school's space and culture, keeping an eye on the research schedules, and to investigate any emerging problems or issues of the case were peculiarly emphasized in the main study.

5.5 Research ethics considerations

Research ethics was also observed with prudence in implementing this main study. Doing the research participants justice means that the data collected would not jeopardize the safety and career prospects of the research participants. Any data about the respondents have been kept in confidential and the report of findings had been ensured not to reveal the true identity of the respondents.

Indeed, there were a few occasions in which the researcher shared the initial findings in conferences or professional workshops. The researcher bears in mind not to disclose or suggest the identities of the research participants while presenting the findings or discussing each research participant case in academic conferences or causal talks with colleagues or other teaching professionals.

The researcher also considered the issues of accessibility and hospitality in both pilot and main studies, because the time was short, given teacher's limited time available for the interview. Although too little time may result in too little to be learned from any less hospitable teachers in the data collection processes, a balance has been kept to ensure that the available time was maximized to do in-depth interview with each research participant without hindering his/her working schedule. For example, each in-depth interview was completed within the agreeable time limit, that is, about an hour. Occasionally, approaching the end of the in-depth interview, the researcher would ask the research participant

whether he/she would have any business that might necessitate cutting the interview short. In fact, most educational data collection involves at least a small amount of invasion of personal privacy (Stake, 1995), and such access is not always available. Thus, the researcher has obtained an enduring expectation that permissions into privacy are needed by giving assurance from time to time that the findings are for academic use only and no identity of the research participants will be revealed.

In fact, Glesne (2006) described exemplary entry behavior in qualitative research should be unobtrusive. The in-depth interviews and field observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities were conducted in a manner of minimum intrusion in this study. Of course, there was at least some degree of intrusion when an outsider observed a school-based National Education programme/activity, but the balance of research behavior and intrusion had been maintained by observing the time allowed to do data collection and adopting non-intrusive behavior while collecting data. Furthermore, field relationships 'continually undergo informal renegotiation as respect, interest, and acceptance grow or wane for both researcher and participant (Glesne, 2006). As a result, in gaining entry to the in-depth interviews and field observations, the nature and aims of the main study, academic intention behind them, the research questions, the time span needed, the data collection burdens, and explanations of data analysis were made known and explained to each research participant again. Finally, the research participants were informed of their rights to refuse entry of gaining data again right before the researcher actually started the in-depth interviews and field observations.

The researcher bears in mind the exploitation issue (Glesne, 2006) too. Exploitation questions arise when one becomes immersed in the research operations and begins to rejoice the richness of what he/she is learning from the data collection and data analysis. Reflection on what may possibly harm the research participants certainly helps minimize any chance of exploitation. For example, this study is worth reading by stakeholders such as education officials, teacher trainers, researchers, principals and frontline teachers because national identity and National Education are hot topics in the community for its politically driven nature by the Hong Kong SAR government, and so the researcher participants' views are of intrinsic values. Even though participants were willing to share their perceptions in in-depth interviews and allowed their schools'

National Education programmes to be observed, there are professional ethics of not to disclose any identity of each research participant in whatever circumstances. The possible negative outcomes from this study might be that if a diversified perception of national identity and National Education was found, this might stand in contrast with the unified and politically charged conceptions of National Education as envisaged by the Hong Kong SAR government, thus creating pressures to the findings of this study. As yet, seeking for professional advice from scholarly colleagues in my working place has helped me minimize the chance of exploitation. They have given me advice on writing techniques in order to shape my research findings in such a subtle way that the identity of each research participant would be protected.

Other considerations that have been made are the role of researcher as intervener, reformer, advocate, or friend with research participants (Glesne, 2006). The researcher in this study has avoided any attempt to assess what is right or wrong, or to change what he thinks as inappropriate. The researcher also avoided championing a cause, and reflected on how friendships with some research participants might influence the route of data collection and the role of power involved in such relationships. Finally, the researcher is accountable to the research participants for their comments in terms of fairness, accuracy and relevance to this study, and to the education community in the wider sense for advancing knowledge in the citizenship education field.

Having taken into consideration all the above-mentioned factors such as sample choices, access and entry behaviour, permissions to collect data, exploitation issues, and roles of researcher, as well as the nature of relations with research participants, the researcher carried out the main study with the ten sampled teachers with the utmost research ethics. These teachers had their documents on National Education being reviewed and analyzed, participated in in-depth, open-ended interviews, and had their National Education programmes or activities observed.

In the following section, the research instruments adopted by this study will be explained.7

5.6 Research instruments
Data gathering is a deliberate, conscious, systematic process. This process

should be detailed so that others may understand how the study was performed and can judge its adequacy, strength, and ethics (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). This multi-case study has used the multi-method approach (Gillham, 2000), bearing on the notion of data convergence: different kinds of evidence, gathered in different ways, but bearing on the same point of investigation and exploration. In fact, as Stake (1995) argued, qualitative researchers take pride in discovering and portraying the multiple realities. The multiple realities are found out by the researcher with multiple data collection methods. Each data source gives a particular angle of the phenomenon under investigation, and it is the job of researcher to bring together different angles to tell the complete picture of the phenomenon. For this study, the phenomenon refers to the perceptions of national identity and National Education of the purposive sample of Hong Kong secondary school teachers.

This study has adopted a combination of research methods in order to triangulate or converge the data on the research questions. The three major research instruments used in this study are: 1) document analysis of schools' National Education-related documents; 2) in-depth individual interviews; and 3) observations of National Education programmes/activities in sample schools. The processes of data collection process of each research method will be discussed further below. But taking together, they provide rich analytical findings that enable triangulation of data (Stake, 1995), which is based on the assumption that the meaning of an assumption is one thing, but additional observations give us grounds for revising the interpretation. It is methodological triangulation (Stake, 1995) that can increase our confidence in our interpretation. After applying methodological triangulation, the incident may not be as simple as one first presumed. Indeed, methods of triangulations serve to enhance the reliability of the research findings in this study. A special note can also be made that since triangulation uses up resources and time, so as Stake (1995) argued, only the important data and claims will be deliberately triangulated. Stake (1995: 112) noted that:

> Importance depends on our intent to bring understanding about the case and on the degree to which this statement helps clarify the story or differentiate between conflicting meanings. If it is central to making the 'case', then we will want to be sure that 'we have it right'.

The different sets of data will then be combined to form the findings and discussions of this study, which will then be, hopefully, less open to criticism than they would have been if they had been collected by a single data collection method (Yin, 2009), since they have got added evidences.

Finally, the data gathering process in this study was all done in natural settings, that is, within the school setting. This created an authentic and comfortable environment to conduct data collection, which further enhanced the reliability of the data.

5.6.1 Data collection from examination of schools' National Education documents

Document analysis was used to understand the contexts of research participants' perceptions of national identity and National Education, which is valuable to the identification of further literature for review. It was also used to better inform the setting of in-depth interviews questions in this study. Finally, this study used document analysis to supplement information obtained by other methods, so that the reliability of evidence gathered from interviews or questionnaires could be checked (Bell, 2010).

Document analysis studies the signs and symbols in the document to find out the implicit meanings attached on them (Yin, 2009). Essentially, it is a research tool 'with which to analyze the frequency and use of words or terms or concepts in a document, with the aim of assessing the meaning and significance of a source' (Bell, 2010: 132). Through document analysis of these documents, one can discover the motives and meanings underlying the content of a document (Lawson, Jones, Morres, 2001). For the present study, the researcher intended to find out the meanings of national identity and Nation Education from documentary analysis so that this could be checked with the findings of in-depth interviews and field-observations.

Yet, from a research perspective, document analysis can be subject to biases or shortcomings such as systematic under- or over-counting and editorial choices 'which produces a systematic bias in what would otherwise appear to be a full and factual account of some important events' (Yin, 2009: 263). The researcher bears in mind these biases or shortcomings in performing the analysis, and fresh-eye proofreading helps minimize such biases and shortcomings.

For the examination of National Education related school documents, the selected documents are primary (Bell, 2010) in nature, and they are:

- The recent three years' school plans of the civic education team of respective school, which contain teaching plans on National Education,
- Detailed National Education activity schedule or activity plans, and, if any, evaluation reports on National Education, and
- Circulars from the Education Bureau that are related to National Education which have caught the research participants' notice.

Such documents carry sufficient academic weight to allow for their inclusion, since Bell (2010) reminded that the sample in document analysis should be sufficiently large to allow valid conclusions. Besides, the researcher also decided on the categories of evidences such as 'perceptions', 'national identity', and 'National Education' that would help one make decisions about what would be fundamental to the research project (Bell, 2010). The Civic Education team year plans, programme schedule and activity plans informed why, how and what teachers taught with regard to National Education in their schools. They provided the documentary evidences on which to show their perceptions of teaching of National Education.

The researcher obtained the National Education related circulars from the Education Bureau either directly from the research participants or from the official website of the Education Bureau (that is, www.edb.gov.hk). The researcher investigated, first of all, whether the research participants had taken notice of them and whether they would arrange their students to attend such programmes/activities or not. Then, more importantly to this study, the researcher investigated how the research participants perceived and interpretd the contents and meanings of these government circulars on National Education.

In analyzing the above-mentioned National Education documents in this study, content analysis (Bell, 2010) is adopted and it is typically concerned with the manifest contents and surface meanings (Jupp & Norris, 1997). The analysis is not normally direct in terms of the content intention which the content may

express nor the latent responses which it may elicit. Generally speaking, it proceeds in terms of what-is-said rather than why-is-the-content-like-that.

This study adapted Jupp & Norris (1997) analytical steps on document analysis, which suggest that three questions would be sought in document analysis:

- What are the characteristics of content?
- What inferences can be made about the causes and generation of the content?
- What inferences can be made about the effects of communication?

The above-mentioned questions, of course, suit different disciplines. While political science concerns with the role of the documents and their contents in maintaining existing power relations, studies in psychology and social psychology seek to make inferences about the causes and generation of the content. Media analysis provides typical example of concern with the effects of the content of communication (Jupp & Norris, 1997). For the present study, the researcher is more interested in such questions as: What are the characteristics of the contents of the selected National Education documents? What inferences can be made about the perceptions of the writers from the contents of these documents? And what inferences can be made about the effects of such perceptions?

5.6.2 In-depth, open-ended interviews
In this study, in-depth interviews were used to find out the research participants' perceptions and meanings regarding national identity and National Education. One major advantage of interview is its adaptability, in which 'a skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings, which the questionnaires can never do' (Bell, 2010: 161). The outcomes are interview data which are quotations or insights from the interviews appearing in the text format, as well as citations pointing the reader to the larger interview database (Bickman & Rog, 2009: 265). Indeed, the interview data could suggest how the research participants perceived their national identity and their teaching of National Education.

In-depth interviewing is the hallmark of qualitative research (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). 'Talk' is essential for understanding how participants view their worlds.

Often, deeper understandings develop through the dialogue of long, in-depth interviews, as interviewer and participant 'co-construct' meaning. Interviewing also takes one into participants' worlds (Rossman & Rallis, 2003), and this fits the purpose of this study too.

The researcher of this study acknowledges that a common type of evidence for case study comes from open-ended interviews, which can be used to investigate the opinions, perceptions, and attitudes toward some topics and the explanations given (Glesne, 2006). Also, open-ended interview offers richer and more extensive materials than data from surveys and closed-ended type of survey instruments, because it generates richer descriptions than just nominal or interval data. Indeed, open-endedness of interview questions intends to solicit 'think responses', detailed descriptions and authentic responses from the interviewees. These peculiarities suit a case study research which aims at discovering the constructed reality and the situations thought about, not just giving answers to specific questions (Bickman & Rog, 2009). Moreover, due to the nature of the open-ended questions, participants can respond freely.

In fact, further justification can be made that the most popular data collection method in qualitative and grounded theory is the open-ended interviews (Johnson & Christensen, 2000). Since open-ended interviews are by nature human interactions, they allow the respondents to express their opinions in depth. This is also a relatively unstructured interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Johnson & Christensen, 2000), in which there would be no bindings on the interactions between them. The construction of realities through interviews may provide important insights into the case. The insights will have further value if the interviewees are key persons in the organizations, communities, or small groups being studied. In this study, the research participants are mostly the coordinators of civic education or National Education in their respective schools. It can be assumed that rich and detailed information about the planning, implementation, and school-based development of National Education could be obtained from them.

In short, the above-mentioned characteristics and merits of in-depth and open-ended interviews just suit the specific purposes and design of the present case study research which allow the research participants room to respond freely to some pre-sequenced yet open-ended questions.

In the main study, the in-depth and open-ended interview is employed with semi-structured questions (see Appendix I). There is an open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire schedule that allows respondents to provide additional comments as they wish. In fact, Denscombe's (1998: 87) advice 'to collect information which can be used subsequently as data for analysis' has guided the preparation and drafting of the interview schedule used in this study. Based on the lessons learned from the design of the pilot study interview schedule, fundamental design problems were minimized. Also, the researcher has allowed for 'follow-up and in-depth questioning when responses from those being interviewed show promise in developing a greater understanding of the background, definition, and reasoning behind the situation being explored' (Naumes & Naumes, 2006: 52). This has entailed the use of probes and prompts as questioning techniques. While writing the data findings of in-depth interviews in this thesis, direct quotes as findings has ensured that a rich and vibrant case obtained (Naumes & Naumes, 2006).

Meanwhile, the researcher understands that interviews do, however, pose certain challenges. Interview schedule design, choosing appropriate type of questions (for example, structured vs. unstructured), writing the interview question, operationalizing the interview, and ethical considerations are some of the main issues that need to be addressed, as was noted in Chapter 1. In particular, the researcher noted all the difficulties to do in-depth, open-ended interviews in a case study, just as whatever type of research tool has its own strengths and difficulties. Stake (1995) stated that it is easy to fail to get the right questions asked in a case study, and that it was also difficult to steer some of the most informative interviewees to your choice of questions. The interviewees may just have their own ideas to answer questions. Nevertheless, the researcher believes that the fundamental step is the formulation of questions on the basis of what needs to be known, and that the respondents' answers should match the needs of the questions. Rossman & Rallis (2003) also argued that an interview is, in a sense, an artificial event, which can be distinguished from naturally occurring talk. Accordingly, the researcher asked for elaboration and concrete examples in order to elicit the detailed narratives that made the qualitative interview data rich.

With the above-mentioned discussions in mind, the researcher aimed at

exploring perceptions from the ten research participants by using purposive sampling, and asking for narratives about their meanings and development of national identity before and after 1997, prompting for social and political events that might impact on their national identity, and when appropriate, asking for elaboration of their perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education, in particular the aims, contents, and assessment methods. The interview schedule (see Appendix I). A note is that while exploring the developments of the research participants' national identity before and after 1997, this study does not intend to find out the causes, but aims at exploring how the research participants felt about the prominent icons or events of political, social, historical or cultural and how these impacted on their national identity developments.

With a carefully planned sequence of interview questions, the research participants were guided to think about their meanings and perceptions of national identity (Q.1 to Q.3), reflect on their national identity developments (Q.4 and Q.5), and then their perceptions of what National Education is, and perceptions on how they teach National Education in schools (Q.6 to Q.8). This sequence would be, hopefully, more comfortable to the interviewees by starting with their own perceptions without making any reference to their own teaching, and then to their perceptions of actual teaching practices, which necessitated an 'openness' to an outsider (that is, the researcher) about their teaching of National Education. An open-ended question asking whether they had supplementary information to be provided, or any other issues they would like to add, was added at the end of the interview question schedule. As Stake (1995:55) suggested, 'most researchers find that they do their best work by being thoroughly prepared to concentrate on a few things, yet ready for unanticipated happenings that reveal the nature of the case.' Indeed, in several occasions of the in-depth interviews, the research participants provided further elaborations or additional comments, which were valuable in research implications. These have added to the validity of the interview findings.

To ensure the reliability of data, the interviewer asked the interview questions the same way each time to different research participants in this study. Yet, the researcher also slightly adapted the research instrument to the level of comprehension and articulacy of the interviewee if needed. The interviewer also used supportive language and body language to solicit elaborated responses.

These have encouraged responses from them. Finally, based on the pilot study experiences, prompts such as 'When you hear the word...', 'Given your perceptions on... ', etc. and following-up questions have been used to solicit in-depth, open-ended responses and to allow time for more deliberations.

Flexibility considerations also figured much in both pilot and main studies. In the pilot study, the interview schedule was thought of tentatively, since there might be needs to modify, abandon, replace, or add on to them. During the main study's data collection process, the researcher experienced the need to return to some research participants who had finished the interviews, in order to ask them questions that emerged in interviews with others (Glesne, 2006). Thus, the researcher did not say final good-byes to research participants after the first and second interviews, but leaving the door open to return for any follow-up interviews or further clarifications. Indeed, the second interview had dealt with unexpected data sources, emergent issues, or just for clarifying response purposes. This was done from May to August 2010. This follow-up interview process had proved to be valuable in clarifying misunderstandings, soliciting clearer descriptions and in-depth explanations.

The proceedings of in-depth, open-ended interviews, which numbered at 20 and consisted of both first in-depth and second follow-up interviews, were all audio-recorded and transcribed. As could be expected, there is a substantial amount of taped data that the researcher needs to analyze. The researcher handled them with prudence that they should not be taken easily. Meanwhile, the researcher has kept separate shorthand notes to jot down individual respondents' facial expressions and bodily movements during the interviews, which give further meanings to their responses. This could improve the reliability of the data transcribed.

5.6.3 Field observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities
Non-participant field observations on research participants' teaching of National Education programmes/activities are intended to triangulate the findings on the perceptions of research participants on national identity and National Education. By nature, observation 'can often reveal characteristics of groups or individuals that would have been impossible to discover by other means' (Bell, 2010: 201).

Field researchers need not always participate in what they are studying, though

they usually will study it directly at the scene of action (Babbie, 2010). The objective of observing National Education programmes/activities in schools is to gain first-hand data on how the sampled teachers designed and implemented National Education. Observing how they taught, and asking them the rationales and ideas behind their individual teaching, can inform the understanding about their perceptions of national identity and National Education, and give additional grounds for revisiting the interpretations (Stake, 1995).

The justification for using observation in this study can be further made here. Observation as a research tool can help a researcher understand the case in greater detail (Stake, 1995). Observations also put one on the trial of understandings that one infers from what one sees (Glesne, 2006). Observations can generate relevant qualitative (for example, categorical or nominal data) or quantitative (for example, ratio, interval, or ordinal) data. Bearing in mind that the research method chosen is based on what is feasible and what one wants to find out (Gillham, 2000), the observation as a data collection tool in this main study has three main elements: 1) watching what people do; 2) listening to what they say; and 3) asking them clarifying questions as needed (Gillham, 2000). These had guided the observation's data collection task of the researcher.

Observation as a technique, indeed, suits particular kind of case and the kind of research questions that are asked (Gilham, 2000). In this multiple-case study, the data generated by observations are mainly qualitative in nature, with categorical and narrative accounts. This is essentially an inductive approach to observation, which means observation becomes a tool by which understanding is developed from the field of study (Sanger, 1996). This main study did not use the quantification in observation; instead, it relied on a numerical framework to guide observation by the means of a checklist (see Appendix II). The analysis of the schools' National Education programmes or activities observed was qualitative and process oriented, and so quantification in observation became problematic since data on perceptions of National Education programmes or activities were usually categorical or narrative rather than numbers.

A complete observer role is also adopted, where the researcher observes a process without becoming a part of it in any way. It is less likely to affect what is being studied and less likely to lose much of the researcher's scientific detachment (Babbie, 2010). This complete observer role, however, may be less

likely to develop a full appreciation of what is being studied, and the observation may be sketchy and transitory (Babbie, 2010). To remedy this problem, the researcher revisited the video-taped field observations several times, and wrote down any new observations in supplementing the field notes. This shortcoming is also tackled by triangulation of data, that is, the field observation data were used to triangulate the data from in-depth interview data and examination of schools' National Education documents. The data collected from field observations could suggest and confirm what the teachers thought about in perceiving national identity and National Education.

Validity issues had been considered in field observations. As Sanger (1996) argued, observation used to confirm expectations on targets, rhetoric, aims and objectives of practices may lead to blindness in the face of the obvious. This is the first reminder to the researcher to note deviations from the obvious. Also, the effects of outsider's presence in observation should be minimized but it would be foolish to claim that it had no effect at all. Hence, during data collection, the researcher had minimized the presence effects by keeping his intrusion to the minimum and he tried his best to keep the field observations done in authentic settings. In data analysis, the researcher kept himself alert to the issue: whether the behaviors of teachers and students observed were actually under the influences of the presence of the researcher. Two quick rules of thumb are whether the participants looked at the researcher on a continuous basis, and whether there was anything that greatly deviated from usual practice, based on similar observations experiences.

Research ethics considerations had also been observed, as outlined in Section 5.5 above. As a complete observer, a researcher has told those observed about his purposes in research. Members of the group were also encouraged to be more noticing and analytic of group processes or behavior (Gillham, 2000). The researcher understands that helpfulness and disclosure from individuals and members of a group or institution, which are indispensable qualities for a successful research, depends on the building up of confidence and trust between the researcher and the researched. The researcher is particularly grateful to the helpfulness and disclosure of all the research participants throughout the research processes.

When designing his observation plan, the researcher had tried to keep his

observations pertinent to the research questions (as outlined in Chapter 1), in order to ensure their validity. The researcher was well aware of the differences between starting out in a confused state and noting almost everything seem to be significant and starting out with a more defined purpose (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Another challenge for conducting observation in this study, however, is that in Hong Kong's secondary schools, National Education programmes/activities are usually conducted near the Chinese National Day on the first day of October each year. For each research participant's school, there were only a few opportunities to observe and so the researcher had to be very clear about the purposes of each of his observations and why he was observing (Bell, 2010). Thus, the researcher developed an on-site observation form which listed the needed qualitative and quantitative information, narrative accounts, and any quick commentaries on National Education issues to be observed (see Appendix II). This form was used to record in natural descriptions of the acts, processes and characteristics of National Education lessons or activities observed, with special attention to anything that happened relevant to key issues at stake (Glesne, 2006). In other words, it was to record what 'acts' made up the 'event' of a National Education programme or activity.

In fact, to any qualitative researcher, qualitative or interpretive data do present meanings that are directly recognizable by the researcher (Stake, 1995), usually with the help of some criteria. Sanger (1996) advised on developing a non-stereotyped classification in an open-ended observation. The researcher has adopted the following conceptual criteria for the development of his observation plan, based on the literature reviews in Chapters 2 to 4. These conceptual criteria are as follows:

- **identity**
- **nation**
- **national identity**
- **China**
- **Chinese politics, society, culture and geography, etc.**
- **National Education, and**
- **citizenship education**

The data collection principle used was that whenever a phenomenon related to any of the above-mentioned conceptual criterion, it would be recorded. These

concepts guided the researcher's field observations on what needed to be noted down in the observation form, which resulted in an interesting and significant range of data. These concepts helped the researcher understand what happened during the field observations in schools that were related to the research participants' perceptions of national identity and National Education. It was also plausible that the research participants perceived their national identity and National Education through these concepts in their minds.

While operating the field observation form, as Stake (1995) argued, the observer recognizes the meanings of qualitative or interpretive data directly. During observation, there might not be numerical indicators, but the researcher could mostly interpret the observed phenomenon and situations, and classified the session as to, for example, whether the instruction is didactic, participatory, or reflective, or whether the teacher is dominated by teacher talk or self-initiated student talk, as well as whether the individual instructions were didactic, participatory or reflective.

A further note is that when the researcher of this study began his role as an observer, he tried to observe what was happening that was deemed to be potentially relevant, and took notes and jotted down thoughts without narrow, specific regard to his research problems (Glesne, 2006). Hence, the researcher brought pencil and note pad to write down things that were deemed to be related to the research questions. Also, in each case, the researcher studied and described the field setting in words with the use of observation form (see Appendix II) and even in sketches, so that maximum valuable data could be recorded on-site, rather than recalling the details afterwards. The researcher notes that recalling afterwards may lead to omission of important data which may be necessary for a holistic research. In short, the researcher has kept a good record of events to provide a relatively 'incontestable description' (Stake, 1995) for further analysis and ultimate reporting. The researcher lets the occasion tell the case, the situation, the story, or any issue at stake. Then, the researcher performs analyses of all these.

In contemplating the implementation of the whole field observation process, the researcher also followed the suggested steps of field-observation guidelines developed by Stake (1995). These helped the researcher conduct a systematic

inquiry during field observations. These guidelines are:

I. anticipation – which refers to review or discover what is expected of a case study, and consider the questions or issues already raised.

II. first visit – arrange preliminary access, negotiate plan of action, and identify information and service to be offered by hosts.

III. future preparation for observations – make preliminary observations of activities, and identify informants and sources of particular data.

IV. further developments of conceptualization – reconsider issues or other theoretical structure to guide the data gathering

V. gathering data and validating data – make observations, interview, gather logs, and keep records of inquiry arrangements and activities.

VI. analysis of data – review raw data under various possible interpretations.

VII. providing audience opportunity for understanding – describe extensively the setting within which the activity occurred, and draft the reports and revise it.

Putting the above guidelines into implementation, the researcher has adopted a robust yet flexible approach in each of the field observations. First, he would think of what to observe and discover during the field observation (that is, anticipation in terms of conceptual criterion mentioned), and wrote down some keywords that signaled for his attention later. Next, he arranged a preliminary visit or telephone conversation to inform the research participant concerned about his research aims and asked whether he/she could provide him with the relevant data. Then, he did some preparations for observations and conceptualizations: identifying and confirming who his research participants would be on the basis of whether they could offer the most valuable data, and reviewing what the salient questions or issues were that the researcher must cover during the data gathering processes. As the data gathering proceeded, the researcher wrote the logs, and later made supplementary comments or remarks on such field notes. After data collection, the researcher reviewed the data with various possible interpretations and then come up with analyses.

Privacy related issues, however, should figure much in any observation exercise. In a school's environment, teachers and students may not feel comfortable when an outsider intrudes into their normal routines. It is a matter of avoiding

personal exposure to anyone outside the intimate circles. So, the researcher introduced himself as unobtrusively as possible, in order to minimize the impacts of intrusion of privacy (Glesne, 2006). The researcher also respected privacy by ensuring that his presence would not cause any harm or discomfort to any teachers or students being observed. As was noted before, when he conducted each of the interviews, he would respect the interviewee's right to tell whatever they felt comfortable to tell. When the researcher did the observations, he took the less visible corner so that it would not affect the students. When he took pictures or video clips, he commanded a non-disturbance position, and he did not make large movements. When he talked to any teachers or students by chance during the field observations, he would reassure them that he was doing an academic research, and my focus would always be on the research questions only.

In short, the rigorous yet flexible observances of the pertinent field observation principles or guidelines had ensured that both expected and emergent issues had been catered for and collected in the data collection process.

5.7. Treatment of data
5.7.1. Treatment and integrative analysis of cross-case qualitative findings of research instruments
This study mainly used a combination of qualitative analytical methods, and the treatment of such qualitative findings follows some academic discussions.

The researcher began by 'reading through all of my field notes or interviews and making comments in the margins or even attaching pieces of paper with staples or paper clips that contain my notions about what I can do with the different parts of the data. This is the beginning of organizing the data into topics and files' (Patton, 1990: 381). The researcher realizes that having the field notes properly recorded and clear interview transcripts are important to subsequent data analysis processes. Also, since qualitative researchers pursue multiple perspectives on some phenomena (Rossman & Rallis, 2003), the researcher of this study puts himself into the interpretation of the data, and finds meanings that the readers can grasp. This has called for the researcher to reflect upon his assumptions, stereotypes, and pre-conceived notions, if any. Actually, the analysis of case may 'take shape during the observations, sometimes does not emerge until write-ups of many observations are poured out' (Stake, 1995: 62).

Therefore, the interpretation and data analysis in this study is an on-going process throughout the research period and right through to the stages of writing up the analysis.

The analysis of cases in this study involves developing understanding of a complex phenomenon as described by each research participant, and using verbal interview data and subjective document analysis; thus, this type of study is an interpretive one (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2002). The researcher paid particular attention to how individuals took account of their perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education. This study also addressed how individuals actively employed their 'common stock of knowledge' about national identity and National Education while it emphasized the practical aspects of the reproduction of national identities (Thompson, 2001) as well as perceptions on meanings of National Education.

This study involves ten mini-cases, and each one tries to capture some typical perceptions and meanings of National Education among Hong Kong secondary school teachers. Although cross-case analysis is adopted in this study, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it is not intended to generalize any finding from this case study. Their commonalities and uniqueness are intended to generate research findings that are significant in understanding perceptions and meanings of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong.

For integrating the evidences, Bickman and Rig (2009: 264) point out that 'the preferred integration would position the evidence from each source in a way that converged with, or at least complemented, the evidence from other sources.' The researcher has adopted such principle in analysis, as shown in Chapter 7, in particular in Section 7.5 A discussion on cross case analysis issues.

While beginning the integrative analysis, the researcher 'fixes a schedule and a quiet nook to write up the observations while it is still fresh' (Stake, 1995: 62). Hence, there was quick writing up of interview transcripts after each in-depth interview, and detailed notes were made after each field observation of National Education programmes/activities. Patterns identified from each context 'were compared and contrasted with the different case/school context to determine significant explanations' (Almonte-Acosta, 2010: 181). This is the analytical method as adopted in Section 7.2 Findings of in-depth, open-ended interviews

data, as well as in Section 7.3 Findings of schools' National Education programmes/activities observation data.

The researcher also bears in mind the need to show how various sources of evidence might come together as parts of multiple-case study. Section 7.5 A discussion on cross-case analysis issues, deals with this. There is a need to see whether the evidences from these sources present a consistent picture, and the procedure involves juxtaposing the different pieces of evidences in order to see whether they corroborate each other or provide complementary or conflicting details (Bickman & Rog, 2009).

5.7.2. Treatment of examination of schools' National Education document analysis data

The data in document analysis is mainly qualitative, although in academic discussions, it can be both qualitative and quantitative (Bickman & Rog, 2009). In this study, documentary evidences, that is, 'quotations or insights to specific written texts, accompanied by the necessary citations' (Bickman & Rog, 2009), are collected because Hong Kong secondary schools are used to planning ahead both their academic subject curricula and informal learning such as extra-curricular activities; National Education in Hong Kong usually falls into the latter category. Usually, these documents are well-written and mainly qualitative, sometimes with figures to show the expected participant numbers and numbers of occasions. Such documents also may have the aim of giving the best possible impression to the inspectors (Bell, 2010), whether they are school managers or the Education Bureau.

The researcher tried to focus on the similarities and differences between and within each school's National Education related documents. First, the researcher went through each document and identified some salient quotations from the written texts of schools' National Education documents that were particularly related to 'national identity' and/or 'National Education' in each research participant's case. As Stake (1995: 78) noted, for more important passage or text, one must 'take more time, looking them over again and again, reflecting, triangulating, being skeptical about first impressions and simple meanings.' These quotations are analyzed in its own right to give meanings to the researcher.

In analyzing schools' National Education documents, with regard to the literature review of Previous Research on National Identity in Hong Kong in Chapter 2, Development of National Education in Hong Kong in Chapter 3, and Meanings and Operating the Main Concepts in Chapter 4, which all helped in identifying and generating the keywords for search that were relevant to this study's research aims, the researcher looked for the following keywords in analyzing the documents:

● Identity
● Nation
● National identity
● China
● Chinese politics, society, culture, geography, economics, etc.
● National Education, and
● Citizenship education

When there were concepts in the schools' National Education documents which were equivalent or similar to the above-mentioned keywords, the researcher would put a mark on each of them. This was not an easy task given the complexities of each particular concept and its contextual usage in the schools' National Education documents. Nevertheless, the adherence to identify the above-mentioned keywords would help to find data that could answer the research questions, and thereby contribute to the validity of the findings.

After the analysis of each school's National Education documents, the cross-case analysis of documentary data gives a combination of analyses of National Education programmes/activities across research participants. The researcher focused on the similarities and differences between and within the individual schools' National Education related documents (Almonte-Acosta, 2010), so that patterns from each context were compared and contrasted with different case/school contexts. The findings are presented in Section 7.1 Findings of analyzing schools' National Education documents.

5.7.3 Treatment of in-depth interview data
In this study, the researcher analyzes the descriptions that the interviewees used to describe their perceptions of national identity and meanings of National Education.

The researcher aims at collecting a good description from the research participants, which is a 'thick description' of the phenomenon, in which there are 'statements that re-create a situation and as much of its context as possible, accompanied by the meanings and intentions inherent in the situations' (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2002: 439). The selection of direct quotes from the respondents was based on whether they were typical of the respective respondent's responses. The findings attempted to illustrate how perceptions of national identity and National Education were *locally* produced, that is, by individuals involved in a given school context. The interview data of each research participant was analyzed independently, and discussed with a cross-case method to arrive at some meaningful patterns and discussions in chapter 7.

Answers from different people, indeed, could be grouped by 'topics' (Patton, 1990), or by 'categories' as employed in this study. The researcher read the findings again and again, ignoring some, composed the best responses that could help understand the respondents' meanings (Stake, 2006). While directly quoting the respondents' descriptions of perceptions and elaborations in the analysis, the researcher developed some conceptual 'categories' based on their responses that could be differentiated from each other. The researcher looked for 'constructs that brought order to the descriptive data and that related these data to other research findings reported in the literature' (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2002: 439). In fact, a basic requirement of good qualitative research is the 'analytical categories' which can constitute the building blocks of emergent theory (Hammersley, 1997). Specifically speaking, inductive analysis is also one strategy to identify salient categories within the data (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). By inductive analysis, it means that the analytical data comes from aggregating individual data responses and then performing data analysis afterwards. In short, the researcher developed the categories coming from the actual words of the research participants.

Next, a 'theme', which is a phrase or sentence describing more subtle and tacit processes, typically emerges from the deep familiarity with the data that comes from categorizing (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). After generating categories by sorting the excerpts from in-depth interviews, themes, or assertions, according to Stake (1995), can then be developed by intensive analysis as the researcher locates and describes more subtle processes (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The

researcher conducted more subtle analyses, identified recurring ideas or language, patterns of beliefs and actions that signaled something more subtle and complex than categories. This had revealed 'theme' that contained in it based on evidence found throughout the data. The above-mentioned process of sorting and categorizing data and building up themes in this study will be shown in Chapter 7.

In the final cross-case analysis, the researcher read the findings again and, ignoring some, composed the best responses that could help understand the research participants' meanings (Stake, 2006). Patterns were then identified through the comparisons of the differences and similarities within and across cases (Almonte-Acosta, 2010).

The followings outline the analytical steps in analyzing the in-depth, open-ended interview data (Gillham, 2000: 71-75), as adopted in this study:

1. Take each transcript in turn.
2. Go through each one highlighting substantive statements (those that really make a point). Ignore repetitions, digressions and other clearly irrelevant materials.
3. Some statements will be similar but if they add something, they will be marked.
4. Two transcripts a day, well spaced. If they are spaced too far apart, the categories that are formed in mind may be lost.
5. After going through all the transcripts, go back to the first one and read it through again. Looking for statements that may have failed to highlight, reviewing whether those highlighted are really substantive.
6. Based on the highlighted statements, try to derive a set of categories for the responses to each question. Give a simple heading to it and make a list of categories. Usually, there will be a lot from the first transcript, more from the next, and progressively fewer thereafter.
7. Within the list of categories, asking whether some of them could be combined or, alternatively, split up. Some of the headings that have been noted down may not be adequate or necessary. Revisions are needed.
8. Go through the transcripts together with the list of categories. Check

each substantive statement against the category list to see if it has somewhere to go. Identify those statements that cannot be readily assigned to any category. Modify the wordings of the category headings or revise them entirely so that they fit the respective statements better or can add 'query statements'. Sometimes new categories are needed. If there are a lot of 'query statements', they may indicate that the list of category headings is inadequate or that lot of 'unique statements' resist classification.

9. Enter the categories on an analysis grid like the example below:

Question 1	Categories						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Respondents							
T1							
T2							
T3							
T4							
T5							
T6							
T7							
T8							
T9							
T10							

Since there are a number of categories for each interview question, there is a grid sheet for each of them. As one can see from the above, the category headings go along the top, while the codes of the respondents down on the left side. Of course, category headings are a way of classifying the kinds of statements respondents have made.

10. Go through the transcripts, assigning each substantive statement (where possible) to a category. Statement that cannot be assigned have to be dealt with separately, that is, 'unclassifiable' but not unimportant. Note that there may be just one individual respondent makes a key point. Put the number of the category against the statement on the transcript to signify that it has been entered and

where it has gone. If there is a statement that cannot be classified, it will be marked 'u.c.'(unclassifiable). On the analysis grid, one can either tick the relevant box (which means the respondent made a statement which fits this category) or write in the actual statement. These are for the purposes of count analysis and a meaning analysis. Indeed, apart from counting, writing the actual statements can bring the summary category to life, which conveys the range of responses that come under it, and provides materials for the qualitative analysis.

With the interviews analysed in the way described above, the categories formed became the materials for the themes developed, the final analysis and the writing-up in conjunction with other kinds of data (that is, the data from observations and document analysis).

Finally, bearing in mind of the research questions, the researcher followed his intuition that suggested a deeper way to understand and interpret the data throughout the developments of 'categories' and 'themes'. These processes had, hopefully, made the analysis sufficiently rich, thick and developed. On-going checks were made with the transcripts, line by line, to identify issues or topics, and ponder which paragraphs might illustrate further conclusions (Stake, 1995). All these have helped improve the analysis and interpretation processes, and have therefore enhanced the robustness of this research study's findings.

5.7.4 Treatment of observation data on schools' National Education programmes/activities
The observational data on research participants' schools provides further data to inform respondents' perceptions of meanings of National Education. As noted, there was an observation form to observe schools' National Education programmes or activities (see Appendix II). The researcher had decided ahead of time what data would be collected during observation (Stake, 1995). The observational data generated in this study contains both qualitative (that is, categorical) and quantitative data (that is, ordinal).

The conventional manner of reporting qualitative data from an observation can take the form of narrative texts, and this was adopted in this study. The composing of these texts presents the observational evidences as neutrally and

factually as possible, followed by the interpretation or assessment portion. This separate presentation of observational narrative and interpretive/assessment narrative can tell the case in a compelling manner (Yin, 2009).

Stake (1995) also adopted similar steps in describing a case. First, as a researcher, one should try to present a substantial body of uncontestable description. Next, a researcher can present interpretations. If there is likely to be dispute about an important issue, researcher can present more details.

As mentioned before, in this study, a field observation form (see Appendix II) is used and it contains a section on narrative texts of what could be observed in relation to identity, nation, national identity, China, Chinese politics, society, culture, economics, National Education and/or Citizenship education. It also contains section on presenting interpretation by allowing the researcher to write down any 'Comments on National Education related issues.' Next, it allows the researcher to record data that can be triangulated with the research participants' perceptions of National Education, such as learning aims, pedagogical orientations, teacher's aims, and references made to.

5.7.5 Treatment of data overloading

To recap, the schools' National Education related documents data, interview data and observation data collected are intended to be triangulated and give indication to the validity of the findings. After getting lots of good observations, the researcher finds it important to identify the relevant ones and set the rest aside (Stake, 1995). He bears in mind what Wolcott (1990: 35) reminded us that 'the critical task in qualitative research is not to accumulate all the data you can, but to "can" (i.e. get rid of) most of the data you accumulate. This requires constant winnowing. The trick is to discover essences and then to reveal those essences with sufficient context, yet not become mired trying to include everything that might possibly be described.' A data management system which is for storing and retrieving data, revision and use over time with a clear working scheme (Huberman & Miles, 1994) has also proved to be critical to the present study. The researcher here has used computer software such as Microsoft Word (that is, interview transcripts) and Microsoft Excel (that is, interview and observation times and details of research participants) to assist in data storing management.

5.8 Credibility issues

First of all, the credibility issue here concerns the role of the researcher of this study as a teacher educator which might affect the responses or behaviour of those whom he met during the data collection process. Since the research participants knew much about the researcher's professional roles and responsibilities in teaching and supervising pre-service teachers at a teachers training institution in Hong Kong, and in engaging in continuing professional training for in-service teachers, the research participants might develop a perception that the researcher was an expert in National Education and so they might regard his questions as a test of their understanding of the related topic areas, or they might perceive any assertions contained in his questions or replies as indications of how national identity should be conceptualized, and how National Education should be conceived, designed, implemented and/or evaluated. To minimize all these problems, the researcher has explained clearly to each research participant before conducting the in-depth interview and the observation on the National Education programmes/activities that he was a researcher and not an assessor. Also, he explained that as a qualitative researcher, he played the role that was to find out the meanings and rich descriptions from the research participants instead of imposing his own views on them. He further revealed that he was not necessarily an expert in national identity and/or National Education within school-based curriculums and school culture. I even explained that there were, indeed, some school-based situations that he had not met before, and so to claim as an expert in various school-based teaching and learning of National Education would only amount to an over-claim.

Before conducting the in-depth interview on-site and the field observations, the researcher once again reassured that he was interested in the research participants' perceptions and meanings, rather than some official, scholarly or school-based sayings. There was also no right or appropriate answer to each question. The researcher also assured the research participants that their individual responses had research value in themselves, and that he was not interested in representativeness.

In fact, the researcher has been asked by some research participants about the research value of their individual responses, given that these were just their personal opinions. Sometimes, he was also asked by them to give indications on

whether their responses were right or appropriate. The researcher held on to his replies to such questions throughout the interviews. With the researcher's repeated confirmations that their opinions were of values in themselves, the researcher participants could feel free to give their opinions. All these efforts, hopefully, have put the research participants in a comfortable environment during the data collection process. On certain occasions, the researcher had also used supportive body language and communication skills to elicit their responses. All these had created an impression that their responses were valuable and worthy of significance.

The researcher has also employed member checking (Stake, 1995) to seek for critical comments and suggestions on the interpretations and discussion of findings. This helps triangulate the researcher's observation data and interpretation data on in-depth interview and documentary analysis. The research participants were requested to examine rough drafts of writing where the wordings and actions of the research participants were involved. They were also asked to review the written materials for accuracy and palatability. I encouraged them to provide alternative language or interpretation, though I reserved the right that their versions might not appear in the final report. Some gave their sincere comments, but a few research participants did not respond to my requests for reviews by suggesting either they were very busy in their professional duties or they had some reservations. In other cases, they just gave their full consents to my interpretations. To those giving no responses, I went through the written materials that were specifically related to them in order to ensure that what I had written could fully reflect what they thought and did. As to comments, I went through a mutually respectful argument regarding my discussion and interpretations, and I was given sincere suggestions for improvement. The present thesis has therefore been improved by member checking.

The second credibility issue concerns whether my knowledge of the field may affect the approach to data collection and data analysis. First, my previous professional involvements in helping schools develop their respective National Education curriculums have allowed me to frame the subject matter and research questions quickly. However, this might also affect the setting and the intellectual breath of any research questions. Hence, I have adopted a rigorous process of literature exploration and scholarly discussion reviews, hoping that

this would inform the setting of my research design and research questions. Also, a pilot study was conducted in the early months of 2009 so as to refine the research design and frame the research questions appropriately. This proved to be a valuable exercise.

5.9 Validity issues

Validity is a research concern in any applied research and evaluation projects. Validity emphasizes the logicality in interpreting the meaning of measurement in education (Stake, 1995). Of particular importance is that there are ethical obligations to minimize misrepresentation and misunderstanding (Stake, 1995), which are outlined in Section 5.5. Research Ethics Considerations. Triangulation of research methods also serves this purpose well. Kyriacou (1990) in the *British Education Research Association Journal*, while also quoting Guba and Lincoln's (1981) validity tests for the kind of qualitative research, gave the following list:

Table 5.2 Validity considerations

1	Prolonged engagement
2	Persistent observation
3	Triangulation (of sources, methods, investigators, and theories)
4	Peer debriefing
5	Negative case analysis refining working hypothesis against more information
6	Referential adequacy (checking preliminary findings against archived 'raw')
7	Member checking (checking findings with respondents)
8	Use of thick descriptions
9	Stepwise replication (using parallel and independent analyses of half the data)
10	Carrying out an inquiry audit (focusing on all aspects of how the study was conducted)
11	Using a review panel
12	Keeping a reflexive journal (daily diary about 'self' and 'method')

The above-mentioned criteria are for the purposes of conducting a reliable or justifiable research, and they are criteria which have been empirically derived from repeated research work. They suit the inductive approach used in this study which derives understanding from induction. The researcher here has

adopted most of the steps listed above except No. 4 Peer debriefing and No. 11 Using a review panel, as the researcher has not involved any peer in this research and that the researcher is not in any position to form any review panel of academic rigor. Nonetheless, the researcher has adopted most of the above-mentioned considerations. For example, No. 1 Prolonged engagement means that the researcher spent two in-depth interviews and two non-participant observations with each of the research participants, so that rich data could be obtained. For No. 2 Persistent observation, the researcher did the observations, adopting a steady yet persistent data collection. For No.6 Referential adequacy, the researcher checked preliminary findings against the raw data to check for inconsistence and incongruence. For No. 12 Keeping a reflective journal, the researcher kept a record of what happened during the data research process.

5.10 Protection of data

The data collected through in-depth, open-ended interviews, observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities and examination of relevant schools' documents is treated with utmost care with reference to some established research guidelines. The researcher upholds research integrity and trustworthiness. Integrity means that the researcher should uphold the soundness of moral principle, and ethical standards must be explicated.

In this regard, the researcher has consulted the relevant data protection procedures. Informed consent is presumed to protect the researcher from charges that harm, deception, and invasion of privacy have occurred (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). An informed consent form was given to each research participant for his/her signature (see Annex III). The researcher also bears in mind that any leakage of research data may lead to serious consequences, either in personal or professional terms. Hence, the research participants' real identities are protected by giving a code to each of them (e.g. T1, T2, T3, ...), and academic skills in writing each sample case are taken to ensure that it is not easy to reveal the research participants' identity.

Meanwhile, the contact methods of the research participants, audio-taped records of the interviews, the original transcripts of the interviews, schools' National Education documents, observation field notes, photos and video-taped records on schools' National Education programmes/activities, as well as any

materials obtained from the observation fields, etc., are safely kept in a locked cabinet which can only be accessed by the researcher but not others. Any request for data checking from third party, unless they are for the purpose of checking the validity of this dissertation, will mostly not be entertained. The researcher hopes that such measures on data confidentiality will safeguard the interests of the research participants, not to mention maintaining the research ethics and integrity of this study.

Having adopted the above-mentioned principles, however, the researcher also understands there are calls for empowering and educative ethic that joins researchers and subjects together in an open, collegial relationship (Lincoln & Guba, 1989). Within such a model, deception is removed, and threats of harm and loss of privacy are also removed. The researcher has built up an open and collegial relationship with the research participants before, during and even after data collection process. From building up rapport to maintaining collegial relationship, the researcher has, hopefully, empowered the research participants in the sense that they could contribute something to an academic study.

The researcher also had adopted a contextualized-consequentialist model (House, 1990; Smith, 1990) which builds upon four principles: mutual respect, non-coercion and non-manipulation, the support for democratic values and institutions, and the belief that every research act implies moral and ethical decisions that are contextual. Indeed, every moral and ethical decision in a research study has immediate and long-range consequences, which in turn involve personal values held by the researcher and those research participants. With this contextual-consequentialist model, the researcher has built up relationships of respect and trust, which are non-coercive and not based upon deception. The researcher has also committed to an ethic that stresses personal accountability, caring, the value of individual expressiveness, the capacity for empathy, and the sharing of emotionality (Collins, 1990: 216).

This chapter explicates the principles and rationales of research methodology adopted in this study, which include the explanations of, and justifications for, adopting examination of schools' National Education documents, in-depth interviews and observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities, as well as explicating on the reliability and validity of issues, and the protection of data.

6. Contextual Understanding of National Education in Each Case

This chapter aims to outline the overall characteristics of the research participants. This includes an overview of their educational qualifications and teaching experiences, curriculum leadership and experience in citizenship education, their respective schools' geographical and socio-economic distribution, and their respective schools' sponsor backgrounds.

Case analysis, indeed, could begin with writing a case study for each person interviewed (Patton, 1990). An overall of characteristics of research participant is supposed to inform the context for analysis and discussion of findings in next chapter. Stake (1995) once argued that a researcher should develop vicarious experiences for the readers, to give them a sense of 'being there'. Contexts can help others understand the cases that a researcher is studying. A multi-case researcher could also enrich the reader's experiential knowing with as much of the action and context of the cases as possible (Stake, 2006), especially since the sample case's activities are expected to be influenced by contexts, so contexts need to be studied and described (Stake, 2006). As a qualitative researcher, he or she should have expectations that the reality perceived by people inside and outside the case will be social and cultural situational, and contextual. Therefore, the interactivity of functions and contexts should also be described as much as possible (Stake, 2006).

The structure of this chapter is as follows:

6.1 Overall characteristics of the research participants
    6.1.1 Qualifications
    6.1.2 Curriculum leadership and experience in citizenship education
    6.1.3 Previous training on citizenship education
    6.1.4 Geographical and social-economic distribution
    6.1.5 Schools' sponsor backgrounds
6.2 Coding of mini-cases

6.1. Overall characteristics of the research participants
6.1.1 Qualifications
The research participants all have attained at least a Bachelor's degree, mostly in social sciences-related subjects such as Western history, geography, Chinese

history, government and public administration, law, business and economics. Hence, they mostly have a training background of social sciences disciplines. They mainly taught subjects of humanities, Chinese history, geography, economics, business, and Senior Secondary Liberal Studies; all of them certainly have teaching related to the concepts and issues of civics, nation, and national identity. Some of them have obtained a Master's degree which reflects a specialization of their professional training in their own career development. However, these specializations are mostly related to professional education or subject domains other than citizenship education.

All the research participants have earned substantial teaching experiences over the years, with 8 years being the lowest and more than 20 years being the most. They all took up middle-management positions within their respective schools by serving either as panel head of subjects or coordinator of civic education by the time of data collection. Hence, they have significant say over the planning and implementation of citizenship education curriculum, which usually include National Education, in their respective schools. This is an important selection criterion of research sample in this study.

6.1.2 Curriculum leadership and experience in citizenship education
All the research participants held curriculum leadership in Civic Education/National education or related area in their respective schools. As a result, they got a professional duty to plan and implement National Education in their own schools, in particular developing students' knowledge, skills, values and attitudes in the field of Civic Education.

From the in-depth interviews' findings, it was found that an awareness of civic education was developed and further enhanced among the research participants when some of them started working in their respective schools. It was because all secondary schools in Hong Kong have got a civic education/moral education/life education/life-wide learning team. In particular, some research participants mentioned that their individual civic or national awareness dated back to their own secondary or university education. Some research participants also reported that they assumed district level's inter-school curriculum leadership as they were invited by the Education Bureau to lead curriculum development in delegated capacities. They had to lead the

curriculum development of particular subjects in their respective districts, thus reflecting their curriculum leadership capabilities being recognized.

6.1.3 Previous training on citizenship education

Previous training on citizenship education, which usually contains learning elements of National Education, were, however, very few among the research participants, as evidenced from the identification processes of potential informants and the in-depth interview data. The research participants mentioned occasional attendances at conferences and seminars as their main sources of understanding of the concepts, topics and issues about civic education, and none of them mentioned specifically that they had received any professional training on teaching National Education. Some regarded self-improvement as their main sources of citizenship education training. Either they read some teaching packages on citizenship education, or they gained some enhanced understanding and conceptualization about citizenship education through reflection.

6.1.4 Geographical and social-economic distribution

As was noted in Chapter 1, the schools where the purposively sampled teachers worked come from three main geographical and administrative regions of Hong Kong, namely Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories. In other words, the profile of research participants' schools basically covers the socio-economic backgrounds of wealthy, middle-class, ordinary and grass-root districts of Hong Kong, although this is only a broad classification and some variance may be found across samples. The intention of drawing upon a scattered geographical and social-economic distribution of samples in this study is suggestive of, but not necessary a representative, a target sampling method, which intends to cover an adequate spectrum of schools.

6.1.5 Schools' sponsor backgrounds

The research participants' schools belong to different sponsor backgrounds, which is a primary indication of different types of schools in Hong Kong.

The implication of schools' sponsor backgrounds in Hong Kong is that it may exert external influences on the teaching orientation of the research participants. In a case study, any factors that impact on the cases under investigation should be reported as well (Naumes & Naumes, 2006). In this case study, some school

sponsors belonged to voluntary social service associations and private educational corporations, while others belonged to the major types of religious sponsoring body, that is, Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, Catholic, and Christian. The religious background of a school had significant implications for the school's ethos and culture, which is evidenced in having the subject of that particular religion and related informal learning such as assembly and extra-curricular activities.

In this study, the schools' profile also covers the major funding types of secondary schools in Hong Kong, that is, subsidized, government, and direct subsidy scheme schools. This broadly covers the major types of schools in Hong Kong. The implication of funding type on teaching of National Education, however, is beyond the scope of the study here.

6.2 Coding of mini-cases

To protect the anonymity of the research participants, researchers usually use fictitious names (Glesne, 2006). Hence, all research participants mentioned in this study have been renamed as T1, T2, T3, T4....T10. It is for the sake of protecting the data source, and it is to give a coherent ordering of the teachers studied throughout the study.

The researcher, of course, also remembers that even with these made-up codes, some schools may still easily be identified with the descriptions of their characteristics and school locations (Glesne, 2006), as was outlined in Chapter 1. Glesne (2006: 139) also note that 'although the "no harm" principle may be done during the research process, harm may result from making findings public.' The solution is, as suggested by Glesne (2006), when publishing a dissertation, a researcher needs to consider how the manuscript could potentially affect both the individual and the community; if specific information may lead to harm, then cautionary measures must be taken to ensure no such harm would be occurred. The researcher adopted utmost care in protecting their anonymity.

This chapter has outlined the overall characteristics of the research participants in this study. It gives a contextual understanding from which perceptions of research participants' on national identity and National Education emerged.

7. Analysis of Findings and Discussions about Cross-case Study Issues

This chapter will present an analysis of the findings on the qualitative data obtained from the examination of schools' National Education documents, in-depth, open-ended interviews with the ten purposively sampled research participants, and observations on research participants' schools' National Education programmes/activities. The issues, which come out of the interpretation and overall assessment across the cases, will come as a discussion about cross-case study issues in this chapter. The structure of this chapter is:

7.1 Findings of analyzing schools' National Education documents
     7.1.1   Findings on Civic Education year plans
     7.1.2   Findings on schools' National Education teaching plans
     7.1.3   Findings on the reading of the Education Bureau's circulars
7.2 Findings on the in-depth, open-ended interviews data
     7.2.1. The composition of 'national identity'
     7.2.2 National identity before 1997
     7.2.3 National identity after 1997
     7.2.4 Mediating effects of personal history and significant events on the development of research participants' national identity
     7.2.5 Defining National Education
     7.2.6 Different conceptions of goals and aims of National Education
     7.2.7 Diversified pedagogies of National Education
     7.2.8 National Education in subjects
     7.2.9 Assessment in National Education – aims and methods
7.3 Findings on schools' National Education programmes/activities observation data
     7.3.1 Timing and occasions of observations
     7.3.2 Observation data collection form
     7.3.3 Type and source of data collected in observation
     7.3.4 Findings on observation data
          7.3.4.1 Overall physical and cultural setting
          7.3.4.2 Information boards, school websites, and showcase of extra-curricular activities about National Education
          7.3.4.3 Observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities

7.1 Findings of analyzing schools' National Education documents

The researcher collected and analyzed the research participant school's National Education documents. The selection criteria, as were explained in Chapter 5 Research Methodology, were, as follows:

1. Civic Education year plans in recent three years that contained National Education programmes/activities plans.
2. National Education teaching plans, and
3. Circulars from the Education Bureau on National Education for the schools.

Recalling earlier explanation, the researcher investigated the characteristics of contents contained in such documents, what inferences could be made about the contents, and what inferences could be made about the effects of communications (Jupp & Norris, 1997). For the circulars from the Education Bureau, the researcher would like to investigate whether the research participants had taken notice of them, and whether they would arrange their students to attend those programmes/activities introduced in the circulars or not. In particular, the researcher investigated how they perceived and interpreted the contents and meanings of these government circulars on National Education.

In analyzing the aforementioned National Education documents, content analysis (Bell, 2010) was adopted and it was typically concerned with the manifest contents and surface meanings (Jupp & Norris, 1997). The analysis is not normally directly in terms of the content intention which the content may express nor the latent responses which it may elicit. Rather, it proceeded in terms of what-is-said rather than why-is-the-content-like-that.

7.1.1 Findings on Civic Education year plans

Overall speaking, the characteristics of the contents of the collected Civic Education year plans are that they appeared to pay a lot of attention to duties

and responsibilities (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), and moral dimensions of citizenship such as voting and family (T2, T3, T5, T6), school and community-based responsibilities (T3, T7, T10), and personal and religious values (if the schools have religious backgrounds). Spiritual dimensions could also be found in relation to moral education too, especially if the school's sponsor was a religious one (T6). In fact, such duties and responsibilities, voting, family, school and community are commonly found in teaching orientations of Hong Kong's secondary schools. Active participation and taking actions were not commonly found except for some teachers (T3, T7). The rest of them were usually action-poor oriented civic education, as described by Leung (2006).

Their Civic Education year plans also revealed that they had planned a certain number of National Education programmes/activities each year within the data collection period of 2008-2010. There were keywords such as 'annual focus' (T1, T8, T9) or 'important area' (T2, T7, T10) in describing the importance of National Education in their Civic Education year plans. National Education is a priority.

Some schools (T1, T7, T8, T9, T10), in particular, adopted National Education programmes/ activities as a prominent theme in their yearly civic education plans, thus reflecting a top priority placed on National Education. It is a plausible and valid inference that they regarded National Education as an important learning goal for their students, despite there was no statutory requirement for Hong Kong schools to teach National Education at the time of writing this study.

Other schools (T2, T3, T4, T5, T6) adopted National Education in their Civic Education year plans on an occasional basis, or fit it with some important national events of China. The former means that they put National Education programmes/activities, with a chosen topic on China, into their respective schools' various learning theme of a year (T2, T3, T4, T5, T6). The latter means that they planned National Education programmes/activities in advance to anticipate some events in China (for example, Beijing Olympics Games in 2008, and Shanghai Expo in 2010) that could be used for National Education purposes (T2, T4, T5, T6), or they made use of an emergent event or disaster in China (T2, T3, T4) to teach some messages of National Education.

7.1.2. Findings on schools' National Education teaching plans
The aims of teaching plans in National Education are mostly written in a concise

and descriptive way. On the goal of learning in National Education, with a closer examination of the aims contained in their National Education teaching plans, most schools (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10) aimed at increasing students' knowledge and understanding about China and cultivating their nationalistic feelings towards China. 'Increasing knowledge', 'understanding about China' and 'cultivating nationalistic feelings' are keywords here. Here are some aims found in their National Education teaching plans:

> 'To provide all-round learning experiences and expand the knowledge horizons of students.' (T2)

> 'The exchange tours aimed at broadening students' knowledge horizon and let them understand the study life of students in Mainland China. Students also made use of the opportunity for learning in cultural exchanges.' (T4)

It seems that the underlying assumption was that by increasing knowledge and enhancing understanding about China, it would instill a sense of Chinese national identification among the students, although there is no pedagogical rationale of cultivating national identification through grasping factual knowledge and enhancing understanding about topics or issues.

Another closer examination of the aims of National Education teaching plans reveals cultivating youths who would become active and productive members of the Hong Kong SAR (T1, T2, T3, T4, T7). This sounds like elements of active participation in citizenship education.

Both patriotic feelings (T8, T9) and critical thinking (T3) elements could also be found among some National Education teaching plans. It is interesting to see how National Education teaching could foster patriotic feelings (T8, T9) and critical thinking (T3) among students at the same time, because they seemed standing in contrast to each other. There was even no explicit acknowledgement of any contradiction between these two aims (T9). Specifically speaking, in their National Education documents, there were aims of:

> 'To develop students' understanding about modern China as well as critical thinking capabilities in analyzing National Education related issues.'(T3)

'To cultivate patriotic feelings and be proud of Chinese identity among the students.'(T8)

'To cultivate a responsible attitude to one self, others, school, community and a patriotic attitude towards the nation among the students.'(T9)

With regard to the themes of learning about National Education in their teaching plans, most schools included topics which were related to knowledge and moral dimensions (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), such as 'Understanding the latest economic development of China', 'Knowing about the Chinese history and culture', 'Geography of China' and 'The virtues of being a Chinese'. Meanwhile, examples of learning elements which were about active or civic participation in China, however, were rare, but still could be found in some research participants' teaching plans (T1, T3, T7). These research participants wanted their students to 'contribute their efforts to the nation-building of China' (T1), 'take actions on civic or social issues in relation to China' (T3), and 'become an active Chinese citizen' (T7).

As for categorizing the nature of National Education programmes/activities in their schools, the following patterns could be found:

Table 7.1 Modes of Learning Activities in National Education Teaching Plans

Research participant	National flag raising ceremony [1]	National-flag raising patrol	Speech[2]	Project learning /work-sheets	Promotion within school[3]	Student perrformances[4]	Community-based nationalisitic programmes[5]	Exchange tours[6]
T1	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
T2	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
T3	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
T4	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
T5	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
T6	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
T7	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

T8	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
T9	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
T10	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

1. Held on occasions such as School Year's Opening Ceremony, Chinese National Day, Day of Establishment of the Hong Kong SAR, and School Year's Closing Ceremony, on a routine basis.

2. Speech by Principal, Civic Education coordinator, students, education officials, or guest speakers.

3. Promotion within schools such as posters, leaflets, information boards, video-shows, and campus broadcasts.

4. Student performances such as report presentations, sharing experiences of exchange tours to China, singing nationalistic songs, exhibitions on their learning experiences in National Education activities, dramas featuring Chinese nationalistic events, etc.

5. Students joining community-based nationalistic events such as 4th May nationalistic event, Hong Kong SAR Establishment Day's parade, Chinese National Day parade and carnival, writing and poem competitions, etc.

6. Joining the exchange tours organized by their own schools, the Education Bureau's National Education exchange programmes, or the study tours organized by non-governmental organizations.

As seen from the table above, the research participants' schools employed similar types of learning and teaching activities in teaching National Education in their teaching plans, except for some schools that adopted national flag raising patrols (T7, T8, T9, T10) and joined the community-based nationalistic programmes (T1, T2, T7, T8, T9, T10). This may be explained by those schools' inclination towards more expressive patriotic type of programmes/activities. They also provided nationalistic flag-raising training (T7, T8, T9, T10) for their students, which they regarded as an important ritual in National Education. Also, these schools which joined community-based nationalistic events were either government schools (T7, T10) or pro-Beijing government schools (T8, T9). A noteworthy point here is that in the local political context, people are usually divided between pro-Beijing government camp and pro-democracy camp on major political issues or controversies. In the education field, some schools are even identified as leftist, pro-Beijing government ones too.

7.1.3 Findings on the reading of the Education Bureau's circulars

During in-depth interviews, almost all teachers (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10) admitted that they were aware of the Education Bureau's National

Education programmes/activities through reading the Education Bureau's circulars. In practice, these National Education circulars were issued to schools on an occasional basis. They ranged from circulars on seminars and guest talks of short duration, student Chinese writings and Chinese festival card design competitions, nationalistic celebration activities, to a short exchange programmes to cities and counties in Guangdong province, China for upper primary and junior secondary school students. There were also large-scale exchange tours to medium and large cities of China for Form 4 students, as well as leadership training camp to Beijing for Form 6 students. Occasionally but not necessarily on a yearly basis, there were circulars on flag raising training to be offered jointly by the Education Bureau and the Police Force for teachers and students. From time to time, there were celebrations of advancements in aero-space technology, as well as calling for participation in fund-raising for disaster reliefs in China. While examining such National Education circulars from the government, some research participants mentioned to the researcher that they interpreted the meanings of such circulars as patriotic (T3, T4, T6) in a negative sense, but also celebrative (T1, T8, T9) in a positive sense.

Although there are different degrees of student participation (that is, the whole form attending or only some students taking part) in which the research participants would arrange their students to join such government initiated National Education programmes/activities, all their civic education year plans revealed that they had arranged students to join this or that in recent three years. There were also clear evidences of taking advantage of the government's National Education programmes to supplement their school-based teaching of National Education (T8, T9) in order to provide students with an all-round National Education learning experience inside and outside their schools. This could also reveal that the government's National Education programmes or activities figured much in the research participants' consideration when planning teaching of National Education in their respective schools.

The research participants' attention to and actions on the government initiated National Education programmes/activities could actually be triangulated by the researcher's on-site observations. The field observation data revealed that the schools posted newspaper articles, student writings, and activity photos which highlighted their students joining the Education Bureau's National Education programmes/activities either at the entrance hall or on the activity showing

boards, which were usually located on the ground floor or in the main corridors. The location of such activity showing boards also told much about the importance of conveying the nationalistic messages to the whole school implicitly: their fellow students had taken the valuable opportunities to join such exchange tours to China, and other students would learn about their exchange experiences in China because China was rising, as well as Hong Kong's economic developments were linked up with, or even dependent upon, China (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). The activity showing boards were, indeed, designed to promote a sense of encouraging all students to learn from their peers because such exchange tours had intrinsic values of understanding about modern China (T1, T8, T9) and because their fellow students had broadened their horizons after meeting Chinese students and people (T1, T2, T4, T7, T8, T9, T10).

In closer triangulation with the data found in in-depth interviews, it shows that for those teachers who had arranged their students to join these National Education programmes on a regularly basis, they regarded such learning opportunities as valuable for their students' understanding and exploration of present-day China (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). Some of them (T8, T9) particularly mentioned that the government's exchange programme fees were reasonable for their respective students, and that their students could visit some important political and historical sites in China by joining such government's National Education programmes, and meet some prominent political leaders, university professors, Olympic Games medalists, scientists and astronauts as well. They might not easily have such learning opportunities by their own efforts. Hence, they had a high incentive to join such government initiated National Education programmes/activities. Other research participants (T2, T5, T6) also noted that the enrollment procedures of such government initiated National Education programmes/activities were easy, and the teachers were relieved of subsequent arrangement works. These government exchange programmes, indeed, provided a systematic package of diverse learning experiences for students, which usually included attending lectures at Chinese universities, guest lectures, cultural workshops, site or field visits, sit-in Chinese school lessons, students' exchanges activities, etc. As a result, with such facilitating enrollment procedures and packaged learning elements in the government's exchange programmes, the research participants were pleased to arrange their students to take part in them.

Some teachers (T3, T4), however, noted their reservations in the in-depth interviews on arranging students to join such government initiated National Education programmes. They preferred to organize school-based students' visits to China with themes and learning contents designed by their own. Nevertheless, in these research participants' civic education year plans (T3, T4), there were both participation in the government's National Education programmes and school-based National Education programmes. They did not criticize what the government did on National Education, but they said they would like to develop critical thinking of their students (T3), and they preferred their students to have balanced or multiple perspectives in understanding and analyzing issues happening in China (T3, T4). They opined that students should be facilitated to understand China in an all round way. So, they opted for organizing their own National Education exchange programmes to China through self-organized activities instead of joining the government initiated ones.

7.2 Findings of in-depth, open-ended interviews data
7.2.1 The composition of 'national identity'
As mentioned in Chapter 5 Research Methodology above, categorization was used to form concept abstraction first. Categorization process is done to saturate the respondents' responses, which in this study, refers to a good description called a 'thick description' of the phenomenon, in which we have 'statements that re-create a situation and as much of its context as possible, accompanied by the meanings and intentions inherent in the situations' (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2002: 439). The selection of direct quotes from the respondents is based on whether it is typical to the respective respondents' responses.

In analyzing the findings, when the research participants replied on what came up to their minds when they heard the word 'national identity', categories such as 'birthplace, people and land', 'attitudes and affection', 'citizenship and nationality', 'culture and custom', 'understanding about your country', 'belonging and identification' were typically found. A table listing out the categories generated is provided below. In short, one YES (Y) below refers to how much or how strongly it was raised by the research participant as counted by simple frequencies.

Table 7.2 Categories on 'National Identity'

Research participants	Categories					
	1 Belonging and identification	2 Attitudes and affection	3 Culture and custom	4 Citizenship and national ity	5 Understanding about your country	6 Birthplace, people and land
T1	YY			Y		
T2	Y				Y	
T3	Y					
T4				Y	Y	
T5				Y	Y	Y
T6			Y			
T7		Y				
T8	Y				Y	
T9						Y
T10				Y		

The followings are some typical extracts from their descriptions, which are grouped into categories. Then, the analytical themes emerged from the participants' descriptions of their perceptions and meanings.

Category: Belonging and identification

'It is a sense of belonging... A sense of belonging arises when you have got a status and rights following from having a passport.' (T1)

'It refers to... having a national identification. It is about identifying with the country and being a member of a place.' (T2)

'That is about a person who belongs to a particular nation, having the citizenship, and the identification of having such an identity.' (T3)

'It is about belonging and attachments. It is about relationship which is a closed and intimate one, as well as a feeling of togetherness.' (T8)

Category: Attitudes and affection

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'It is about values, attitudes, and affections that geared towards a country. It is about having a sense of national people.' (T7)

Category: Culture and custom
'National identity is a concept where you grow up and where you encounter your culture. People are supposed to adopt the culture and custom in a particular place if they grow up there. It makes me easier to think of an "identity" if I grow up there.' (T6)

Theme generated: National identity as ethnic nationalism which encompass belonging, identification, attitudes, affection, culture and custom
The above categories and descriptions composed of ethnicity, culture, nationality, belonging, place of birth, attitudes and affection, and identification. Most of these could be described as elements of ethnic nationalism (Kellas, 1991), which is the 'nationalism of ethnic groups who define their nation in exclusive terms, mainly on the basis of common descent' (Kellas, 1991, p.51). However, it should also be noted that the Chinese culture and custom should actually take into account the diversities of details of its celebration (Tan, 1988). Hence, what the research participants referred to culture and customs may have specific and localized meanings, in particular with reference to Hong Kong's context. The timeline is also important, though a sense of citizenship is a prerequisite(Lam, 2005), however, 'given the depoliticized overtone of the idea of citizenship in Hong Kong that has prevailed since the colonial era, it is no surprise that the cultivation of a sense of community was not perceived as imperative until the 1960s. The riots in 1966 made the British-Hong Kong government start to try to build up a local sense of community, but not an explicit Hong Kong identity, in fears of such an identity might unite people around the themes of nationalism and democracy (Lam, 2005).

And

Category: Citizenship and nationality
'In the national level, a citizen has got the rights and responsibilities. He/she has got the responsibility to protect his/her own country.' (T1)

'Through understanding about your country, it is easier to understand the

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meanings as a Chinese citizen. For example, you can understand about the rights and responsibilities as a Chinese citizen.' (T4)

'The nationality issue comes up to my mind when I think of national identity. Nationality just goes along with national identity.' (T5)

'I can think of citizenship of a particular country.' (T10)

Theme generated: National identity as having civic rights and responsibilities in citizenship

Descriptions of 'rights and responsibilities' also figured in some participants' descriptions (T3, T10). This echoes with one of the fundamental concepts in the debates of civic education about the nature of civic life, that is, the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen (Lee & Sweeting, 2001), and categorization of 'civic nationalism' under Leung's (2005) classifications. In cross-national comparisons, Lee (2005) found that Hong Kong teachers defined the term 'citizenship' in relation to rights and responsibilities towards community, society and government, and the obligation to obey laws and fulfill public duties. With ideas of civic nationalism as a criterion of citizenship, a citizen is entitled a citizenship and various rights, and taking up responsibilities.

And

Category: Understanding about your country
        'This is an abstract term to us, since in the historical development of this
        city, this concept is not clear to us. To me, it refers to understanding about
        your country, and be knowledgeable about its various aspects.' (T2)

'It is about what to do as a Chinese citizen. The primary task is to understand your country, and to do whatever to protect the fame and interests of your country. As a Chinese citizen, you should know your country, especially since the handover to China. Hong Kong people should learn more about China, such as the national flag and national anthem.' (T4)

'The first thing comes up to my mind is how much you understand your

country. Knowledge comes first.' (T5)

'...the understanding about your country...it is not just about emotions, but also in knowledge terms.' (T7)

Theme generated: National identity as understanding about one's own country. National identity as attaining knowledge about one's own country means that one has to understand the country's various aspects in details, mainly in knowledge terms. This teaching orientation is commonly found in Hong Kong classrooms (Biggs & Watkins, 1995). Teachers subscribe to this perception would design the themes and topics of their National Education curriculum in knowledge terms, aiming at prepare youths for their citizenship roles in national life.

And

Category: Birth place, people and land
'I would also think of the place of birth, people and the land. It's about the belonging to one's place and country.' (T5)

'It is about birth place and people. Nation is the birth place and the living place.'(T9)

Theme generated: National identity as birth place, people and the land.
Some research participants described national identity as birth place, people and land. They emphasized the blood connections with the Chinese nation, a sense of 'common blood' and 'motherland', in which values of loyalty to the homeland and obedience could be expected. Indeed, there is a common understanding in Hong Kong which assumes that by arousing people's love for their native place, their love for their country would be promoted (Ching, 1996). The birth place, people and land are the central concerns in the usual descriptions of 'nation', which is coined by Grosby (2005: 48) as the 'possession of both past and an extensive, yet bounded area of land is key to the nation as a community of territorial descent.' Also, 'the boundaries of a territory are never merely geographical; they indicate the spatial limit to many of those traditions that are passed from one generation to the next' (Grosby, 2005: 47).

In conclusion, however, political categories such as 'identification with Chinese government' or 'proud of Chinese politics' are not found in their descriptions of national identity, and this accords with the general finding that, Chinese government and politics are not well covered in the school curriculum (Kuah & Fong, 2010). This may be a significant finding if we consider that national identities are most obviously manipulated by the state and its institutions. In this study, the research samples preferred to use categories of ethnic, knowledge and motherland to describe their national identity.

7.2.2 National identity before 1997

The national identity before 1997 exhibited a diversified conception.

Table 7.3 Categories on 'National Identity before 1997'

	Categories			
	1. Confused identities before 1997	2. Hong Kong people	3. Uninterested in China	4. Identifying with Chinese people
T1	Y			
T2		Y		
T3				YY
T4			Y	
T5		YY	YY	
T6		Y		
T7				YY
T8				YY
T9	Y			
T10		Y		

Category: Confused identities before 1997

There are some research participants who said they experienced confused identities before 1997. Their replies are quoted as follows:

> 'During the British rule, there were changing identities. For example, Hong Kong people could use BDTC, BNO (Overseas) passports as their travel documents. There was not a clear sense of Hong Kong people's identity in the world.' (T1)

'If we take a look on the passport issue, then one can see the changes in identity of Hong Kong people. From BDTC (British Dependent Territories Citizenship), BNO (British National Overseas) to HKSAR (Hong Kong SAR government) passport, although they are just travel documents, they nevertheless reflect the change of identity. This has caused confusion indeed by changing our identity continuously. We thought we were British subjects, while a Chinese identity seemed to be remote to us. The political turmoil in China scared the elder generations of Hong Kong people. They thought British rule, although by nature was foreign, was not bad'. (T9)

Theme generated: Confused identities before 1997

A number of research participants mentioned that they experienced confused identities before 1997. This was because the British rule did not grant Hong Kong people the right of abode in the UK, except for a few local people who held high political offices and had family connections in the UK. Hence, Hong Kong people regarded themselves as 'subjects' by the British rule without enjoying any sense of belonging and identification in citizenship. The British rule, furthermore, was preferred by the vast majority of the local population to rule by Communist China since they were prepared to acquiesce in this state of affairs for fear of something getting worse (Lau, 1997). On the other hand, Hong Kong's cultural identity, which was tied up with mainland Chinese characteristics, had always been marginalized and discouraged under the British colonial rule (Chan, 2000). The colonial government was 'careful not to impose the British way of life on the Chinese, and to some extent was even adamant that the Chinese kept their customs and ways' (Chan, 2000: 297). Meanwhile, the Communist Chinese government had no legitimate power to grant Hong Kong people's any citizenship before 1997, although it had always claimed an ethnic relations with the colony. Thus, Hong Kong people had no clear sense of national identity to identify with. They could only use the British Dependent Territories Citizenship or British Nationals (Overseas) passport as travelling document, but not as a document reflecting their citizenship and legal identity.

And

Category: Hong Kong people

On absence of obtaining any citizenship rights from the British or Chinese government, a number of respondents resorted to a local sense of 'Hong Kong people', and some of their replies are quoted as follows:

> 'In the years under British rule, I regarded myself as a Hong Kong person. It was a time when I could not identify with the British rule nor the Chinese.' (T2)

> 'Before 1997, I did not know much what national identity is. I did not have any national identification. I even did not know what a 'national citizen' was. In fact, I did not care about what my national identity was, and I did not know whom I should belong to. I only knew that my place of birth was Hong Kong, and I belonged to this place.'(T5)

> 'Like many Hong Kong people, I had no idea about whom I belong to, whether it was British or Chinese.' (T6)

> 'Before 1997, I regarded myself as Chinese, but I added that I was from Hong Kong, since it was my birthplace. The divergent developments of historical, political, and cultural aspects in Hong Kong and China had contributed to the differences between these two places.'(T10)

Theme generated: a sense of 'Hong Kong people' generated
To some research participants, a sense of 'Hong Kong people' had developed during the British rule. They regarded themselves as 'Hong Kong people' before 1997, and they had no particular strong identification or attachment to either British or Chinese. This might be due to the disinterest of the British to develop any political sense of identification during its colonial rule of its Far East territory. Especially, it was because a Chinese nationalistic identification might threaten its colonial rule in Hong Kong. Just as Ma & Fung (2007) suggested, the influence of the political upheaval and movements in China were barred from entering into the colony. Chinese nationalism was also beyond the cultural frame of reference for the large majority of local Hong Kong people, except for small groups of pro-Communist or pro-Taiwan activists (Ma & Fung, 2007). Meanwhile, a local and indigenous cultural identity developed, 'which was affiliated with its own territory and its own way of life – a common set of collective values, largely the legacy of Chinese values hybridized with the British imposed rituals and norms'

(Ma & Fung, 2007:173). This 'Hongkongese' identity has largely consisted of 'a sense of pride in the local way of life, and the cosmopolitan sophistication of this "international city", contrasted with the relative backwardness and poverty of the mainland' (Vickers, 2005: 75). The 'identity' qualified by 'cultural' had also been seen by the education officials and the local Chinese elites as a safer alternative to the engagement with the sensitive question of Hong Kong people's political identity before 1997 (Vickers, 2005). Indeed, the mid-1980s not only 'witnessed the beginning of the retreat of the British in Hong Kong' (Tam, 1998: 75) but also experienced the emergence of a unique Hong Kong cultural identity. The unveiling of the '1997 issue' in 1979 and the 'Hong Kong ruled by Hong Kong people' solution given by the British and Chinese governments to the post-1997 Hong Kong further added weights to this local identity development. Thus, it was no coincidence that a local and indigenous sense of identity was created with attachments to the local way of living and culture. This Hong Kong identity thus had no obvious Chinese nationalistic component, nor did it have any political affiliation with Great Britain or China.

And

Category: Uninterested in China
A few respondents, however, recalled that their being uninterested in China made them feel no particular favourable attitude towards China.

> 'Same as many ordinary people, I felt depressed about the future before the handover in 1997. I was not interested in China and so many people migrated to other parts of world. I thought whether the economy would become worse after 1997.' (T4)

> 'Before 1997, we could not write 'Chinese' as nationality, nor could we write 'British' as our nationality. Nationality was not an issue to many people in those times because Hong Kong was run by a colonial government and there were no expectations then. There was no single identity that we belonged to. Also, we also did not know much about China, and so we did not care much about it either. In the 1980s, I did not want to know about the political and social reforms in China.' (T5)

And

Category: Identifying with Chinese people

For those research participants who got connections with China, either they once lived in China when they were young, or they still had relatives living in China, their sense of having a Chinese national identity were much clearer and stronger than that of those without.

'I have many relatives living in China. When I was studying at secondary school, I read many books about China. Maybe because of these, I identified myself as a Chinese long time ago. This identification has not changed throughout my life.' (T3)

'Before 1997, we could not sing the Chinese national anthem. On Speech Day, we could only sing the 'God Save the Queen'. It was because the political situation only allowed this. In affective and knowledge terms, there was inadequacy in understanding about a Chinese national identity. But I still thought I am a Chinese, because it was a natural way to describe myself. I did not know how to sing the Chinese national anthem, but inside my mind, I identified myself as a Chinese and I had a responsibility to make myself clear on this.' (T7)

'I got my early ten years living in China. This living experience in Chinese had given me a strong sense of being a Chinese. After 20 to 30 years of reforms since the 1970s, the rural economy has developed and China has been transformed from a backward country to a developing country with living conditions greatly improved.' (T8)

Theme generated: Previous living experience in China or relative connections in China facilitates a Chinese national identification.

Their previous living experience in China or direct contacts with China have a positive effect on their development of a Chinese national identity. This kind of national identification is certainly built upon having first-hand and authentic experiences with one's homeland.

7.2.3 National identity after 1997

Category: increasingly identified with Chinese national identity after 1997

There is a self-reported increase of identification with a Chinese national identity

since 1997 among most respondents. The typical descriptions are quoted as below:

Table 7.4 Categories on 'National Identity after 1997'

	Categories		
	1. Increasingly identified with a Chinese national identity	2. No change in identifying with Chinese national identification both before and after 1997	3. Chinese from Hong Kong
T1	Y		
T2	Y		
T3		YY	
T4	Y		
T5	Y		
T6	Y		
T7	YY		
T8		YY	
T9		YY	
T10			Y

'The 1997 return of sovereignty impacted on my national identification. It was a watershed. ... After 1997, many people in Hong Kong developed a clearer sense of Chinese national identity. This was a decisive event, just like we went back to our homeland after a long period of time staying abroad.' (T1)

'If you ask me, how I perceive myself, my identification with a Chinese is increasing, especially in recent years, because I've got more understanding about China, and I do not insist upon a 'Hong Kong people' identity.' (T2)

'Like most other Hong Kong people, I didn't have a clear sense of national identity before 1997. But now I would call myself a Chinese. I don't think there is a need to emphasize calling myself a 'Hong Kong Chinese', just as there is no saying of 'Shenzhen Chinese'. Hong Kong was part of China before the Opium War fought with the British. After all, we are Chinese... Although there were controversies surrounding the proposed legislation of

Basic Law Article 23 and the subsequent July 1st March, at last the Hong Kong SAR government acted according to the opinion of the society. The public opinion also found that the popularity of the Central Government has increased because the Central has been supporting Hong Kong through CEPA trade agreement and the permit of individual Chinese tourists coming to Hong Kong.' (T4)

'Just before the return of sovereignty, the mutual understanding between Hong Kong and China had gradually improved. We realized that the British would finally leave and that the resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong by China was inevitable...After the handover, I needed to accept the reality. As time went by, I realized that China has adopted a 'soft hand' approach to Hong Kong. Hence, I began to change my perceptions towards China... China has undergone great changes. My understanding about China has improved too, and so has my perception of China. Now I can fill in the blanket of 'nationality' when going abroad. I call myself a Chinese now. When you go abroad, I think calling myself Chinese gives me a stronger identification and strengthens a sense of being Chinese. If you say you are Hong Kong Chinese, the foreigners may get confused. They only know Chinese.' (T5)

'In the past, I believed that I was a Hong Kong citizen. But it is not the case now. I am given more chances to get involved in exchange tours by bringing students to China. It is not necessarily a formal evaluation process, but it developed unconsciously. The economic connections with China have increased, and there is more news coverage about China than before. Now I regard that I am a Chinese, an individual part of China.' (T6)

'There are certain political developments since 1997 and my feelings towards China also changes over time. With these ten years of time, while in the former period we did not know much about China, in recent years with more schools exchanges to China, my perspectives have widened and my sense of being a Chinese has become stronger. My perception towards China becomes more positive and the relation between China and Hong Kong is getting closer.' (T7)

Theme generated: Increasingly identified with a Chinese national identity
This is an interesting finding when we compare it to other national identification

studies on the general public, in which Hong Kong people were found to sustain a clear 'Hong Kongese' identity in the early years after 1997 (Lau and Kwan, 1988; Choi, 2001). Hong Kong people were described as developing a localized identity over the post-war decades. This finding is also contradictory with some studies (McCrone *et al.*, 1998; Pollmann, 2007) which emphasize looking at how specific groups have good reason to be unlike the population at large. Also, most research participants (T2, T4, T5, T6, T7) replied that describing themselves as 'Hong Kong people' was not contradictory with identifying themselves with a Chinese national identity. They have developed a sense of mutual inclusive between a localized and a national identity. This has got the elements of 'entangled identities' (Ichijo & Spohn, 2005), in which two identities are visualised as a complementary and thus reconcilable phenomenon.

And

Category: No change in identifying with Chinese national identification both before and after 1997
It should also be noted that a few respondents, i.e. T3, T8, T9, mentioned a stable identification with a Chinese national identity both before and after the sovereignty change in 1997. Below are their descriptions.

'After 1997, my national identification with China did not change much. Although the limited political institutional developments and the governance inabilities of the Hong Kong SAR government have made people feel frustrated, but my value orientation did not change much. My perception of my Chinese national identity did not change after 1997.' (T3)

'Before 1997, I had already got a clear sense of Chinese national identity when I was still studying. It was because of my previous living in China. After 1997, as the ties between China and Hong Kong become closer, my perception towards my Chinese national identity becomes more positive and stronger. Within ten years of time, the gap between the living condition Hong Kong and that in China has narrowed, as there were more contacts and information flows between the two places. We cannot strictly differentiate which place is more advanced and which place is more backward.' (T8)

'I was born in China, so I had developed a sense of Chinese identification long before I came to Hong Kong. There is no such occasion for me to experience illusion about my national identity.'(T9)

Theme generated: Chinese national identity both before and after 1997
There is an assumption from the above-mentioned interview findings that the research participants' (T3, T8, T9) Chinese national identity is cultivated somewhat differently from their local identity. Owing to their blood and cultural linkages through previous living experiences in China, they know more about China and have developed stronger ethnic and emotional feelings towards China. They also have a stronger sense of embracing a Chinese national identity.

And

Category: Chinese from Hong Kong
There is, however, one research participant who identified with the description of 'Chinese from Hong Kong', which emphasized the uniqueness of ethnic Chinese living in Hong Kong as compared with their counterparts in China.

'There is no difference after 1997, I would still call myself Chinese, but coming from Hong Kong. If 'One Country, Two Systems' could be truly implemented in Hong Kong, then the identification issue of Hong Kong people would be different. But right now, it is not. When I call myself a 'Chinese', then it will be the time that Hong Kong is really unified with China, that is, China has become a real democratic country. But Hong Kong is different from China.' (T10)

Theme generated: Chinese from Hong Kong
The above-mentioned response (T10), while acknowledging one's own ethnic Chinese origin, shows a demarcation between Chinese in mainland China and Chinese living in Hong Kong. The above response adds weight to the claim that there are subtle cultural differences between ethnic Chinese separated by the invisible border. As Yuen & Bryam (2007: 32) found from their teachers' sample, 'the very nature of One Country, Two Systems principle may be a hindrance for promoting national identity as it stipulates the difference between Hong Kong and the mainland and justifies a curb on the freedom of movement of the people across the border'.

7.2.4 Mediating effects of personal, political, social, historical and other significant events on the development of research participants' national identity

Goff and Dunn (2004) argued that events can provoke change in identities. Grosby (2005) argued that not all past activists are viewed as being so significant, but those traditions and institutions that sustain the formation of the meaning of the social relation in the present are kept 'alive' by each generation. Grosby gave examples of patriotic clubs to days of celebration or remembrance that designate events understood to signify the existence of the territorial relation of the nation. Indeed, the possession of a past is also a key to the nation as a community of territorial descent. The cultural inheritance must not be viewed as something external to the individual, but 'it forms part of the image that you have, not only of yourself, but also of those other individuals who are related to you by virtue of inheriting those territorially bounded traditions' (Grosby, 2005: 47). Hall (2006) also argued that modern life occurrences forced identity change whether one wanted it or not.

Ma (2007) stated that the pressures in the macro-environment translated into behavioural changes at the micro-level in the newsroom. In particular, the change in sovereignty after 1997 has led to visible editorial shifts and self-censorship in his sample of reporters. Ma & Fung (2007) once inquired how Hong Kong people felt about prominent icons of cultural and national identity in China and Hong Kong. Ma & Fung (2007) believed that icons could have significant impacts on people's perception. They found that the Great Wall of China figured favourably while Chinese People's Liberation Army figured negatively.

This study has revealed the mediating effects of personal histories and the impacts of significant social and political events (through personal experience and media broadcast) on their perceptions of their national identity, and leading to changes of perceptions on their national identity. All interviewees recalled, although with varied extent, how some significant personal, social, and political events had constructed their understandings about China, which could be dated back to 1960s to 1980s, the time that the situations in China were still not much known to the world. Based on the interview transcripts, they described their national identity being affected by events or incidents, such as political

movements in China between 1960s and 1970s, Sino-British talk over the future of Hong Kong in early 1980s, the Chinese military crackdown on students' democracy movement on 4th June, 1989, increasing ties between China and Hong Kong after 1997, and increasing immigration from China based on family reunion after 1997. Here are some typical descriptions on the mediating effects:

Table 7.5 Categories of 'Significant Events Mediating on Development of National Identity'

	Categories										
	1 Responsibilities in teaching national identity	2 Future talks in the early 1980s	3 Political campaigns in China	4 Proposed *Basic Law* Article 23 legislation	5 Political institutions of China (disapproval of)	6 Sports achievements	7 China's rising economy and technology	8 Negative events affect national identity	9 Personal reading, involvement and reflection	10 Qualities of Chinese people (disapproval of)	11 China's assistances to Hong Kong
T1			YY				Y	Y			
T2	YY					Y	Y	YY			
T3		Y	YY	Y					YY		
T4		Y	YY				Y	Y			
T5	YY		YY		YY	Y				Y	
T6						Y				YY	
T7				YY			Y				Y
T8	YY						YY		YY		
T9							YY				
T10							Y		Y	YY	

Category: Responsibilities in teaching national identity help one fosters national identification

'After I took up the position of civic education coordinator in the school,

besides teaching Integrated Humanities, I have to teach topics of national identity and organize National Education programmes/activities for my students. As a teacher of National Education, you have to teach with a passion so that you can teach your students a sense of National identity effectively.' (T2)

'I have had more identification with China in recent years. At least I can fill up the column of 'nationality' after 1997. In my teaching, I have to cultivate my students' sense of national identity, though I would not regard myself as having deep understanding about China. But I began developing a sense of being a Chinese. I think the degree of my being a Chinese is 70%... After 1997, there are more exchange tours to China, and together with my own travel experiences, I began to develop more understanding about China.' (T5)

'When I started to work as a teacher, I need to strengthen my sense of Chinese national identity, though I already had this at that time. I always ask myself, how much should one participate in nation-building? Actually different people can have different degrees of participation. It is just a matter of more or less.' (T8)

Theme generated: a professional imperative to cultivate Chinese national identity
There is a saying among the aforementioned research participants that since they teach their students about Chinese national identity, then they need to cultivate a Chinese national identity for themselves. They might not know much about China and had not much identification with Chinese national identity before they worked as a teacher. This is a surprising finding that as teachers, they must believe in, and in this case, identify with, what they teach. Otherwise, their teaching may not be persuasive. One can argue that this is not reflective and critical, but in the reality of teaching, this is the case.

And

Category: Future talks in the early 1980s
'I did not know much about China at first because China just started its economic reform and opening up in the late 1970s. When the British and

China engaged in the future talks about Hong Kong, I began to learn more about China.' (T3)

'In fact, Hong Kong people had their confidence shaking moments in 1983, when the British and Chinese started to hold talks about the future of Hong Kong. The Hong Kong people were scared by the rumor of Chinese takeover earlier than expected, and there was price inflation. They rushed to the supermarkets to buy food.' (T4)

Theme generated: Future talks on Hong Kong aroused interests in national identity
The above-mentioned research participants' interest in knowing more about their national identity was aroused by the Sino-British talks over the future of Hong Kong. The future talks made them aware that they did not know much about China before, but then with the impending return of Hong Kong to China, they needed to learn more about China.

And

Category: Political campaigns in China
'My early life was in the 1960s and 1970s, in which there were a number of important historical events in China. The Great Leap Forward was just over in the early 1960s, but then came the ten years of Cultural Revolution. In the late 1970s, China adopted the Open Door Policy. Next, China and Britain engaged in talks of Hong Kong's future. The Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed in 1984. The 1989 June 4 incident was another significant event to me.' (T1)

'After the 4th June event of 1989, I started to think about how to enhance my understanding about China, and to digest and sort out what I have learnt about China. The importance of June 4 event to me is that I began to think more about the past, present and future of China. In Hong Kong, we have freedom of speech and expression. But it is the opposite in China. The contrast between Hong Kong and China made me feel contradictions in my mind, especially if one adopts the thinking of universal values. I always ask in this current situation, how can China become better? And what about the strengthening of national identity for Hong Kong people?' (T3)

'China's political institutions do not get my approval. The 4th June Incident in 1989 particularly shapes my feelings toward the Chinese people which distanced myself from the political institutions of China.' (T4)

'My family was afraid of the politics and political campaigns in Red Communist China. The situations in China were not desirable, and the economy of China at those times was not good. Hence, I had no motivation to know about China and I didn't have much knowledge about it. With the June 4th incident in 1989, I had more reservations about China's future and I felt disappointed to see the negative side of China.' (T5)

Theme generated: Chinese political campaigns affected their national identity
For some research participants, the political campaigns in China made them feel negative towards identifying with a Chinese national identity, especially the communist political campaigns in the 1960s and 1970s, and the June 4th incident in 1989. All these impacted negatively on their national identification. In particular, three of them (T3, T4, T5) recalled the 4th June event in 1989 had caused a significant impact of realizing a sense of togetherness with their Chinese counterparts and had led them to concern themselves with the developments in China and to think about their relationship with the Chinese living in mainland China. Their awareness of Chinese national identity emerged by then. Indeed, Lau and Louie (1993: vii.) also noted that the June 4th Incident was a significant stimulant arousing the political interests and passions of Hong Kong people and raising the aspirations for democracy in the society. Fok (1998) also noted that after 1989, the Education Department abolished the laws on forbidding discussion of politics. This made political education possible in schools.

And

Category: Proposed *Basic Law* Article 23 legislation
Some research participants mentioned the controversy over the proposed legislation of *Basic Law* Article 23, which prohibited any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets. This has affected some research participants' confidence in China. They indicated that:

'The mass demonstration on 1st July 2003 was a remarkable event in Hong Kong SAR's history. What the government did to pass the proposed legislation of *Basic Law Article 23* (T3) was an unfortunate event. (T3)

'The controversy over the proposed legislation of *Basic Law Article 23* created panic and mistrust among Hong Kong people in 2003. Also, the National People's Congress's statement on Hong Kong's direct election development hurt Hong Kong people's confidence on China. To me, these are the negative events in fostering a Chinese national identity.' (T7)

Theme generated: The proposed *Basic Law* Article 23 legislation controversy impacted negatively on Chinese national identity.

To the aforementioned research participants, the proposed *Basic Law* Article 23 legislation impacted negatively on their Chinese national identity. The *Basic Law* Article 23 states that 'The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies' (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006).

This has worried many Hong Kong people since they have freedom of speech for a long time, though there has not been any proper democratic governance in this tiny city. Ma (2007) argued that the time was not enough for thorough discussion on the government's proposed bill, but critics found the key terms so vaguely defined that it could be abused by the authorities to curb freedom of speech or peaceful dissidence. The journalists also feared that the law could be used against them, or having a chilling effect to induce journalists to acquiesce and follow the government's line. This ended up with a 500,000-strong demonstration on 1 July 2003. The research participants' national identification has been hampered by this proposed legislation.

And

Category: Political institutions of China (disapproval of)

The communist political institutions of China met with unfavourable comments from the research participants. They stated the following:

'The so-called achievements actually make me reflect on the meanings of being a Chinese. I reflect on the values found in the Chinese society nowadays. The political system of China is not open, and the freedom of speech is suppressed. There is still poverty in China. On the other hand, the economic achievements made me feel uncomfortable, because China has not solved the poverty problem and neglected the poverty-stricken communities. This does not help me improve my national identity.' (T3)

'Although I am increasingly identified with a Chinese national identity, on the negative side, I dislike the political institutions of the Chinese government. The Chinese government usually relies on personal relationships to do official duties, and this made me dislike Chinese politics. The structural, procedural and legal aspects of the political institutions of China could not win my vote. There should be more resources devoted to improving people's lives and the welfare of ordinary Chinese people... Chinese people should try to do their best, and show their positive side to outside.' (T5)

Theme generated: political events and institutions hinders one's national identity
From the above, the research participants' responses are mixed and two-folded. While some events exerted favourable impacts on their national identity, others exert unfavourable impacts on their perceptions of national identity. Meanwhile, in a study by Yuen & Byram (2007), teachers perceived that the study of politics might actually be counter-productive with respect to patriotism among the students. This happened when the political practices in China, such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion and press, etc. are not broadly agreeable to the people.

And

Category: Sports achievements of China

'There was 2008 Beijing Olympics Games. Such a large-scale athletic event

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certainly enhanced my belonging to a Chinese national identity. Other examples are the first Chinese astronaut walking in the outer space and the subsequent nationalistic celebrations within the schools.' (T2)

'When 2008 Beijing Olympic Games were on, I felt proud of them, and I have changed my perceptions towards China since then. Even the foreigners might feel that the Beijing Olympic Games were brilliant! I felt excited when I was watching the games! ' (T5)

'When China successfully entered the Group Stage of World Cup in 2002, I really felt passionate about the Chinese national team, because Hong Kong team was just too weak. *Yao Ming* is a famous player in the NBA too, as well as some female Chinese tennis players. I also felt proud of being a Chinese when China hosted the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Maybe because I like sports, so I felt proud of the sports achievements of China.'(T6)

Theme generated: Chinese sports achievements help cultivate Chinese national identity
Sports achievements of China also exert favourable impacts on their perceptions of a Chinese national identity. Feeling proud of sports achievements by Chinese motivated them to identify themselves with Chinese, since the Chinese sport achievements in recent decades have been spectacular in the world (Xu, 2008).

And

Category: China's rising economic and technological developments since the late 1990s
Some research participants (T1, T2, T4, T7, T8, T9) mentioned the economic and technological developments of China have exerted impact on their perceptions of national identity. The followings are their elaborations.

'The non-interference in the local affairs by China has built up a positive image of China. Also, China has gained tremendous improvements in economic performances and technological developments since 1997. This has improved my image of China.' (T1)

'On the positive side, the first Chinese (*Yang Liwei*) astronaut went to the space and the subsequent promotional activities on it within the schools are some examples.' (T2)

'As the years after the late 1990s had shown, the Asia Financial Crisis did not hurt Hong Kong so much because of the determination and courage of the Chinese government not to devalue its currency. The Chinese government also showed the commitment and responsibility to the world on important matters like SARS. It helped Hong Kong a lot since there were already 'negative assets' in Hong Kong's property market. Hence, my national identification with China has risen.' (T4)

'When the rate of economic development of China has far exceeded that of Hong Kong, the situation of Hong Kong exporting goods to China was never seen again. At present, Hong Kong relies on the Chinese tourists to bring in economic returns.' (T7)

'The economic achievements of China in the latest ten years have made me feel proud. The international prestige of China has also increased, so has my perception towards China. The developments of aerospace technology in China also made me feel proud in identifying as a Chinese. Even the earthquakes have shown to the world that Chinese could act together to overcome enormous difficulties, and this makes me feel proud.' (T8)

'Compared to the old days, the overall situation in China tends to be better nowadays. Now, the sense of identification and belonging are greater than in the past owing to the improvements in mainland China.' (T9)

Theme generated: economic achievements facilitate a Chinese national identity
After 1997, with the great speed of economic development of China, there were significant improvements on the people's lives. The achievements of aerospace technology and the successful hosting of 2008 Beijing Olympic Games have also made most respondents (T1, T2, T4, T7, T8, T9) feel that they were proud to be a Chinese. Xu (2008) also argued that the sport achievements of modern China have led to a heightened sense of Chinese national identity.

Category: Negative events

When it comes to undesirable or negative events in China, for example, tainted milk, fake food, poisonous food, and June 4 Incident in 1989, some research participants (T2, T4, T5) said these hurt their national identification with China, though these negative effects might not last long.

> 'On the negative side, problems regarding medicine and food, San Lu's tainted milk, misuse of power by officials, all these reflected the problems in China, which showed that the government lacked the capabilities to prevent them, not to mention human rights issue. These are where the Chinese government should try to improve, and they made people feel ashamed. This affected my national identification with China. But these unfavourable feelings usually did not last long, since I increasingly identified myself as a Chinese, and I have to accept this.' (T2)

> 'The poisonous and fake food in China created a bad image of China to me. These make me wonder why Chinese can do such things. It is a shame to Chinese.' (T4)

> 'When it was the 1980s, there was the Sino-British talk over the future of Hong Kong. I began to worry about the future after 1997. Then there was 1989 democratic movement in China, and because of the crackdown on students' democratic movement, I did not like China in the 1990s.' (T5)

Theme generated: Negative events affect national identity
From the descriptions above, negative events affect some research participant's perceptions of their national identity in an unfavourable sense. Indeed, there have been a number of fake food, poisonous milk, arrest of human rights activists, and conflicts between peasants and rural officials over corruption in recent years. These negative events, as reported in Hong Kong mass media, could affect Hong Kong people's perception towards China.

And

Category: personal reading, involvement and reflection
Some research participants mentioned long periods of personal reading about China, involvements in social movements, and personal reflections that contribute to the formation of Chinese national identity.

'When I was young, I always read books about China. They were not for leisure, but for knowledge pursuit. I read books that talked about politics and society in China. They had enriched my understanding about China and aroused my further interest to know more.... When I have grown up, with advanced information technology and more understanding about Chinese culture, I started to think whether we should put national identity as the supreme value. Or should we treat universal humanistic values as the highest? Can China embrace universal humanistic values? I actively took part in social movements when I was a university's student union leader. In China, the value of a human being is not much respected. In Chinese culture, certain mainstream values may make people neglect an individual's human rights. I always ask whether there would be a higher level of identity to be identified with, such as a 'global identity'. When there were issues of human rights violations and non-democratic practices in China, I would ask why such things happened in China.' (T3)

'In my secondary school and undergraduate studies, I joined some exchange and study tours to China. In my undergraduate studies in 1998, I began to cultivate my humanistic caring about China. I even joined the *Diaoyu Islands* protection movement against the Japanese claim of sovereignty over those Islands. Mr. Chan Y.C., who died in a voyage to *Diaoyu Islands*, had impacted significantly on my having a Chinese national identity. ' (T8)

'From reading Chinese history textbooks, extra-curricular readings, documentaries, discussions with others and my own reflections, my Chinese national identity developed in such a way...this has been a long learning experience, in which I started to learn more about Chinese history in my upper secondary school and university studies. I gained some experiences about China when I travelled there. My own reflections on understanding about and responsibility to the nation are also an important factor.' (T10)

Theme generated: personal reading, involvement and reflection foster national identification
As seen from above, the research participants mentioned personal reading,

personal involvements in social movements in their respective secondary and university studies, and reflections that have shaped their perceptions of national identity. Enriching understanding about one's own nation through reading and personal experience contributes to a sense of Chinese national identity. Wade (2000: 20) defined reflection as 'a means for reliving or recapturing our experience in order to make sense of it, to learn from it.' The research participants have thought more clearly about what have impacted on their national identity through recapturing their experiences.

And

Category: Qualities of Chinese people (disapproval of)
A few research participants stated the following in disapproving the qualities of Chinese people:

> 'I have got expectations on the qualities of Chinese people. Although there are rich people in China, there are still many poor people, and thus the income gap between rich and poor is really large. There were also incidents of official briberies in recent years. Hence, I hope that China can pay more attention to improving the lives of the poor and improving the characters of the rich people. Rich people just make their money by indecent means.' (T5)

> 'I am not accustomed to the Chinese way of treating other people unfairly mainly because of their selfishness. When you get in touch with them more, your experience may fall short of your expectations. The poisonous milk powder was a negative event, which made me disappointed.' (T6)

> 'The rise and fall of historical China did not contribute to my national identification, nor did the June 4th Incident affect my national identification. In fact, the June 4th Incident and the subsequent military crackdown on students' movement highlighted the qualities of the political leaders of China. Also, the opening-up of China has not impacted positively on my national identification because I felt it has nothing to do with me. My feeling of being a Chinese will not improve, until the day when the qualities of Chinese people have improved.' (T10)

Theme generated: Questionable qualities of Chinese people affect Chinese national identification.

Qualities of mainland Chinese people impacted on the research participants' perceptions of their Chinese national identity. From their descriptions above, the qualities of Chinese people affected the research participants' national identity in a negative way, especially when it came to the events of official briberies, huge gap between rich and poor, poisonous milk and the June 4th Incident. Indeed, as Chou (2010) argued, the negative news reports of Chinese government's corruption and brutality - most notably, the reports of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Incident (that is, the June 4th Incident) – were perceived as deterring many Hong Kong people from identifying with China.

And

Category: China's assistances to Hong Kong
Some research participants mentioned China's assistance to Hong Kong in overcoming difficult economic situations as significant informing factors in their perceptions of national identity.

> 'After the SARS outbreak in Hong Kong, China has given us assistance. The exchange between the two places is largely positive. I recognized that the economic achievements of Hong Kong cannot be solely done by ourselves. We need China's supports. Take the 'individual tours' from China for example, it helps Hong Kong's economy a lot and this shows that Hong Kong cannot be separated from China. In future, the economic development of China will surpass that of Hong Kong. Hong Kong used to give assistance to China during flooding in the previous decades, but it is China that helps Hong Kong economy now.' (T7)

Theme generated: Chinese assistance to Hong Kong favours Chinese national identification

From the description above, one can conclude that economic assistances and political reassurance from China help cultivate a sense of Chinese national identity. After all, the sheer size of Chinese economy when compared to the tiny city of the Hong Kong SAR, and the economic surge of China despite the Asian financial crisis in 1998 and the world economic recessions in 2008, have made Hong Kong economy depend on China much more. Vickers (2011) also noted

that the economic achievements of China has bypassed Hong Kong and thus the original prototype of 'backward' China and 'advanced' Hong Kong has changed substantially. This has substantially changed the perceptions of Hong Kong people towards Chinese people.

In summary, various events exerted influence on the research participants' national identity, although they resulted in different types of impacts.

7.2.5 Defining 'National Education'

When it came to defining 'National Education', the respondents gave the following diverse endeavours, which tell much about their diversified understandings of what they meant by 'National Education'.

Table 7.6 Categories of Defining 'National Education'

Research participants	Categories						
	1 No 'Brain-washing'	2 National flag, national anthem & national symbol	3 knowledge and understanding developments about China	4 belonging and identification	5 concerns about Chinese livelihood	6 Hong Kong as part of China	7 understanding rights and responsibilities as a Chinese citizen
T1	YY	Y					
T2		Y					
T3							YY
T4	YY	Y	Y				
T5		Y	Y				
T6			Y		Y		
T7		Y	YY	Y	Y	Y	Y
T8		Y	Y				
T9		Y					
T10	YY	Y	Y				

Category: No 'Brain-washing'

'When teaching National Education in Hong Kong, people are afraid of being accused of 'brain-washing'. Actually, this is 'lag-behind' thinking. The strange thing about National Education in Hong Kong is that it is conceptualized as emphasizing the pride of being a Chinese only. Actually, it shouldn't be just about the good things happening in China. It can be a balanced approach in selecting materials to teach National Education.' (T1)

'What does a strong China stand for? Is that the aerospace ship? But I do not buy in. Why is there such a wealth gap between inland and coastal provinces? Why is there such an imbalance of development policies? Can the Chinese government put more resources on reducing the regional disparities? What about investing in education to improve people's lives? The pride of sending people into the space and going around the orbit cannot help people's real lives.' (T4)

'This is not patriotic education, nor civic education. This is done through education – primarily history and current affairs, to enable our students to understand, criticize, and accept both the bright and dark sides of Chinese history and culture. The aim is to enhance our students' understanding about their national identity, shoulder the responsibilities for the past, present and the future, and illuminate the bright sides of Chinese.' (T10)

Theme generated: National Education should not be 'brain-washing'
A number of research participants think that National Education should not be conducted in a 'brain-washing' way, that is, telling only the positive side of China without mentioning the negative side, the wrong-doings or problems facing China. Political indoctrination is not welcome in Hong Kong's education. Indeed, along the same line of thinking, the leading figures in the pan-democratic camp have been cautioned against 'indoctrination', 'brainwashing', and 'ignoring political controversies' of National Education (Clem & Yau, 2008). The fear of indoctrination and authoritarianism in China (Zhao & Fairbrother, 2010), as well as the prevalence of emphasis on patriotism of serving the country as found among mainland Chinese teachers (Lee, 2005) may underpin such an assertion of teaching National Education in Hong Kong. In fact, teachers in Hong Kong could well be aware of the indoctrination that was practiced in Maoist pre-reform China, which can be described as emphasizing heavily the prevailing ideology and designed to produce merely obedient citizens (Li, Zhong, Lin &

Zhang, 2004). A few decades earlier, Mill (1975) already suggested that in liberal democratic societies, there is a general agreement that holding to beliefs based on prejudice and custom is dangerous and potentially destructive to a society as well as the individuals within it. As Amy Gutmann (1987: 51) puts it, children at school 'must learn not just to behave in accordance with authority but to think critically about authority if they are to live up to the democratic ideal of sharing political sovereignty as citizens.' The research participants disagreed that National Education should be indoctrination oriented. Instead, they preferred to let their students understand China in a balanced and deepened way. Students will then be able to assess the problems facing China, and to deliberate on both the bright and dark sides of Chinese history and culture.

And

Category: National flag, national anthem and national symbol
'One will teach national flag, national anthem, and national symbol to your students within National Education. You will also teach the latest matters and events in China to your students. This is the basics of National Education.' (T2)

'Students need to learn about the national flag and national anthem. My students are Chinese and there is an imperative for them to learn about national flag and national anthem.' (T8)

'Chinese national flag and national anthem are what they should have learnt about in junior secondary forms. As Chinese, they should learn and grasp the concise meanings of all these important Chinese political signifiers.'(T9)

Theme generated: Learning the national flag, national symbol and national anthem
When it comes to defining National Education, many research participants mentioned Chinese national flag, national symbol and national anthem. To them, learning about the history of Chinese national flag and national symbol, and learning how to sing national anthem is important in National Education. Yuen & Byram (2007) reported that national flag figure much in the changing ethos of Hong Kong's schools, in particular school principal's thinking about what

constitutes the best thing to do in National Education. Indeed, the official discourse also focuses on learning such aspects as National Education.

And

Category: knowledge about the developments in China

'It is through some activities and topics so that the students can learn more about China.' (T4)

'It is about the developments of the country, and the situation of it. Through an understanding about the developments of one's country and the situation one's country is facing, we can ascertain our nationality.' (T5)

'It refers to the understanding of the developments of China, including her history, culture, custom, geography, people's friendliness and living styles. They are more or less similar to moral education plus understanding about China.' (T6)

'Although my students are young, they should also know about the meetings of National People's Congress. They should be able to tell the differences between Hong Kong's and China's legal systems, and thus understand how the two places have different methods in seeking public opinion support. It is important that they have proper knowledge about China.' (T7)

'National Education is also about learning about the current status of the developments in China.' (T8)

'It is about Chinese history – the turbulence and prosperity, scholarly thoughts, political systems, etc. and current news about China.' (T10)

Theme generated: knowledge about development in China
Many research participants mentioned about learning knowledge about China as defining National Education. A knowledge orientation in teaching National Education can be observed, and emphasis on learning knowledge is common in Hong Kong education (Biggs & Watkins, 1995). Learning history of one's own country is a knowledge aim in education for citizen action (Newmann, 1975).

The knowledge about China that should be covered in National Education is multidimensional, as evidenced in their descriptions above.

And

Category: belonging and identification

'National Education is about belonging and identification with China, though it is not easy to develop it since national identification needs time and efforts to build on it.' (T2)

'Students have got a feeling to Hong Kong, and then they will have a sense of belonging to China. This gives them a sense of national identity too. It is different from ordinary subject, and it is not just about teaching how much, but it is whether students would identify with a Chinese national identity.' (T7)

Theme generated: National Education as belonging and identification
A few research participants (T2, T7) specifically mentioned belonging and identification when teaching National Education. Their definition of National Education is about cultivating students' belonging and identification with a Chinese nation, so that they can build up a sense of Chinese national identity. These belonging and identification of Hong Kong students with a Chinese national identity require the schools to work on citizenship education that has an entirely new account of the basis of shared belongingness of the two places after 1997, which builds on inter-connectedness of feeling and culture.

And

Category: concerns about Chinese livelihood

'It aims at fostering students' development, which is in terms of interpersonal relations of caring about Chinese people. They already have interpersonal communication skills. Since China is a country which has been well-known for people's courtesy and daily manners, my students should also learn about these and hope they would care about living in China.' (T6)

'It should not be just about the positive side of China, such as the Beijing Olympic Games. It should also include the people's living and the poverty issue in China. Students should also concern themselves about what should be improved in China.' (T7)

Theme generated: National Education as concerning about people's livelihood in China
To the above-mentioned research participants, National Education meant the cultivation of caring attitudes towards the people's livelihood in China. This emphasis sounds like Anderson's (1983) description of a nation as a community, as a deep, horizontal comradeship, wherein a nation, fraternity can be found. A similar finding by Lee (2005) on a sample of Hong Kong teachers also revealed that the characteristics of good citizenship mentioned by the teachers focused on three aspects: commitment to the society, obedience, and moral responsibility, and a Hong Kong teacher said 'he or she has to care about and be concerned about society' (Lee, 2005: 259). A social caring orientation could be found here with a social perspective.

And

Category: Hong Kong as part of China

'It is about knowing Hong Kong, as well as understanding ourselves having a Chinese national identity. Hong Kong should be seen as part of China.' (T7)

Theme generated: National Education as understanding Hong Kong as part of China
This theme stresses the intimate relationship between the Hong Kong SAR and China in terms of the ethnic and cultural linkages between the two places. This has implications for the political arrangement of 'One Country, Two Systems' since it reinforces the political message that Hong Kong is within China but it can maintain a separate political and economic arrangement. In building up a national identity, this has also contributed to an imagined community (Anderson, 1991: 5-7) which is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign, and stressing upon the togetherness of two places.

And

Category: understanding the rights and responsibilities as a Chinese citizen
One research participant mentioned that understanding the rights and
responsibilities of a Chinese citizen is an important aim in National Education.
Here is what this research participant said:

> 'Apart from understanding the knowledge about China, National Education
> should be also about the rights and responsibilities of a Chinese citizen. For
> example, to be a Chinese citizen participating in the community
> development of China fulfils one's role as a Chinese citizen. While they are
> Hong Kong people, they should also recognize their roles and duties as
> Chinese citizens. ' (T3)

> 'I hope my students would understand not just their rights as Hong Kong
> citizens, but also their roles as Chinese citizens.' (T7)

Theme generated: National Education as understanding the rights and
responsibilities of a Chinese citizen
Rights and responsibilities are always found in Hong Kong teachers' definition of
'citizenship' (Lee, 2005). They tend to perceive citizenship from the social
perspective with a focus on duty and civic virtues such as obeying the law. This
orientation is also commonly found in official civic education documents over
the years (Education Department, 1995; CDC, 1998).

In summarizing the research participants' responses to defining National
Education above, there are knowledge categories such as 'understanding about
China', 'the "good and bad things" about China', 'national flag, national anthem,
and national symbol', 'understanding current situations or events of China',
'historical events about China' and 'understanding Hong Kong as part of China'.

In light of all these categories, the respondents defined National Education
mostly in knowledge terms. An emphasis on cognition, rather than the attitude
and emotional dimensions, can be noted. It seems the respondents aimed at
constructing the knowledge base (Biggs & Watkins, 1995) among the students,
so that 'the more one knows about a topic, and the better organized and
accessible the knowledge is, the easier, deeper, and more enjoyable will further

learning that topic become' (Biggs & Watkins, 1995: 267).

7.2.6 Different conceptions of goals and aims of National Education

There are different conceptions of aims of National Education among the research participants. The findings revealed a diversified spectrum of responses, which tell much about their different perceptions in the face of the policy mandate of a single National Education.

Table 7.7 Categories of 'Conceptions of Goals and Aims of National Education'

Research participants	Categories								
	1 Learning about Chinese national flag and national anthem	2 Understanding knowledge about China	3 Learning about politics and political system in China	4 Fostering a Chinese national identification	5 Making efforts and contributions to the nation, through shouldering responsibility and taking actions	6 Cultivating oneself	7 Developing analytical and critical thinking skills	8 Love of China and Chinese people	9 Behavioral expectations on students
T1	Y	Y			Y			Y	
T2	Y	Y			Y				Y
T3		Y			YY		YY		Y
T4	Y	Y		Y	Y		YY	Y	Y
T5	Y	Y	Y						
T6									
T7	Y	Y		Y	Y		YY		
T8	Y	Y			Y			YY	
T9	Y			Y	Y			YY	
T10	Y				Y	Y	YY	Y	

The followings are some typical and illustrative responses.

Category: Knowing Chinese national flag and national anthem
Almost all research participants (T1, T2, T4, T5, T7, T8, T9, T10) mentioned knowing the Chinese national flag and national anthem as one of the aims of National Education.

> 'I think it is important to let our students know more about the Chinese national flag and national anthem.' (T1)

> 'I want my students tell me the meanings of a Chinese national flag. Also, I would like them to tell me the contents of the national anthem.' (T2)

> 'To understand and respect China, especially in terms of national flag and national anthem.' (T5)

> 'The basic is to know more about the meanings of Chinese national flag and national anthem. This is what a Chinese should know.' (T8)

Theme generated: National Education as learning about Chinese national flag and national anthem
The aforementioned research participants regarded learning about Chinese national flag and national anthem as the basics of understanding one's own country, and so it was fundamental for National Education to teach students the basics of one's own country. National flag and national anthem are, indeed, reminders of one's own national identity. Hence, many research participants opined that it was important to let students understand such basics of China.

And

Category: Understanding knowledge about China
Many research participants pointed to the understanding of, in a general way, knowledge about situations in China (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T7, T8), as well as an all-round understanding about the recent developments of China as the aims of National Education. They emphasized the developments of intellectual domain of their students. Flavours of transmission orientation (Miller & Sellar, 1985) can

be found, as follows:

> 'Based upon knowledge for identification, as well as knowing about what is happening in China. We aim at deepening the level of their understanding about China.' (T4)

> 'To understand in knowledge terms and respect China. This is the aim for an education on national identification.' (T5)

> 'I hope my students have more understanding about China. They should learn about what is good and bad in China.' (T7)

> 'National Education is to facilitate students' understanding of the current situations and developments in China, which should not be just about the good things and achievements of China, but also the difficulties faced by China.' (T8)

Theme generated: National Education aims at passing on knowledge and understanding about China

Nearly all research participants emphasized teaching knowledge-oriented contents of National Education, for example, understanding the basics, society, geography, culture, and current issues about China as the aims of National Education, although at the same time some of them also emphasized fostering belonging and commitment, that is, the attitude and value dimensions. The research participants expected National Education to pass on knowledge and understanding about China so that students would need to become members of a nation. The focus is on knowing about, for example, the basic knowledge about a country. Teachers were expected to transmit certain contents and students were expected to receive them. The sources of education are essentially literary, to be found in words, sentences, and symbols. Education is also a didactic process whereby information is transmitted to the students by the means of the spoken words of the teachers (Miller & Sellar, 1985). This requires a teaching orientation which deepens knowledge and intellectual development, and requires students to demonstrate an understanding of knowledge dimensions of China. The limitation of this orientation, however, is a reduced set of core knowledge to be learnt by students. It is also interesting to contemplate whether this teaching approach aiming at knowledge and

examination could lead to active participation in their daily lives in regard to nationalistic aims.

Hence, when it comes to teaching National Education, most research participants resorted to the prevailing pedagogical orientation in Hong Kong, that is, emphasizing on knowledge acquisition and understanding, although other orientations could also be found. This finding echoes with some classroom studies (Biggs & Watkins, 1995) about teaching orientation in Hong Kong's schools, which found that schools primarily taught different kinds of knowledge to the students, for example, declarative knowledge at various levels of abstraction such as descriptions of facts and things, to theoretical explanations and formal grammars. In this sense, the research participants' viewpoints about what the orientation of National Education should be were not much different from their teachings in other academic subjects.

And

Category: learning about the politics and political system in China
A research participant mentioned specifically understanding about politics and political system in China in teaching National Education.

> '...to understand the politics and political system in China, and even the political party in China. This is what National Education should be about.' (T5)

Theme generated: National Education aims at understanding the politics and political system in China.
To one research participant, National Education is about learning about Chinese politics and Chinese political system. This is a political way of looking at National Education. National Education is conceptualized as understanding the politics and political process in which political interests get represented and sorted out in China.

And

Category: Fostering a Chinese national identification
> 'It is through some initiatives and issues to enable the students to know

more about China, so as to cultivate their national identification. I think knowledge building is the basic.' (T4)

'National Education is about identifying with one's own national identity, fostering a strong sense of belonging, as well as feeling part of the nation.' (T7)

'It is about fostering national identification with China'. (T9)

Theme generated: National Education aims at fostering Chinese national identification.
This response of cultivating Chinese national identification could be regarded as the most common aim of National Education. In fact, National Education has been given emphasis as cultivating a Chinese national identification by both the Hong Kong SAR government officials (CDC, 2002) and the Chinese political leaders on various occasions, especially when the two sides met in some official events.

And

Category: Making efforts and contributions to the nation, shouldering responsibilities and taking actions
The research participants expected that when the students grew up, they could contribute their efforts to the nation (T1, T2, T3, T4, T7, T8) and shoulder their responsibilities and take corresponding actions (T3, T8, T9, T10), although most of them did not mention specifically what they meant by contributing efforts. A qualitative difference of taking action was found in some responses (T3 & T7), in which they emphasized National Education could enable students to take actions to remedy the problems in China.

'I hope my students can contribute to the nation when they grow up.' (T1)

'I would love to see my students becoming a useful citizen to China in the future.' (T2)

'Students should not just conform to the norms of the present society, but they should also be able to give their efforts in remedying the problems in

China. Hong Kong is special to China, and so we have got the responsibility in historical terms... To act on what they have learnt, from understanding to participation, these are the basics of National Education. What I mean by participation may have different meanings. This may begin from having an active interest in understanding, which is already a form of participation in a certain sense. Then, they can give their opinions and take real actions. When they are confronted with problems, they are willing to face them. I even think of civic participation in the sense of organizing rallies and demonstrations to show their capabilities of organizing social actions.' (T3)

'After learning in National Education, students can make their own contributions to the development of China.' (T4)

'Students are not just receivers in the learning of National Education. They can actually contribute something after they have grown up. This is what educators should aim for in teaching National Education.' (T7)

'Students would perceive themselves as Chinese. I would like them to contribute their efforts to the development of Chinese society because they are actually Chinese. This is an expectation that comes naturally from teaching National Education. (T8)

'As a Chinese, one should shoulder the responsibilities of helping the Chinese nation to progress. Hong Kong students should cultivate their values of serving the Chinese nation.' (T9)

'I hope my students can shoulder their responsibilities to help the nation in the future.' (T10)

Theme generated: National Education as cultivating participatory citizens
National Education does not stop at knowledge attainment and conceptual understanding. To the research participants above, National Education is also about shouldering responsibilities and taking actions on matters related to China. In fact, Curriculum Development Council (CDC, 2001, 2002) of Hong Kong has urged the schools to develop participatory dispositions among the students. Likewise, Pearce and Fong (2010) found that students, after exposed to the poor

living conditions in Guangdong, China, were being reminded that being Chinese, they had a duty to help other Chinese or *tongbao* (that is,   the Chinese language of saying people of the same blood) who were in need. This calls for an active participation in Chinese national affairs as a corresponding set of duties and responsibilities. Teaching for the sake of participation may require a supporting school ethos and socially active teachers too, in order that students can cultivate their respective participatory disposition.

This finding is also supported by the triangulated findings of examining the schools' National Education documents such as civic education year plans and National Education programme/activity plans, in-depth interviews, and field observations of schools' National Education programmes and activities.

And

Category: Cultivating oneself
> 'Students should learn how to love themselves and cultivate themselves, so that they can show sympathy to others, that is, the Chinese living on the mainland. Also, they would learn about the character progression from cultivating oneself, making a healthy family, governing the country, and then to pacifying the world.' (T10)

Theme generated: National Education aims at cultivating oneself.
From the responses above, it is found that National Education carries a meaning of cultivating oneself in a personal development. In fact, the 'self' value has long had the highest frequency of occurrence in the Chinese language curriculum at both the junior and senior secondary levels of education in Hong Kong (Lee, 2004b). Besides, this cultivation of oneself forms a concentric circle of originating from cultivating one's family to the building of a better world (Education Department, 1996). Indeed, this is a common conceptualization of teaching orientation in Hong Kong, where teaching in the Personal, Social and Health Education learning area is usually conceived as starting from the personal level, family, the neighbourhood, Hong Kong, and then progressively to learning about China and the world. Teaching about China and the world is usually thought to be difficult for Hong Kong students, and so teachers usually prefer to teach in a concentric model of starting from the personal and family levels. As the level of learning progresses further, they will teach the national and global

levels.

And

Category: Developing analytical and critical thinking skills
Some teachers interviewed also pointed to the need of cultivating students with analytical and critical thinking capabilities (T3, T4, T7, T10). It is interesting to see analytical and critical thinking are linked up with National Education, since the proposed curriculum guideline on Moral and National Education in May 2011 did not contain any words of 'critical thinking' in it.

> 'I want my students to apply critical thinking skills in analyzing events and issues in China. To be critical, however, it does not necessarily mean that he or she should negate what one's own country does. In fact, applying critical thinking is what an ordinary citizen should do to his or her country. There should not be any reservation in making suggestions to your country.' (T3)

> 'The textbooks avoid talking about the development of Communist China after 1949. The publishers practise self-censorship. I would like my students to know more about recent Chinese history and politics. Hence, I would ask them to use their critical thinking to think about the current issues in China.' (T4)

> 'National Education aims at, let me see...critical thinking about one's own nation. There are questions like identifying with China or not? Should there be a balanced viewpoint? National Education should not be taught by indoctrination. Instead, it should be taught by using multiple perspectives. National Education should not be just about knowledge, and the students should able to tell whether it is good or bad...it is a way of seeing one's country in a wise way. (T7)

> 'To cultivate students' abilities to understand and analyze issues as well as thinking in a critical way.' (T10)

Theme: National Education aims at cultivating 'critical patriots'
The above looks like cultivating 'critical patriots' (Fairbrother, 2003), who have

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an open-minded and critical attitude to one's own country doings, as well as the aim of citizenship education to be developing the knowledge base required to critically understand the various meanings of democracy and citizenship (Stanley, 1988). In Fairbrother's exposition of patriotic education in China, the emphasis on patriotic education should start with a concern for independent thinking. The ability to think and act, and to judge right from wrong, is regarded as a significant quality for the individual to become a patriotic citizen of a nation (Fairbrother, 2004). Meanwhile, a fear of committing professional crime of indoctrination may also underline such thinking (Heater, 2000). The teachers along this line of thinking hope that students will cultivate their higher order thinking skills by means of using critical thinking skills, analyzing the pros and cons of an issue, and developing their own judgment in analyzing issues of China under this critical thinking conception of aim of teaching National Education. In fact, elsewhere, like the Philippines, national goals in citizenship education are also achieved by approaches that emphasize critical thinking, open discussion, and personal opinions. In her sample of Filipino teachers, Almonte-Acosta (2010) observed that the teachers wanted to provide classroom situations that would facilitate free expression, diverse opinions, and dialogue.

And

Category: Love of China and Chinese people
Description of 'Love of China' (T1, T4, T8, T9, T10), which can be categorized as 'ethnic nationalism' by Kellas (1991) because of its emphasis on ethnic bonding and blood ancestry, figured in some research participants' descriptions as an aim of National Education. They suggested the outcome of National Education should be a psychological feeling of loving China.

> 'Our students should be able to show love of China after their studies in National Education.' (T1)

> 'Loving China is what a student should do. I expect my students to show their love and caring about Chinese people.' (T4)

> 'With National Education, our students would be pround of being Chinese, and show their love of China.' (T8)

'Loving China is also an aim of our school's National Education. This is what we do in our school in the National Education initiative. I hope that after learning in National Education, students could show their love to China in their own ways.' (T9)

'Student should cultivate their love of self, and then love of others. In loving China, they would be proud of having a Chinese national identity, and have self-esteem when talking about having a Chinese national identity.' (T10)

Theme generated: National Education aims at cultivating love of China and Chinese people

The above-mentioned categories showed that loving China, in emotional and patriotic senses, are the teaching aims of some research participants. It is the myth of ancestry that is crucial in contributing to an ethnic identity (Smith, 1991). Back in China, through patriotic education, schools and communities have been called upon to encourage the development of emotional attachments to the nation as a step towards cultivating in the rising generation a commitment to make contribution to nation-building (Fairbrother, 2004). Sounding similar to the terms of the local social discourse of 'common blood' and 'blood is thicker than water', it is expected that students' ethnic and national identities can be easily evoked during some relief trips and programmes (Kuah & Fong, 2010). The research participants thought that National Education should aim at cultivating love and care about China, as well as loving the Chinese people. Moreover, some teachers hoped that through National Education, students would not just develop a sense of national identity, but they could also start to love oneself and others. This calls for the affective developments of students that transcend their own local sense of identity. Students are expected to care about someone whom they have never met before in cultivating their Chinese national identity. This also calls for transcending the personal interests into the wider and voluntary altruistic behavior.

And

Category: Behavioral expectations of introducing themselves as Chinese

Three of the research participants (T2, T3, T4) have pointed to the concrete behavioral expectations of their students expressing their national identity to others.

'I would like to see my students telling others that they are Chinese.' (T2)

'After informed discussion and their own conclusions based on analysis of the views or issues, I hope my students would have their informed choices of telling other people their national identity.' (T3)

'In National Education, we aim at cultivating our students' sense of belonging and identification. They will develop a sense of national identity and would not be shy to tell others when being asked.' (T4)

Theme generated: National Education as behavioural expectation
Under this theme, the learning outcome is that students will be brave enough to introduce themselves as 'Chinese' when they grow up or when they meet the foreigners abroad. This may reflect the current awkward situation: when students are asked about their national identity in a foreign place, some of them would be shy to tell other people. An emphasis on behavior expectation may reflect teachers' beliefs that students' behavior can be changed through relearning, and that teachers are in the best position to encourage that relearning (Biggs & Watkins, 1995).

7.2.7 Pedagogies of National Education
Pedagogy is the way a subject matter is selected, organized and presented to students (Grossman, 2010). In particular, citizenship pedagogies are teaching, learning, and assessment practices used in classrooms to facilitate civic learning (Kennedy, 2010). In a decade before, survey results on civic education implementation by Lee (1999) showed that the teaching of citizenship education in schools is still rather didactic in the classroom. Chai-Yip, Galloway and Lee (2010) found that many of the functions of citizenship education were performed through co-curricular activities. Yet, Leung and Yuen (2009) noted that international civic education initiatives were adopting more action-oriented pedagogies for transforming social justice (Banks, 2008; Dilworth, 2008; Magendzo, 2005).

In the study here, with no prescribed teaching method of National Education from the government, the research participants revealed a diversified spectrum of pedagogies on it. Some teachers specifically mentioned their students had

difficulties to grasp the concepts involved in National Education, such as Nation, State, and 'One Country, Two Systems'. In short, they used a variety of pedagogies to facilitate students' conceptual understanding and cultivation of the pride of being Chinese.

Table 7.8 Categories on Pedagogies of National Education

	Categories				
	1 Balanced approach on both sides	2 Seeing goodness from bad cases	3 Critical thinking approach	4 Immersion/ experiential learning approach	5 Reflective teaching
T1	Y			Y	
T2				Y	
T3	YY	Y	Y	Y	
T4				YY	
T5				Y	
T6				Y	
T7	YY		YY	Y	Y
T8				YY	
T9				Y	
T10	Y			Y	

Category: Balanced approach on both sides

First of all, there is the 'balanced approach', or examining both sides of arguments, in teaching National Education (T1, T3, T7, T10), which emphasize teaching both favourable and unfavourable sides of national issues.

'I agree that we should not confine National Education to teaching positive issues only. There must be discussions about problems and challenges that face China.' (T1)

'National Education should be taught in a balanced way, with teaching both the bright and dark sides of China. Someone in China may strive for desirable values such as democracy and human rights. There is also press coverage on the monitoring of the government, such as *Southern*

Metropolis Daily's report on the problems of the government. Both sides of the stories should be taught to the students.' (T3)

'Teachers should lead the student to reflect on both sides of the arguments. For example, if the government does not perform up to standard, then as a citizen, one should reflect on the issue involved and the suggestions on how the government can do it better. The institutions in Hong Kong and those in China are different. Some people may think that whatever the Chinese government does must be correct. I don't agree with this... We should let the students express their opinions about issues in China, so that a whole picture can be seen. Someone may say 'yes' while someone may say 'no' on an issue, but the important point is to guide the students to differentiate between the doings of a nation and those of a government, so that they would not mix them up and accept that the government can do something wrong. ' (T7)

'There should be a balanced choice in selecting topics and issues of China in teaching National Education. Both positive and negative news about China should be taught to the students. ' (T10)

Theme generated: Balanced approach
This approach intends to give the students a balanced understanding about China and avoid focusing on only one side of China. This also intends to address the problem of one-sided arguments as evidenced in some local newspapers and media critics. Along such line of thinking, teachers hope that students can learn about China in a holistic way.

Category: Seeing goodness from bad cases
One teacher specifically mentioned seeing 'goodness' from bad cases (T3), which means highlighting those desirable learning elements contained in the tragic incidents or human rights controversies for students. For example, T3 mentioned the relentless pursuit of human rights recognition by the social activists and intellectuals, demands for social justice by those Chinese parents whose babies suffered from poisonous milk, and the sacrifice and perseverance of the Chinese people when facing natural disasters.

'I introduced the poisonous milk issue in China to the students. This is an

undesirable issue, but from those suffering parents who relentlessly asked for social justice in China, I think my students can learn more about the pursuit of human dignity in China. The detained human rights activists and intellectuals are also worth my teaching efforts. They set the example of upholding universal values. Even in natural disasters, one can see reports of Chinese bravely tackling the difficult situations. The students can learn from all these examples.' (T3)

Theme generated: Seeing goodness from bad cases
By seeing goodness from bad cases, the teacher (T3) intended to help the students cultivate respect to Chinese. Hopefully, if students could realize the bright side of Chinese, they would identify with a Chinese national identity.

Category: Critical thinking approach
This teaching approach focuses on developing critical thinking abilities of the students. Teachers would guide the students to examine issues in an analytical way. Students are also taught to be critical of the mainstream's depictions of the events and issues in China.

> 'The issues in China demand critical thinking to analyze and digest them. There are some analytical skills that should be taught to the students before they can develop an ability to understand news and issues in the media. ' (T3)

> 'The Liberal Studies subject asks the students to use critical thinking skills and multiple perspectives. Students can express their opinions, and their ways of seeing things. Students can perform issue analysis by applying critical thinking steps. With different perspectives following from critical thinking steps, the students can build up a complete understanding of the issues under investigation.' (T7)

Theme generated: Critical thinking approach
Critical thinking means that students apply their analytical skills when investigating issues. This also means a thorough understanding of an issue by using different perspectives. Having the elements of the critical thinking approach, the above-mentioned quotes also contain transformative notion in thinking which is often associated with more 'reform' perspectives (Miller &

Sellar, 1985). Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999) also noted that the focus on good citizenship of good, moral and co-operative people rather than good citizen may just lack acknowledging the critical dimension. So, the research participants (T3, T7) above have provided a critical approach in teaching National Education.

Category: Immersion/experiential learning approach
All research participants agreed on using the immersion/experiential learning approach (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10) in teaching National Education.

'Students can only learn about the latest development of China by going there.' (T7)

'Since I took up the role of Civic Education coordinator in school, I have begun organizing exchange tours to China for my students. I think they will learn how to consolidate their previous understanding about China through exchange activities.' (T2)

'There should be first-hand learning experience of China for them. The teaching of National Education should not just arrive at a remote sense of China, which usually characterizes classroom-based learning activities. They should have experiences living in China, whether they are study tours or exchange tours; as educators, we should provide such resources for them.' (T3)

'National Education can be done through exchange with mainland China... There is an old wisdom saying that it is better to learn through travelling rather than studying from piles of books. Studying cannot provide first-hand learning experience for the students, especially about the real-life situations in China. There are both rich and poor lives in China. It is through immersion experience that they can learn about the income differences in China.' (T4)

'What teaching approach is better than putting them into China? They can see for themselves, and learn about the real problems and contact the real people in China. Hopefully, the students can find that Chinese people are not much different from themselves, in terms of thinking and daily living.' (T5)

'Through participation in China, they could care about the development of China. This can take the form of volunteer works in China. Students learn about the latest educational development in China by giving tutorials to students in rural and mountainous areas.' (T6)

'We have organized exchange tours to China which include visits to the museums and historical sites. We also arrange students to pay visits to people's homes. After they have gained some new knowledge from such tour and visits, they can reflect on various topics of China.' (T7)

'National Education should be systematic in teaching design and better to have out of classroom learning experience. The most effective teaching method is experiential learning, so that they can develop their own value complex. Through real-life learning activities in China, they can see, feel, and get in touch with China's various aspects.' (T8)

'I always bring my students to go back to China. Throughout the years, students have many opportunities to learn about China. They learn better by engaging in the real-life contexts of China and this may change their pervious unfavourable conceptions towards issues in China. I believe that experiencing China is the best teaching approach.' (T9)

'By going to China and see it for themselves, students can change their perception towards China, hopefully towards a more emphatic one.'(T10)

Theme generated: Experiential learning as National Education
This teaching approach encourages students to learn in an authentic context of China. Students engage themselves in learning tasks and apply study skills in the real-life Chinese context. Indeed, experiential learning is a form of learning that emphasizes experience as the source of learning and development (Kolb, 1984). When students engage in the real-life learning contexts, they tend to retain knowledge for longer periods and to develop meaningful skills. Also, Kolb (1984) contended that students would change their conception or opinions through experience. McGill and Beaty (1996) also argued that the power of learning in action comes from learning through experience to change rather than to repeat simply previous patterns. In short, adopting the immersion or experiential

learning approach, to the research participants in this study, enables students to apply their knowledge and skills in understanding and tackling real-life issues in China.

Category: mix of teaching strategies and flexible use of curriculum
Some research participants specifically mentioned using a mix of teaching strategies (T2, T3), and a flexible use of both formal and informal curriculums (T1, T3) in teaching National Education. They also emphasized having flexibility in accordance with the needs and competencies of their students.

'Actually, when teaching National Education, one should use the curriculum in a flexible way. This is because National Education encompasses different learning elements in it. The teachers pick up some relevant learning elements for the students according to the needs and capabilities of the students.' (T1)

'I mix different teaching strategies when teaching National Education. There is no fixed choice of teaching strategies, but a choice which is deemed fit for the teaching purpose and students' capabilities are more important.
A flexible way of organizing the whole curriculum is also important in National Education because it can have many dimensions in it.' (T2)

'In teaching National Education, which is also a form of civic education, I think teaching with a mix of pedagogies and flexible use of curriculum is important. This can bring out the maximum benefits of teaching.' (T3)

Theme generated: Mixing of teaching strategies and flexible use of curriculum
The above-mentioned responses (T1, T2, T3) pointed to a mix use of teaching strategies and flexible use of curriculum in teaching National Education in order to cater for the differential learning needs of the students and the broad spectrum of topics contained in National Education. This may reflect a flexible way of conceptualizing the teaching of National Education. In fact, this finding is also similar to those by Leung (2008), in which teachers were found to mix their uses of pedagogies when teaching National Education in Hong Kong's secondary schools. Also, this finding is in line with the finding of Chan (2008) that teaching strategies of a sample of Hong Kong teachers usually required adaptation and

integration of various learning strategies.

Category: Scientific thinking and sequential personal development
There is an interesting finding on developing scientific thinking and sequential personal development among the students, which is a traditional Confucian thinking, in relation to National Education. This traditional wisdom goes:

> 'This is to achieve through nurturing oneself in terms of scientific thinking, pursuit of knowledge, cultivate integrity, and single-mindedness, harmony in family, ruling a country, and pacifying the world.' (T10)

The above adopts a concentric approach to National Education. The outcome of learning in such an approach would be the whole-personal development in a concentric way, proceeding from personal development to the most remote circle of contributing to the world. Actually this sounds similar to the concentric principle in the teaching of civic education as recommended by the Education Department in 1996 (Education Department, 1996). It may also reflect a teaching orientation of starting from the personal level, which is regarded as easier to teach, then to the teaching about family, society, country and the world, which usually present more difficulties in teaching as each level goes up.

Category: Reflective teaching
Documenting and reflecting on students' learning experiences are also regarded as a teaching method in National Education by one of the research participants (T7). A learner collaborates with, and learns from, each other by working in real-life scenarios in China, and then he/she reflects on his/her own experiences by asking what he/she has learnt and re-conceptualizing his/her learning in China. The research participant concerned said,

> 'We also have portfolios to document their personal reflections, and we use group discussions to facilitate their exchanges of ideas and cooperative learning. They can reflect on what they have experienced in China and re-conceptualize the knowledge and concepts that they have learnt about China.' (T7)

Theme generated: Reflective teaching in National Education
Reflective teaching emphasizes personal reflection on what has been learnt,

usually after having some authentic learning experiences (Wade, 2000). The learning aims at building up the reflective competencies of students (Schon, 1983). To the research participant (T7), the reflection is about students' learning experience in China, knowledge and concepts learnt about China.

Concluding remarks: Diversified teaching methods in teaching National Education

The aforementioned findings on using diversified teaching methods in teaching National Education add to the current repertoire of National Education pedagogies. While many research participants emphasized experiential forms of learning that engaged students in authentic learning about China through exchange or study tours, some teachers specifically mentioned critical thinking approach, balanced teaching approach, as well as seeing goodness from bad cases. All these are significant findings by revealing the possibilities of a variety of pedagogical orientations in teaching National Education, instead of just relying on the usual traditional didactic teaching approach or patriotic approach.

7.2.8 National Education in subjects

Nearly all research participants (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T7, T8, T9, T10) mentioned teaching National Education through formal education. They stressed the importance of putting National Education into the formal curriculum.

> 'Chinese history is the subject that is closely related to National Education. Students are required to study Chinese wars and politics, political institutions, economics, society, culture, religions and thoughts in a systematic way. This is important to develop students' sense of a Chinese national identity.' (T1)

> 'Chinese history should be given more emphasis in secondary schools. It teaches the basics of China in a systematic method. Students can learn more about China properly through studying this subject by a systemic method.' (T2)

> 'The senior form Liberal Studies subject has got space for National Education. There are formal classes in this subject, and it emphasizes critical thinking. However, Liberal Studies may lack values elements. So, the Civic Education subject can fill in the gap and let the students know

more about the values dimension.' (T3)

'National Education can be done through classroom teaching, letting them to know about the latest situation of China.' (T4)

'We have got subjects that teach knowledge about China. Students can learn about basics of National Education through formal subjects.'(T5)

'The way to do it is by imparting knowledge about the national and current affairs to the students. It is to let students know more about what the country is doing right now. In our school's curriculum, there has been more coverage about China. For example, in junior secondary, there is Civic Education. In senior secondary, there is Liberal Studies. Although China and Hong Kong have adopted different paths of development, but with the curriculum development in the recent ten years, what used to be difficult to grasp has become easier to grasp.' (T7)

'National Education can be taught through subjects. Our school teachers are skilled in incorporating elements of National Education in their respective subject teachings.'(T8)

'To achieve maximum effects, teaching of National Education requires a concerted effort by related subjects. In our school, we have built up cross-subject collaboration in enhancing students' understanding about China.'(T9)

'For the purpose of National Education, Chinese history should be a compulsory subject for all students. In my school, Chinese history subject shoulders the responsibilities of cultivating students' national identity as one of its subject aims. We should start with Chinese history first because it is about the causes and consequences of the rises and falls of dynasties, culture and traditions, schools of thought, political systems, etc. In kindergartens, young kids can learn about Chinese myths and stories. In primary schools, they learn about the progresses of Chinese dynasties. In junior secondary schools, they can develop their information search, understand and analyze historical information skills in relation to topics and issues of China. The teaching and learning methods and the

progression in teaching depend on the students' abilities and their level of understanding.' (T10)

Theme: Teaching National Education in formal subject curriculum

The above-mentioned teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T7, T8, T9, T10) thought that subject-based learning could contribute to National Education. They might think that the teaching of National Education in formal subjects could allow students to develop a systematic understanding of the knowledge about China through studying units about various topics of China. As Vickers (2005) argued, history teaching, for example, can tell much about how national identity is constructed.

Yet, some of the teachers (T1, T2, T3, T4) also regarded National Education as part of informal education. At most, National Education can also have some connections to academic subjects by incorporating it as value learning (T1, T2) in the curriculum.

7.2.9 Assessment in National Education – aims and methods

Assessment in National Education, as perceived by the research participants in this study, aims to assess knowledge acquisition and the attitude of cultivation of a Chinese national identity. They also reported that they used different assessment methods. Both elements of facilitation of learning and assessment of learning, and focus on both process and outcomes can be identified.

Table 7.9 Categories of 'Aims and Method of Assessment in National Education'

	Categories	
	1 Assessing knowledge and attitude in National Education	2 Using different forms of assessment methods
T1	Y	
T2	Y	Y
T3		Y
T4		Y
T5	Y	
T6	Y	
T7		Y

T8	Y	
T9	Y	
T10	Y	Y

Category: Assessing knowledge in National Education

A handful of research participants treated knowledge as an assessment target in National Education.

'Assessing knowledge is the most important in National Education. How can they love China without knowledge and understanding? So, a primary focus in assessment would be on what knowledge the students have built up. ' (T1)

'I would assess students' knowledge about China by means of observing their words and deeds. Having proper knowledge about China is important in National Education and students should know how to put the knowledge into practice.' (T2)

'I agree that students need knowledge in grasping the developments of China. So, in assessment, I would put emphasis in knowledge acquisition.' (T5)

'I think knowledge would come first, although attitude is also very important in assessing the outcomes in National Education.'(T6)

'I would assess students' knowledge during National Education activities.' (T8)

'Chinese history for National Education should not have marking and grading in order to avoid giving pressures on students, when learning in National Education. The assessment should be on knowledge terms, mainly about what they have learnt in terms of topical knowledge about Chinese history.' (T10)

Theme generated: National Education aims at assessing knowledge

From the above, it can be observed that assessment practices adopted by the research participants for the purpose of assessing National Education exhibited a

knowledge-orientation which emphasized on learning knowledge about China.

Category: Assessing attitude in National Education
Some teachers also emphasized assessing attitudes in National Education. But it is interesting to see how they assess them.

> 'Teachers can observe their attitudes towards China. We can observe their attitudes during the activities and their daily behavior to assess whether there is any change in them.'(T1)

> 'I would like to see whether there is a change of attitude in their understanding about what they should do to their nation. I would love to see my students being able to love their nation in a critical-patriotic way, which means that they can tell whether the Chinese government is doing its job properly and that they can embrace what is right and what is wrong in their love of their nation.' (T3)

> 'Students should also develop a caring attitude towards China. This is also where our school's assessment on National Education falls. They are expected to show their love towards China.' (T8).

> 'Developing a proper and respectful attitude towards China is important in National Education. As teachers, we should ascertain that students develop a sense of love towards China. This is also where our assessment lies.' (T9)

Theme: National Education aims at assessing attitude
National Education is about attitude, i.e. fostering a sense of Chinese national identity. Therefore, it comes to assessing the attitude domain of the students.

Category: Using different forms of assessment methods
Some research participants (T2, T4, T10) also mentioned using different forms of assessment methods in National Education.

> 'I will use group interviews to understand how my students perceive their motherland. Besides, observation is a method that I usually adopt. Moreover, I can give them some written reflections so that I have different sources of data to assess how much they learn in National Education

programmes/activities.' (T2)

'We assess students' caring attitude towards Chinese people by analyzing their written essays addressed to those living in mountainous regions of China. Their written essays can tell much about their love and care about Chinese people.' (T4)

'Observing students' participation in National Education activities can inform teachers of how much students have learnt about China. I will also use quizzes to test their knowledge about China. A questionnaire can also be used to find out how much students have learnt about China in knowledge terms. But the most important point is that teachers should not make the students feel that there is another test for the purpose of evaluating National Education.' (T10)

Theme: Different assessment methods in National Education
Contemporary educational assessments are diversified in practices (Brown & Ngan, 2010). Assessment methods in National Education adopted by research participants were also diversified. They included behaviour observations, group interviews, content quizzes, written reflections and written essays. On the whole, research sample teachers relied on summative rather than formative assessments to assess students' knowledge and attitudes in National Education.

7.3 Finding of school observation data
During on-site observations of schools' National Education programmes and activities, a number of illustrative and reflective findings are found. To recap the justifications and explanations for the research methods in Chapter 5, the observation of schools' National Education programmes/activities intend to look at the practices of each research participant in conducting National Education. This would be used as one of the data source for triangulation.

7.3.1 Timing and occasions of observations
The researcher arranged the school's National Education observation visits with the ten research participants in summer 2010.

In Hong Kong, schools' National Education programmes/activities usually take place in late September and early October each year because the Chinese

National Day is on 1st October. Schools usually organize such kinds of nationalistic activities around these times. Based on the researcher's professional experiences, the schools may organize such kinds of National Education activities either as morning assembly in which teacher(s), guest(s), and/or student(s) give a talk or sharing, thematic learning week, extra-curricular activities, or learning activities supplementary to subject-based learning.

In the main study, the researcher paid two observation visits to each research participant's school. The data collected within such a short period, that is, from late September to early October, but it is substantial in depth. Each observed occasion usually lasted from not less than an hour to up to a whole morning session.

7.3.2 Observation data collection form
Before starting to observe schools' National Education programmes/activities in late September or early October 2010, the researcher had designed an observation form for data collection purpose (see Appendix II). This form is to collect some qualitative data on-site with a few quantitative data to be collected. Qualitative data are collected primarily because observation is about the meanings of national identity and practices of National Education programmes/activities of the purposively sampled teachers.

7.3.3 Types and sources of data collected in observations
As for the type and source of data collected, first, the researcher looked at the physical and cultural settings of the school, with particular attention to what and how the physical settings contributed to the fostering of national identity and forming part of National Education in that school. The researcher also looked into the cultural setting of each research participant's school, which was referring to the school ethos created by the teachers to achieve the learning outcomes of National Education.

Second, the researcher also looked at the information boards and the showcases of extra-curricular National Education activities organized for the students. As Evans (2004) argued, classroom space (e.g. bulletin boards) is usually organized by the teacher to convey important contents with a knowledge transmission orientation. The information boards and showcases were usually located on the ground floor, on the corner of staircases, or in a designated corner in the school.

Then, the researcher looked for the contents on school websites that were related to Chinese national identification and National Education. Prominent themes of Chinese national identity and National Education would be identified as relevant for this study.

Third, in order to gain the maximum direct observation data, the researcher observed those school-based National Education programmes/activities that took place from late September to early October 2010. As was noted earlier, it is common for most Hong Kong secondary schools to organize school-based National Education programmes/activities from late September to early October each year in order to catch up with the special Chinese National Day on 1st October. Hence, the researcher conducted the observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities in such a short span of time with an aim to understand sample teachers' perceptions of their meanings of National Education. The observations looked at the knowledge transmitted, National Education-related issues, aims, contents and teaching orientations of National Education.

To recap earlier explanations, the researcher arranged at least two observations of each research participant's school-based National Education for data collection purpose. The data collected were mainly qualitative data of descriptive and narrative nature.

7.3.4 Findings from observations data
7.3.4.1 Overall physical and cultural setting
School's cultural setting is an issue in the curriculum development in Hong Kong (Morris, 1996). It matters to the ethos and the informal learning environment in a particular school. As a common practice, all research participants' schools had flag-poles to raise the Chinese National flag. This has been a statutory requirement by the Hong Kong SAR government since 1997. The flag-poles were usually erected at a visible place in the school, such as the assembly ground, playground, and sports field. Some schools organized national flag-raising every day (T7, T8, T9, T10) since they were either government schools (T7, T10) or pro-Beijing government 'Leftist schools'. Other schools in this study only raised the national flag on important nationalistic occasions (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6) such as Chinese National Day and Hong Kong SAR Establishment Day. All schools concerned, however, had designated places (that is, assembly hall, gathering

venue, playground, sports ground, etc.) as important venues for participants to observe the raising of the Chinese National flag. Such flag-raising ceremonies were usually followed by a principal or teacher talk (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), a student sharing on certain topic(s) of National Education or on exchange experiences to China (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), a guest talk on topic(s) of National Education (T1, T8, T9), or drama, singing songs, performances, etc. (T9) for celebrative and/or student's affective development purposes.

There are different approaches to create a nationalistic school culture. While observing the National Education programmes/activities, the researcher found that some school culture and ethos, as well as the physical setting, were clearly purported to foster national identification (T1, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), while a few others (T2, T3, T4) were not explicit in using school culture and ethos for the purposes of National Education. Among those school using school culture and ethos clearly, some of them (T8, T9) even revealed that they had intentionally built up a school culture that facilitated students' identification with a Chinese national identity through physical decorations, and posting news about various types of National Education learning activities within the schools, and features on their frequent exchange tours to China. Indeed, there were plenty of examples (T1, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10) of nationalistic mottos engraved on the ground pillars of the schools, designated areas for Civic/National Education, information boards for understanding basic facts about China, posting of news and issues in China, and students recruitment for exchange tours to China in public holidays or on nationalistic occasions such as Chinese National Day, Beijing Olympic Games and Shanghai Expo. These study tours might be funded either by the school's sponsoring body with students paying a small amount of the tour fees, or by the Education Bureau's commissioned non-governmental organizations, with students' share of tour fees being very small too. All these tell much about individual research participants' schools in creating a favourable learning environment for cultivating a Chinese national identity and promoting National Education.

On the other hand, some research participants' schools (T2, T3, T4) did not put a lot of efforts on building up a school culture and ethos that clearly addressed National Education. There was no designated learning corner for National Education, nor was there any motto engraved in the pillars of the schools that

conveyed a sense of Chinese national identification. Information boards which were specific for National Education, as triangulated by the findings from the in-depth interviews (T2, T3, T4), were occasional and could only be found in the schools when there were nationalistic events happening. Further, during the on-site school observations around the times of Chinese National Day, apart from the National Education programmes/activities observed, these schools did not have any specific intention to create any sense of Chinese nationalistic school culture or ethos through physical or cultural setting. Hence, National Education in these schools (T2, T3 and T4) seemed to be occasional rather than having any persistent school learning culture working on it.

In short, there are different approaches to the physical and cultural settings of the schools in promoting National Education, namely, school-based, physical and cultural immersion of National Education, and occasional National Education learning programmes/activities.

7.3.4.2 Information boards, school websites, and showcases of extra-curricular activities about National Education

With their common learning purpose of knowledge enhancement, information boards, school websites, and showcases of extra-curricular activities on topics of National Education were found in all research participants' schools (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10).

The information boards were usually placed on the ground floor of an accessible location. As triangulated from the interviews data, many research participants (T1, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10) revealed that they were accustomed to design information boards to inform students about current issues or the latest developments in China. Also, they (T1, T2, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10) would also post some posters about National Education, which were published by the Education Bureau or other National Education organizations, on the information boards. There were evidences of using information boards and showcases of National Education activities on a routine basis in some research participants' schools (T1, T7, T8, T9, T10), with quizzes on the contents of information boards (T7, T10) as well as central broadcasts to the whole school about the information boards and/or showcases (T7, T8, T9, T10). From their school websites, there are clear evidences of substantial and routine coverage of National Education. In particular, they showcased and publicized students'

experiences in National Education learning activities such as participation in community-wide nationalistic activities and exchange tours to China by means of newsletters, school's website and/or even newspapers coverage.

All the above, however, represent a reliance of Hong Kong secondary school teachers in using information boards, school websites and showcases of extra-curricular activities in promoting National Education to their students. Of course, through such promotional channels, they also reflected the research participants' perceptions of teaching National Education with a knowledge transmission emphasis, which was quite a common teaching orientation in Hong Kong (Lee, 2005).

7.3.4.3 Observations of Schools' National Education programmes
As noted before, the researcher observed the National Education programmes/activities in each research participant's school in late September and early October 2010. Overall speaking, related learning and teaching activities observed in the observation form (see Appendix II) were those that transmitted information and knowledge highlighted (Miller & Sellar, 1985), such as principal or teacher talk, student sharing on study tour experiences, reading out relevant nationalistic news or materials, and broadcasting of video-clips. (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). Meanwhile, students' nationalistic performances and singing, national flag raising ceremonies, nationalistic pledges, etc., which were geared towards the development of students' nationalistic values and patriotic attitude, could also be found in some research participants' schools (T7, T8, T9, T10). The latter of them may reflect a nationalist orientation of the schools concerned.

Their pedagogical orientations also showed diversity. While the most common was teacher's talk or sharing (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), there were also teaching orientations that used issue-study (T1, T3, T7). Reflective thinking which asked students to reflect on their own understanding about China as well as their role as Chinese in Hong Kong could also be found in some research participants' teaching of National Education (T1, T2, T3, T4, T7, T8, T9). Finally, there were also creative thinking elements in their teachings of National Education (T8, T9) which were mostly about putting creativity in the nationalistic drama for celebrating Chinese National Day.

The assessment practices observed primarily aimed at assessing knowledge acquisition (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), while behavior assessment was made on students' national identification too (T1, T2, T4, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). Content quizzes and other short answer tests (for example, multiple-choice tests, and completion tests) were also used (T2, T10), and were apparently directed to the students' knowledge acquisition and concept understanding. In particular, the following questions were commonly (T3, T5, T7) asked in helping students evaluate their learning experiences in National Education:

- What skills or experiences did you bring to your role?
- What worries or concerns did you have?
- What did you gain from this experience?
- Do you feel more comfortable now than before?
- What academic skills did you find useful in this experience?

The above-mentioned questions may contribute to assessment items in National Education.

The reflection tools used are usually reflective journals (individual and team), students learning portfolios, discussions and presentations on their feelings and on what they have learnt and how they can improve themselves after learning in National Education programmes/activities.

Below is a summary of each school's observation so that a unique, richer and in-depth understanding of how National Education programmes/activities were implemented in each school could be obtained. This also intends to show individual specific schools' characteristics on promoting National Education.

For T1, the civic education team, in his charge, designed six information boards about Chinese National Day 2010. The team placed these information boards near the entrance hall of the school near the period of Chinese National Day, so that when teachers and students entered the school, they would notice them. In the assembly to celebrate the Chinese National Day, the school organized a principal talk on what the meanings of being a Chinese were, as well as what one should do as a Chinese. There were messages of motivating students to be Chinese too. Also, there were teacher sharing on recent economic developments and other achievements of China. Within such teachers' sharing,

there was an emphasis on gaining knowledge about Chinese economic achievements over the past few decades, which stood in contrast to the poor and war-torn China before 1949. T1 expected their students would gain knowledge as well as cultivate their affective attachments to China.

For T2, the school regarded the Chinese National Day as an important annual occasion. There was a Chinese national flag raising ceremony in the morning on 30th September, 2010. This was attended by the whole school. During the subsequent assembly, the Principal gave a short talk on the meanings of Chinese National Day, which largely emphasized the economic and athletic achievements achieved by Chinese in recent decades. Thus, students should motivate and equip themselves better in order to grasp the opportunities of a rising China. Then, T2 gave another sharing on what students should learn about and reflect upon the National Day. T2 focused on students' school subject learning and life experience in relation to learning about China. National flag, national anthem and national symbol were also emphasized by T2 on this occasion. Subsequently, there were students' project presentations on their exchanges to Shanghai Expo 2010, which included meetings with volunteers in Shanghai Expo, exploring different exhibitions, interviewing local Shanghai people on their perceptions towards Shanghai Expo, and staging celebrative performances with mainland Chinese students. Overall speaking, a one-way transmission approach of teaching National Education to the students was found in this school.

For T3, the Civic Education team organized a short multi-media presentation on the National Day in a whole school assembly in September 2010. T3 delivered this presentation to the students who gathered in the assembly hall. The students listened to the presentation attentively, with questions raised afterwards. The presentation guided the students to review what were organized in a typical official Chinese National Day ceremony, which was usually celebrative and patriotic in nature. The presentation also explicated the different meanings of national day adopted by different countries in the world, for example, the meanings of patriotism, pursuit of democracy and basic rights, preserving the national traditions, and respect for the sovereignty. By comparing and thinking about the differences between Chinese and the meanings of national day, it broadened students' understanding about what constituted 'Chinese National Day. Then, T3 showed students some pictures of Chinese natural disasters, human rights controversies, and the contested issue with

Google business operations in China. According to T3, these pictures were intended to give students a different interpretation on what people could do when it came to Chinese National Day. Students were also asked about their feelings and reflections on all these often-neglected events when celebrating the Chinese National Day. A critical thinking mindset towards problems and issues facing China was the underlying message that T3 expected the students to receive. In fact, in Hong Kong's educational context, Chinese National Day is usually about praising and celebrating the various achievements in present-day China. What T3 did actually provide another side of the picture to the students. There was also a worksheet which followed up the teachers' presentation. Basically, this worksheet asked for reflections on the meanings of Chinese National Day. It also asked students to recall that apart from some eye-catching achievements and grand ceremonies, what else they could think of happening in China. This tried to put the students into perspectives.

In T4's school, there was a national flag-raising ceremony to celebrate the Chinese National Day on the Monday following the National Day. The Principal gave a talk immediately after the flag-raising. Next came the students' sharing about their thoughts on the meanings of the National Day and what they should learn from the modern China's developments or nationalistic events. T4 also arranged the students to join a day-camp held at the National Education Services Centre back in October 2010. One whole junior form of students joined this day-camp to learn about topics about China through lectures and seminars. There were opportunities to practise marching and raising national flag, as well as observe the national flag raising as instructed by the Centre's trainers. The run-down of the day-camp was that upon the arrival of the students, the Center staff made a welcoming speech and an introduction about the Centre to the students on the assembly ground. The students had to line up and stand in a solemn posture. Afterwards, they sang the Chinese national anthem and observed the national flag raising ceremony. It was training on skill and attitude in observing the raising of Chinese national flag. Then, the students attended several lectures and guest seminars on topics about China. The day-camp ended with observing the ceremony of lowering down the Chinese national flag.

For T5, in order to celebrate the Chinese National Day in 2010, the civic education team posted some big posters about China's basic information on each school floor. There were two stand-alone information boards about the

Chinese Republican Revolution in 1911, which overthrew the Imperial Qing Dynasty, near the entrance of the sports ground for publicity within the school. The contents were basic information and served to explicate the ideas, origins, developments, and impacts of the Republican Revolution in 1911. There was also a Chinese national flag raising ceremony by the flag raising team on the Monday immediately following the National Day on 1st October. It was conducted in a solemn manner. After the flag raising ceremony, T5 arranged a group of students to share some factual information on Chinese economic development and society with the whole school. The student sharing ended with some questions being raised for their fellow students to reflect upon.

For T6, the civic education team organized a Chinese national flag raising ceremony on 30th September, 2010. The Principal gave a short talk after the Chinese national flag was raised. He used two newspapers' coverage on China's economic issues to ask students whether they had paid attention to China's economic development and what the possible meanings of the 51st Anniversary of the Chinese National Day were to them. The Principal also shared with the students his experiences in Shanghai, in particular the infrastructure development, Chinese youths letting seats to the elderly on the train, and the inspirational talks between the youths. He thought the quality of the Chinese people was improving. Next, he discussed the role of China in the international society. The Principal's talk was short in duration, lasting for not more than 20 minutes. However, it was organized knowledge, on the basis of which students were expected to know more about the meanings of the Chinese National Day and the developments in China.

T7 worked in a government school. The nature of the school made it adopt a regular practice of raising the Chinese national flag every Friday. To celebrate the Chinese National Day in 2010, the school arranged a special Chinese national flag raising ceremony in the Monday morning assembly immediately following the National Day. The flag raising was led by three student uniform groups of the school. The uniform group members marched in and raised the Chinese national flag while the whole school was singing the Chinese national anthem. The student uniform group members saluted the Chinese national flag to conclude the whole flag raising ceremony. Then, some students shared with the whole school their exchange experiences both before and after the flag raising ceremony. Before the flag raising ceremony, a student shared with the whole

school the meanings of Chinese National Day from the perspective of an ordinary Hong Kong student, who anticipated the Chinese national Day each year by thinking about the responsibilities of a Hong Kong student under 'One Country, Two Systems' should be. After the flag raising ceremony, another student shared with the whole school her experiences in joining a study tour to Shanghai Expo in the summer 2010. The two sharing sessions were short but to the point, and they lasted for not more than five minutes each. All students and teachers in the assembly clapped their hands after each sharing, as if such sharing were already routine practice in the school. The whole national day celebration lasted for about 30 minutes. Overall speaking, the school organized National Education in a fast and efficient way, and the assembly ground was cleared within an hour.

For T8, there was a large-scale National Education celebration lasting for the whole morning of the 30th of September, 2010. A Chinese national flag raising ceremony was organized at 8 a.m., which followed the practice of the Hong Kong SAR government in celebrating the Chinese National Day. Then, the Vice-Principal gave a talk on the meanings of National Day and on the recent history and the latest economic and sports achievements of China to all teachers and students. All these aimed at fostering a nationalistic feeling among the students, especially given her tone of speech and emotions expressed. Next, the whole school was engaged in a series of National Education activities in the rest of morning, which included student choir singing nationalistic songs, guest lectures on history, politics and recent achievements of China, open-floor quiz about China, prize awarding ceremony to classes which won in the inter-classes national anthem singing competitions, and other nationalistic performances. Taken as a whole, this school took the Chinese National Day as very seriously by putting in a significant amount of efforts.

The school that T9 worked in also organized a series of activities to celebrate the Chinese National Day in 2010. There was, of course, Chinese national flag raising ceremony. The Principal gave a talk after the ceremony, which was about the meanings of National Education and also an encouragement to the students. Next came teachers' and students' sharing on the meanings of Chinese National Day, and they shared about the importance of the rising China to the word. In order to let students know more about the latest developments of China, for example, Shanghai's economic achievements and the Shanghai Expo 2010, T9

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arranged about 80 students to perform a creative drama to exhibit their learning during exchange to Shanghai Expo 2010. They shared some interesting experiences such as people not allowed to wear pajamas to go out. Students also showed their creativity by utilizing digital technology to re-vitalize the famous painting of the Riverside Scene at Qingming Festival originated from Sung Dynasty. There were also other creative uses of drama to exhibit other nationalistic themes; and in their dramas, students also delivered their best wishes on China's future well-being. T9 reiterated that the school did not get used to lecturing for National Education. They preferred activity-based learning and they wanted to develop students' whole person development which included knowledge, skills, values and attitudes.

T10 worked in a government school in the North District. The school held a national flag raising ceremony on the first Monday following the Chinese National Day. The civic education team organized a paper quiz competition on the history and political developments of the People's Republic of China in the Form Period on that day. T10 admitted that the difficulty level of the quiz was higher than the average so as to give some challenges to the students and this could help teachers tell who were outstanding in understanding about China. During the researcher's on-site observation, students had difficulties to complete the quiz. But the quiz also served to remind students that Chinese history and politics were not easy as they might expect. T10 also alerted students through the campus broadcasting system about the information boards on Chinese National Day which were placed on the ground floor near the entrance. T10 urged the students to find some time to study the information boards.

7.3.5 Discussion on the observation findings on schools' National Education programmes/activities
7.3.5.1 Learning goals
One prevalent theme found in the teaching orientations and activity contents of schools' National Education programmes is that students were reminded of their belonging to and identification with their Chinese nation (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). This key learning message also conveyed a sense of identification based on the political arrangement of 'One Country, Two Systems', in which Hong Kong belongs to the capitalist system while mainland China belongs to the socialist system. The learning goal observed was that a Chinese national

identification is imperative. Indeed, in the *General Principles* of the mini-constitution of the *Basic Law* of Hong Kong, it is stated that Hong Kong is an inalienable part of China and Hong Kong should display the Chinese national flag and national emblem after 1997. During observations, this learning goal of recognizing Hong Kong as part of China was usually stated out clearly by the Principal and/or the coordinator of Civic Education/National Education (that is, the research participants) during their talks and/or sharing with their respective schools.

When it comes to learning goals related to attitude towards China, there were loving and being proud of China (T1, T7, T8, T9), embracing a Chinese national identity (T1, T2, T4, T7, T8, T9), as well as identifying with China in a critical thinking way (T3) observed. Other learning goals of National Education observed include gaining knowledge and understanding about China because these are the basics for being a Chinese (T1, T2, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), as well as contributing their efforts to the Chinese nation (T1, T2, T3, T8, T9) which was usually stated in a general way without telling how to do it. While the former was crouched in knowledge terms, the latter was related to attitude.

Finally, another important observation of school's National Education (T3) is that the learning goal could be related to critical thinking, which was quite progressive. After all, schools in Hong Kong usually try to avoid sensitive issues in classes (Lee, 2004a). So, for any National Education with an explicit learning goal of applying critical thinking is extraordinary. One research participant (T3) mentioned that when being faced with social and political issues about China, students were expected to develop and apply their analytical and critical thinking. They were not expected to rote learning the materials they were given to read.

7.3.5.2 Verbal communication

Borrowing the idea of sociogram (Sanger, 1996), another interesting finding is that the verbal communication observed was mostly characterized by one to all students, whether it be the principal or teacher talk(s), guest lecture(s), or student performance(s) to the whole school (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). All students were usually standing or sitting when listening to the sharing or watching the performances. The human interactions involved were usually one-way, that is, from the speaker to the receivers. The use of sociogram has

confirmed the researcher's guess that the teaching mode of National Education in Hong Kong secondary schools usually takes the form of didactic mode of transmission of information, that is, from the teachers to the students.

7.3.5.3 Contents

The contents of the observed National Education programmes/activities were mainly knowledge-oriented, with emphasis on factual information attainment (T1, T2, T5, T10) and, in some cases, development of conceptual understanding (T1, T3, T7) on topics of China. This knowledge and conceptual understanding orientation of National Education reflects the priorities, choice and decision of curriculum planning of the sampled teachers in teaching National Education. Such a pedagogical orientation may also reflect the common knowledge orientation of Hong Kong's secondary school teachers (Wakins & Biggs, 2001). This knowledge emphasis in learning content of National Education falls into didactic mode of teaching of imparting knowledge and memorization.

In concluding the data collected in the observation forms (see Appendix II), the patterns that can be discerned from the field observations of school-based National Education programmes/activities were that the learning aims were mostly knowledge acquisition with a few cases of competencies learning (for example, critical thinking of T3 and drama learning of T9). The pedagogical orientations mostly included talks and/or sharing (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10). There were also reflective elements found in thinking about what the meanings of Chinese National Day were (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9) and what the meaning of being a Chinese was (T1, T2, T7). Critical thinking orientation could also be found too (T3).

On the whole, the field observations found that imparting knowledge and meaning, that is, didactic aims of learning, were common across cases. Heuristic, or experience-based teaching aims were few except for some cases (T4, T9), while patriotic motivation can be observed in a few cases too (T8, T9). In the National Education programmes/activities, references were made to a wide range of spheres, including Chinese economic development, athletic and sports achievements, culture, politics, society and people, technology, geography, and moral and ethics.

8. A discussion on cross case analysis issues – from educational policy to teaching pedagogies of National Education

This chapter intends to give a discussion on cross-case analysis issues, which are derived from the triangulated findings of this study. There is no intention of this thesis to provide simple discussion here, but hopefully, the followings will bring the discussion to a higher level. The structure of this chapter is:

8.1 Agreement of findings of different sources of data on research questions

8.2 A mixed identification but an increasing trend of identifying with China

8.3 Educational policy of teaching Chinese national identity – National Education

8.4 National identity in a multi-layered conception of identities

8.5 Highlighting the knowledge transmission orientation in National Education

8.6 A contrast of pedagogies of National Education

8.7 The need for 'global identity' and global citizenship education

8.1. Agreement of findings of different sources of data on research questions

Cross-case analysis means 'grouping together answers from different people to common questions or analyzing different perspectives on central issues' (Patton, 1990: 376). While interpreting the findings across the cases, the researcher also bears in mind that 'interpretation is an art; it is not formulaic or mechanical' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: 504).

As the researcher interprets the analyses, one is putting together a story, and this is based on findings of examining schools' National Education documents, their replies in the open-ended and in-depth interviews, and field observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities. My 'story' for this study goes that after 1997, Hong Kong SAR government promoted an ethnically and cultural based Chinese national identity and teaching of National Education. The growing relationship between Hong Kong and China seems to lead more Hong Kong people identify as Chinese. However, this National Education policy has met strong oppositions from the school sector because teachers hold diverse views of national identity and National Education. Among the purposive sample of teachers in this study, their perceptions of national identity are linked to their

teaching of National Education, but there is no causal explanation could be given here. They hold diverse views of their national identity, although there is an increasing trend of identifying oneself with Chinese. Also, there are diversified views of meanings of national identity. When they teach National Education, there are significant contrasting models and approaches across cases. The government was forced to step back by delaying the introduction of Moral and National Education subject in schools. My conclusion is that in the age of rapid globalization, there should be recognition of multi-layered and multiple identities in considering national identity in Hong Kong, and there is a need for ideas of 'global citizen' and global citizenship education to supplement the teaching of National Education.

Broadly speaking, the findings from different data collection methods augment with each other, and they achieve what Stake (1995) referred as data source triangulation, in which the researcher looks to see 'if the case remains the same at other times, in other spaces, or as persons interact differently' (p. 112). Specifically, the various sources of data on the second case fill a gap left by the first case in developing findings, and the data from the second case respond better to some obvious shortcoming or criticism of the first case. The third case may make the findings even more compelling, and so do the rest of the cases may give rise to a rich and all round understanding of a particular question in this multiple - case study. This goes on between the remaining cases.

To start with, findings across the document analysis, in-depth interviews and field observations augmented to suggest that the perceptions of some research participants (T3, T7) on National Education aim at the "essential components" of citizenship (Wineman & Hammond, 1987) which include knowledge, critical thinking, and participation skills, the necessity of being an active rather than a passive learner (Morse, 1993), the ability to be responsible decision makers (Wright 1993), as well as empowering the students (Benson, 1987). By the same token, this holistic approach to National Education also sounds like traditional Chinese education which accommodates moral, intellectual and physical education as its major ingredients (Cheng, 1997a).

Meanwhile, the different sources of findings seem to suggest that the aim of National Education as envisaged by some research participants is mainly of a knowledge transmission by covering a wide range of knowledge objectives, such

as learning about Chinese national flag and national anthem (T1, T2, T4, T5, T7, T8, T9, T10), understanding knowledge about China (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T7, T8), and learning about politics and political systems of China (T5). There were also other competency and attitude objectives found across different sources of findings, such as fostering a Chinese national identification (T4, T7, T9), contributing to the students' love of China and Chinese people(T1, T4, T8, T9, T10), making efforts and contributions to the Chinese nation (T1, T2, T3, T4, T7, T8, T9, T10), cultivating oneself (T10), building up analytical and critical thinking skills (T3, T4, T7), and behavioural expectation on the students (T2, T3, T4). Indeed, teachers have flexibility in what they decide to teach.

When defining National Education, the three sources of data triangulated to suggest a wide range of categorization. From defining National Education as the national flag, national anthem, and national symbol (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T7, T8, T9), to knowledge and understanding developments about China (T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T10), belonging and identification (T2, T7), concerns about Chinese livelihood (T6, T7), Hong Kong as part of China (T7), and understanding rights and responsibilities as Chinese citizens (T2, T7). This is perhaps a new finding in terms of defining National Education in Hong Kong, which shows diversification.

Furthermore, all sources of data collection suggest that the research participants adopted a flexible approach in selecting teaching methods of National Education. Balanced approach (T1, T3, T7, T10), seeing goodness from worse cases (T3), analytical & critical thinking (T3, T4, T7, T10), experiential learning approach (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10), drama education (T9) could be found across cases. There is a need to pay attention to such a wide range of teaching approaches in teaching National Education, especially if the reader is a government official, frontline teachers or teacher's educator. A flexible way of adopting teaching approaches may just suit the teaching of National Education. This is a new finding in studying the pedagogy of National Education indeed.

In short, the cases combined together comprise a stronger multiple-case study on teachers' perceptions of national identity and meanings of National Education. The phenomenon of each case remains the same at other times or spaces (Stake, 1995). What we are examining, interviewing and observing carries the same meaning when found under different circumstances. The augment of different sources of data has also led to a richer and fuller picture of the topic of

this study, which in turn helps to ensure validity of the findings.

8.2. A mixed identification but an increasing trend of identifying with China

The researcher proposes that because of the growing relationship between China and Hong Kong after 1997, the national identification of Hong Kong people is increasingly gradually, though not so as expected by the Hong Kong SAR government. In this study, the research sample revealed a mixed identification, with some research participants identified themselves as Chinese from Hong Kong (T5, T6), no change in identifying with Chinese national identity(T1, T3, T7, T8, T9), and increasingly identified with a Chinese national identity(T2, T4, T10). This finding is, perhaps, in line with some recent studies on Hong Kong identity surveys between 1996 and 2006 (Ma & Fung, 2007). Ma & Fung (2007) found that the gap between identifying themselves as Hong Kong people versus Chinese people is narrowing, while that of identifying themselves both as Hong Kong and Chinese people is increasing. Ma & Fung (2007) concluded that Hong Kong people's perceptions of Hong Kong-mainland differences are disappearing in terms of economic values but are still conspicuous in terms of political values.

Leung & Ng (2004) further argued that after 1997, Hong Kong people's Chinese national identification focus on cultural and historical aspects of China. Lam (2005) suggested:

> development of Hong Kong society has increased the
> multiplicity of a postcolonial Hong Kong identity. Hong Kong's
> people are both traditional and modern, cosmopolitan and
> familial, eccentric and conventional, apathetic and populist,
> materialistic and post-materialistic, and so on. It is the hybridity
> of this identity that keep the city's culture constantly in
> reformation and it is still open to various possibilities.

Leung & Ngai (2011) said this dual-identification is a compromise of conflict of identities of Hong Kong people. To a certain extent, it is non-political in the sense of cultural and historical aspects of national identity are emphasized. But with the growing Chinese influence over Hong Kong, Hong Kong people accept the economic growth, Chinese culture and traditions as part of the identity, but they also retain the freedom and democracy values that they learn from the

West. Also, the reason for a narrowing gap may due to Hong Kong SAR government's put in of resources on promoting National Education after 1997, as the previous chapter of *3.7 Hong Kong SAR Government's promotion of National Education since the early 2000s and the societal responses* has shown. Leung & Ngai (2011) argued that there are no short of resources put on National Education by the government in a society - wide level.

Therefore, this study contributes to the national identity debates in Hong Kong by putting forward a finding of an increasing trend of national identification, which agrees with some latest academic findings. Yet, this is not so fast as expected by the Hong Kong SAR government.

8.3. Educational policy of teaching Chinese national identity – National Education

Recalling the discussion of the Hong Kong SAR Government's National Education policy in chapter 3.7, in view of the sovereignty resumption by China in 1997, the Hong Kong SAR government has been strengthening Hong Kong's social and political ties with China. Students' national identification with China has also become an important policy agenda in education. This policy of cultivating national identification has escalated since 1997 and crystallized in the Chief Executive announcement in his *Policy Address 2010* of introducing a subject of Moral and National Education in all primary and secondary schools. Meanwhile, the societal demands for higher quality learning, more effective educational policies, and more equitable educational opportunities also have led to an increased attention to pedagogical practices (e.g. collaborative, inquiry, critical thinking, creative thinking) in general and calls for more thoughts about how to engage students' learning in this new era. All these perceived by the researcher as a significant opportunity to explore the perceptions of Hong Kong secondary school teachers' on meanings and teaching of National Education.

Arguing for more attention to National Education in the school curriculum in Hong Kong, however, appeared to have been mandated from above since 1997, prompted by the policy imperative of cultivating national identification both from the government and the 'pro-China groups' (Leung & Yuen, 2009). Before then, explicit integration of national identity across the curriculum appeared to be overshadowed by other more important educational priorities of the time, such as English and Chinese language enhancement. National Education has

been confined to specific informal type of teaching and learning initiatives at the time of data collection in the research participants' schools.

The latest Moral and National Education curriculum proposal in May 2011 emphasized on Chinese natural environment, culture and history, humanities and contemporary Chinese affairs as the basis of building up a Chinese national identity (CDC, 2011). However, this has met serious concerns and even opposition as to what and how National Education should be conducted in the schools. 22 elite schools in Hong Kong put forward a proposal stating that they disagree with an independent subject of Moral and National education. They suggested using both formal and informal school-based curriculum to implement National Education (*Mingpao*, 2011b). Criticism has also been made on how this new subject curriculum proposal presented its learning exemplars, which was described as patriotic (Leung & Ngai, 2011). The learning exemplars just do not match with other humanities curriculum which emphasized on critical thinking. Yet, some pro-Beijing government schools and newspapers spoke of supporting and enhancing National Education (Ng, 2011). Their argument is under 'One Country, Two Systems', if Hong Kong people do not embrace their roles as a Chinese national citizen, then Hong Kong people may keep stray from Chinese nation. According to them, there is an imperative nation-building need to enhance national identification in the curriculum (*Mingpao*, 2011b). In short, the preoccupation of policy officials with cultivation of a Chinese national identity have shaped how educating for national citizenship is thought about and how it might be addressed in school curricula in Hong Kong.

This study's interview findings reveal that there are different emphases on meanings of national identity and National Education (see Chapter 7), and that the examination of school-based National Education documents also revealed diversified perceptions on teaching approaches to National Education. These diversified views of understanding and practices of National Education just add weight on the puzzling question of how national identity and National Education should be conceptualized in Hong Kong citizenship education, and it may account for why the National Education policy met strong opposition from the school sector. So, a challenging question is, how could a policy of enhancing students' national identification with China, which is characterized by unified ethnic and cultural terms, succeed in face of a divergent thinking on meanings of

national identity and National Education among the teachers?

The followings will discuss the research participants' conceptualization of the national identity in a multi-layered way.

8.4. National identity in a multi-layered conception of identities

Turning to the meanings and emphases of national identity as perceived by the research participants, it was found to be varied and multi-layered, despite the government's calling for schools to cultivate a single-layered Chinese national identity. The research participants differ in calling themselves as Chinese from Hong Kong, Chinese, and increasing identified as Chinese, and they also put different emphases in defining national identity, such as belonging and identification, attitudes and affection, culture and custom, citizenship and nationality, understanding about your country, birthplace, people and land. This complex and multilayered perceptions of national identity signaled a transformative vision of educating for national identity in National Education is needed, rather than a simple and single-layered one as usually promulgated by the Hong Kong SAR government.

This is an age of globalization. A growing awareness of the interconnectedness of our everyday lives, in fact, has prompted discussions about the multidimensional nature of identity in nowadays world (Ong, 1999). Chou (2010) suggests that the building of national identity in post-colonial Hong Kong is contingent on the strength of local identities as much as political elites' intentional nationalistic efforts. A local dimension in constructing identities is called for. Yuen (2007) also contends that despite national identity entails a matter of perspectives and habitual allegiance, and it refers to affiliation and emotional bond with a national group, 'national identity and inter-culturalism not just can, but actually need to, exist side by side in this new age' (Yuen, 2007: 133). A proliferation of diverse allegiances to one's community, culture, nation, and global context also add to the claims of multiple identities. Meanwhile, as Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz (2001: 179) concluded,

> The preparation of young people for civic participation is a complex task.
> While the school has an important role, it does not stand alone. Rather, it is
> nested within a set of systems and influences. The political culture includes
> political and economic values that influence young people's views; this

culture increasingly is influenced by global processes.

All the above ask for allegiances and participation that transcend and go beyond the national level of citizenship. A multi-dimensional citizenship education that covers personal, social, national, and global aspects of citizenship and that educating for citizenship across the curriculum is forefront. Ryn (1994) argues that there should be balance between national identity and global/cosmopolitan citizenship. Evans (2004) concluded in his doctoral thesis that there is a multidimensional view of citizenship in both England and Canada which reflect an important shift in tone and emphasis pertaining to educating for citizenship. Indeed, in the citizenship education literature, there have been more callings for global citizenship education, and the concept of 'global citizen' as a multiple identity is increasingly found and adopted in the discussion of citizenship education, since increasing cross-border population mobility would open up spaces for constructing multiple or flexible citizenship (Ong, 1999). Branson (1993:295) also noted that in the United States,

> an additional purpose of the formal curriculum is to promote an understanding of world affairs. This includes awareness of how and why one's own security, quality of life, and economic well-being are connected to that of other countries, as well as to major regional, international, or transnational organizations.

All these stand in contrast with the focus on the national level of identity. In fact, the unfolding and persisting of global and international events and issues in recent decades have prompted a growing attention to the understandings, capacities, and practices of citizenship education that will assist us to respond in informed, purposeful, and participatory ways, and the move beyond national boundaries (Pike & Selby, 2000). The implication of such global orientation appears to endorse a multi-layered and transformative vision of citizenship education in Hong Kong, rather than any passive, inward looking, nationalistic and local one.

In short, this study argues for perceptions of national identity to be conceived as having connections of local layer by taking into account of Hong Kong experiences before and after 1997 in relation to China - Hong Kong relations, and with a global layer by taking into account of the emerging discussions on

global identity. Further research should also be done on the issue of multiple identities in Hong Kong (Leung & Ngai, 2011), and there are already some investigations on multiple-identities with particular references to the global citizenship education (Lee & Leung, 2006). Leung & Ngai (2011) argued that with both globalization and localization, there are competing claims and different version of local, national and global identities. The researcher further argues the need for a global citizenship education, which will be discussed below.

8.5. Highlighting the knowledge transmission orientation in National Education
Interest in examining National Education in the school's curriculum also appeared to be steaming from the practical needs of how to teach. Taking together the findings of the in-depth interviews, the examination of schools' National Education related documents and observations of National Education programmes/activities, this study reveals a perception of knowledge and understanding orientation in teaching National Education, with the role of National Education curriculum primarily intellectual in learning aim, though competencies and attitude orientations could be found. The sources of National Education learning are essentially perceived to be literary, to be found in words and symbols during the instruction processes. This seems to match the observation of Miller (2007) that governments have found that the transmission orientation is best suited for achieving their curriculum objectives, and findings of Watkins & Biggs (2001) that Chinese learners are usually taught in knowledge oriented teaching approaches. Transmission of knowledge is thus regarded as important in National Education curriculum.

As observed from the data collected, the contents of schools' National Education Programmes/activities, the observation of National Anniversary in each school year, learning activities during the exchange activities to China, and community – based National Education initiatives, all these continuously reminded Hong Kong secondary students that they belong to, and should identify with their Chinese country with an emphasis on knowledge understanding, with affective dimension sometimes emphasized in particular cases. Yet inclinations of patriotic attitudes (e.g. T8, T9) on one hand, and critical thinking skills (e.g. T3, T7) on the other hand can also be found, as evidenced in the observation findings.

With such an emphasis on knowledge and understanding, teachers were

expected to transmit certain knowledge contents about China, such as the national flag and anthem, facts of prominent Chinese political leaders, and topics of Chinese Communist party and Central Government, regional and provincial characteristics, society & people's livelihood, economic achievements, culture and history of China to the students. Students were expected to learn them in a passive way and be able to recall them when they are asked to. National Education, indeed, could be described as didactic in certain research participants' cases as observed in the data collection process, with quiz, memorization (T8, T9, T10) and other largely passive forms of learning. Occasionally, patriotic pledges and swearing, nationalistic drama education are found in some research participants' schools (T8, T9), but they are comparatively shorter in duration and could only found in patriotic teaching oriented schools. In addition, National Education was addressed in research participants' schools through principal or teachers' talk in assemblies, guest lectures, extra-curricular activities and exchange programmes to China. A strong favour of knowledge orientation can be observed. But then the question of how to teach National Education floats up.

8.6. A contrast of pedagogies of National Education
The Hong Kong SAR government implemented the National Education policy without any specific recommendation on the teaching models and approaches to National Education. The findings of this study fill this gap of knowledge by revealing that teachers have adopted contrasting models and approaches to National Education.

8.6.1. Patriotic & affective approaches
First of all, National Education in some research participants' cases (T8, T9), with strong influences from the official educational policy of National Education and specific school's characterizations of aims, contents and teaching methods on National Education. There seem to characterize and suggest patriotic and affective approaches in teaching 'obedient' and 'passive' young citizens, rather than 'active' citizens, through National Education.

In schools of T8 and T9, the political and geographical maps of China can be found in visible corners or corridors. Current news about China is posted at a prominent area. There are mottos which encourage students to love China. The observation of schools' National Education programmes/activities also

confirmed that patriotic and affective learning elements could be found in their principal/teacher talk or sharing, presentation and drama. There is political education found in the examined National Education documents by teaching students' role to their country, and through the rituals associated with National Education activities or programmes. Nationalist ideas and knowledge about China's various aspects are emphasized in the National Education programmes/activities at the expense of classroom practices that encourage critical thinking and discussion of controversial political issues in China, not to mention active participation in terms of encouraging students to question and critically reflect on what they have learnt in the classes. It would be a natural conclusion that a grand patriotic celebration of National Anniversary could be expected every school year, in which there are elements of patriotic education.

Hence, instead of adopting liberal and whole person perspectives, learning in these 'passive' patriotic and affective approaches is reduced to a set of core knowledge and patriotic expressions that are related to selected positive side of political, cultural, historical, and social aspects of the Chinese society. Students are expected to make themselves as patriotic and responsible member of China rather than Hong Kong. This 'passive' and 'obedient' characterization of National Education also stands in contrast to the discussion of global citizenship in the citizenship education literature nowadays.

8.6.2   Critical thinking approach

Not every teacher would accept that National Education should be patriotic and non-critical. This study also found that some research participants (T3, T7) have used active engagements to help students construct knowledge and build up conceptual understanding through dialectic and collaborative inquiry, which matches with the teaching approaches as suggested by Liberal Studies (CDC & HKEAA, 2007). They emphasize on critical thinking perspectives and skills.

There were some examples of interesting, innovative and critical teaching practices observed in schools. For example, during his teaching of National Education to the schools, T3 tried to cultivate critical thinking on what are the meanings of National Anniversary among the students through comparing examples of celebrating national anniversaries around the world, as well as introducing students to both favourable and unfavourable news of China, rather than one-sided picture of China. The National Education documents of T3 also

revealed an aim of enhancing students' critical thinking ability. The worksheets given by T7 to his students, the pedagogical orientation of his talk during the National Education activity observed, and his questions for the students which ask for critically examining meanings of a Chinese in this globalized age, all these reflect his perception of critical thinking in teaching National Education. The National Education documents of T7 also revealed a tendency towards cultivating students' analytical skills in National Education.

8.6.3   Opposition and concerns from the school sector on National Education

Indeed, while there was growing patriotic supports and policy justification for National Education, there were also reservations and even oppositions to it. Some teachers' associations and educational groups (e.g. Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union, Hong Kong Liberal Studies Teachers Association, and Civic Education Committee) had voiced their concerns about the learning impacts of National Education, which were usually thought to be patriotic in teaching orientations. These frontline teachers stressed that education nowadays is increasingly multidimensional, diversifying its cultural and pluralistic nature, globalizing its orientation and multiplicity in ideas and concepts. Therefore, they argued that teaching in Hong Kong schools should be transformed from earlier didactic characterizations into one that emphasized on collaborative and inquiry, while earlier pedagogical practices that focus primarily on transmitting knowledge, as well as any teaching which may lead to 'passive' and 'obedient' citizens are no longer sufficient. Civic participations that lead to political and social changes as learning elements of National Education are also advocated. Also, they argued that education for a Chinese national identity in Hong Kong under 'One Country, Two Systems' should take on new meanings and new practices, with conceptual and pedagogical knowhow expanded, reflecting more sophisticated understanding and practices. Therefore, a teacher's role is one of facilitator, helping the students to critically inquire into various social and political themes and issues related to National Education. Increasingly students should be taught to use their own findings and conclusion to bring about personal, social and political changes, not the same as those colonial times in which 'political participation a non-issue among people in Hong Kong and has contributed to general culture of political apathy' (Cheng, 1997b: 69). Furthermore, according to these civic education frontline teachers, assessment practices would better aim at assessing personal growth, integration of knowledge and practices, mastery of skills and knowhow, degree of social

awareness, and willingness to take civic and social participation in National Education, instead of assessing patriotic and nationalistic feelings towards the nation. National education, after all, forms only part of educating a future citizen in this globalized world. Opportunities for self-evaluation and reflective journals and portfolios should also be advocated in National Education.

8.6.4. A call for diverse views of pedagogies of National Education

Regard to the research question which investigates the perceptions of pedagogies of National Education, the interview and observation findings call for attention to diversified National Education pedagogical practices that are more in line with the shifting educational purposes in this education reform era. Considering the role of Hong Kong under 'One Country, Two Systems' and that Hong Kong is a Chinese community which has inherited traditional Chinese values with regard to education (Cheng, 1997a), Hong Kong's education has an unique role in demonstrating to the world on how to teach National Education. At the level of practice it is also essential to have a constructive process where learning, local and appropriate knowledge, conceptual understanding and capacity building are highlighted (Sterling, 2001: 38). The research findings in this study have alerted more local and contextualized works should be done on understanding and exploring the teaching approaches and models of National Education. This would expand the citizenship education literature.

The official preoccupation with National Education since the resumption of sovereignty in 1997 has shaped, paradoxically, how educating for National Education is thought about differently by different stakeholders and how it might be addressed in school curricular in Hong Kong in a diverse way.

8.7 The need for 'global identity' and global citizenship education

Apart from cultivating national identity in Hong Kong's education, I argue that Hong Kong students should cultivate among themselves a global identity in this globalized age. Based on the arguments of a multi-layered conception of national identity above, I argue that the aims, contents and processes of National Education in Hong Kong should reflect an idea of 'global identity' and elements of global citizenship education, as well as carrying elements of active, participatory, and maximal citizenship too. I concur with the suggestion that curriculum should not seen as a socially neutral recipe for the transmission of knowledge, which only leads to a technical view of curriculum (Cheung, 1997).

Although Hong Kong is under 'One Country, Two Systems' within China, but the needs of preparing and cultivating future citizens with multiple perspectives and expanded horizons just need the type of education that emphasizes on a multi-dimensional, transformative and global citizenship. Therefore, students should be taught by informed and participatory methods in National Education, in which the linkages and interdependence between local, national and global, and the impacts from the global to the national, and vice versa, should be addressed. This would need a trans-national approach in planning teaching of National Education, if it is deemed necessary in learning.

I further argue that we need global teachers (Clough & Holden, 1996) who have got the perspectives and pedagogies in teaching future global citizen. A global teacher is one who can educate for citizenship within a global context of respecting social justice, human rights and social responsibilities, and one can also contribute to the achievement of democratic values and behavior in pluralist societies and a culturally diverse world (Lynch, 1992).

Finally, I recognize a challenge of developing global citizenship in Hong Kong is that although there are learning elements about global citizens in primary school's General Studies and in secondary school's Liberal Studies, they are far fewer in curriculum scope than that of National Education (Po, Lo & Merryfield, 2007). With a multi-dimensional conception of National Education in Hong Kong, students would be expected to develop into active and participatory citizens who are willing to contribute to the local, national and global developments in an integrated and multi-dimensional way. This would possibly stand in contrast to 'passive' citizens who are narrow in perspectives and uncritical in judgement.

9. Conclusion

This study sets out to explore the perceptions of Hong Kong's secondary schools teachers on their national identity and their meanings of National Education. After 1997, the Hong Kong SAR government has embarked on fostering a stronger set of Chinese national identity and a sense of Chinese belonging among the younger generations in education, and thus nation-building is regarded as part of the education reform (Kuah & Fong, 2010). However, there have been questions about what constitutes a Chinese national identity and National Education in Hong Kong, as well as how to teach it. The following will give an overview of the findings of this study. This chapter is to be differentiated from the previous discussion chapter by summarizing the findings and identifying some future research areas.

By asking what comes to the teachers' minds when they hear the word of 'national identity', the in-depth interview findings revealed that they have different emphases such as culture, ethnicity, geography, nationality, custom, identification, citizenship, sense of belonging. These constitute their perception of meanings of 'national identity'. Such a spectrum of descriptions already highlights the complex conceptions of meanings of national identity. Yet, the interesting point is that most research participants did not mention any political aspect (e.g. government system, democracy, checks & balance, etc.) in constituting the concept of 'national identity'. Instead, they emphasized on cultural, historical and legal dimensions of national identity. This may reflect there is an 'apolitical' orientation (Lee, 2004; Vickers, 2005; Kan, 2007) in defining 'national identity' in Hong Kong's educational context.

While most research participants identified themselves neither as British nor Chinese in the in-depth interviews, but a general sense of Hong Kong people before the handover in 1997, surprisingly many research participants increasingly identified themselves as 'Chinese' after 1997, which is largely a favourable and positive perception. This is a finding which stands in contrast to those national identity studies done in the years preceding 1997 (Wong, 1996; Wong, 1997; Lau, 1998), in which a significant portion of research participants describe themselves as 'Hong Kong people' rather than 'Chinese'. Instead, this increasing identification with China agrees with some survey results in recent

years which show that more Hong Kong people claim a mixed identity, seeing themselves as both Hongkongers and Chinese at the same time (Ma & Fung, 2007). In short, Hong Kong people are beginning to identify themselves as a Chinese, although they may give different emphases on defining 'national identity'. Therefore, hopefully, the finding of present study would offer new findings on the evolving national identification issue of Hong Kong's people by putting forward an argument of a complex, integrated and multi-layered conception of national identity in Hong Kong. Perceptions of national identity could be conceived as having connections of local layer by taking into account of Hong Kong experiences before and after 1997 in relation to China - Hong Kong relations, and with a global layer by taking into account of the emerging discussions on global identity.

As for defining 'National Education', the research participants listed out varied descriptions in the in-depth interviews, while the findings of examining schools' National Education documents also confirm their different perceptions on the meanings of National Education, such as no brain-washing, national flag and anthem, knowledge about China, belonging and identification, concerns about Chinese livelihood, Hong Kong as part of China and understanding their rights and responsibilities as a Chinese citizens, by the research participants. Taking together, the research participants mentioned a multiplicity of aims, contents, pedagogies and evaluation methods in teaching National Education in both the in-depth interviews and the schools' National Education documents, while the field-observations also confirmed such diversified perceptions. This reflected a matching of what they think and what they do in regard to the teaching of National Education. With such a multiplicity of perceptions on defining 'National Education', this agrees with recent educational theorists and policy-makers who increasingly favour citizenship education that promote active and reflective forms of citizenship (Kymlicka, 2008), while they increasingly reject aim of citizenship education as an unreflective patriotism, one that glorifies the past history and current political system of the country and vilifies opponents of that political system, whether they are internal dissidents or external enemies (Nelson, 1980). In relation to the callings for promoting active and reflective forms (Schon, 1983)of citizenship, the researcher argue for active, informed, participatory methods in teaching of National Education, and ideas of 'global citizen' may just well expand the concept of identity in 'National Education'.

In checking the augmentation of findings from different sources, while many research participants emphasize on developing the knowledge orientation of their students, others emphasize on fostering patriotic feelings and attitudes towards their mother country, i.e. China. These could be triangulated by the respective findings in document analysis, field observation and in-depth interviews. On the knowledge emphasis in National Education, drawing data from the in-depth interviews findings, diversified categories on the knowledge contents of National Education can be found which include understanding the basics of China, Chinese national flag, national anthem and national symbol, Chinese economic and sports achievements, the 'good and bad things' about China, current situations and events, human rights issues, China's geography and culture, and historical events. Meanwhile, an emphasis on teaching cognitive aspect in National Education could also be observed from the field observations, which is actually similar to scholarly findings on the general teaching orientations in Hong Kong's classroom (Biggs, 1995). The field observations confirmed the researchers that knowledge transmission was a primary teaching aim in National Education. As yet, since National Education also aims at promoting a Chinese national identification, so a teaching aim towards attitude and feelings about China can also be found in some cases.

Beyond the augmentation of different source of findings, it is suggested that there is a need to communicate and exchange this diversified understandings and perceptions on national identity and National Education within the education community, and even to the Hong Kong's society. This communication process necessitates drawing together frontline teachers, policy researchers, teachers' trainers, and the education officials, if National education is to be succeeded in bringing about its intended policy outcome.

A contrast in interview findings which deserves scholarly and policy attention is that intellectual skills such as analytical and critical thinking can be found in observing some research participants' teaching of National Education (e.g. T3, T7), whereas elements of patriotic teaching could also be found in the teaching of other research participants (for example, T8, T9). To a certain extent, they stand in opposition to each other, with teaching aims, contents, learning process and learning outcomes greatly differ between them. While active and critical thinking learning outcomes could be expected from the former, passive, obedient, and non-critical learning outcomes might be expected from the latter.

The implications of these two teaching orientations could be enormous which results in students differ in their civic orientation and attitude towards their national identification. These two orientations tell much about the diversified conceptions of the aims and methods of National Education in Hong Kong schools context. While enacting a National Education curriculum, how to strike a balance and select between these two approaches of teaching National Education is a delicate act.

The implications of such complexity of National Education in Hong Kong could be seen in the wider debates between patriotic and critical thinking oriented National Education. While the patriotic National Education has been promoted by the pro-Beijing government political parties, voluntary associations and groups, as well as some pro-Beijing government's secondary schools, the critical thinking oriented National Education has been adopted by some secondary schools for the purpose of cultivating future critical patriots. While the former has been emphasizing the patriotic needs of cultivating Hong Kong people into a Chinese after 1997, the latter usually criticized the former approach as 'brainwashing' (*Mingapo*, 2011). This debate has caused controversies in the local educational community in terms of how to conceive National Education and what would be the desirable pedagogies. This controversy of emphasizing patriotic or critical thinking in National Education has also exemplified itself in the political debates between pro-democracy and pro-Beijing Communist government camps.

All the above may serve as foci for further investigations to those educational researchers who are interested in understanding the development of citizenship education teaching orientations in Hong Kong. An argument could also be made that all these diversified orientations lead to strong support for certain diverse curricular goals and design and teaching in National Education. After all, as Lee (2010) argued, what to teach in citizenship curriculum is equally contentious as what citizenship is. The conceptions and teaching of National Education should rather be conceived as complex and multi-dimensional one, instead of unitary concepts. In short, the meanings of national identity and National Education in Hong Kong deserve more scholarly attention and investigations upon them.

On the other hand, some arguments having policy implication and tentative research agenda could be developed based on the findings of this study. If the

meanings of National Education are important to the implementation of National Education in the school sector, which certainly has implications to policy makers, but if the meanings of national identity and National Education differ among teachers as this study has shown, can we expect the teachers to commit themselves to a policy that they are not fully agreed upon or have divergent views on it? If the government wants a smooth implementation of National Education, what perceptual differences must be taken into consideration? What would be the professional advice, teaching supports, and resources that can be offered to facilitate the processes of teaching of national identity, and possibly, students' understanding in National Education? What requirements and conditions are needed if there is truly a National Education which is well-thought of to be implemented at school levels?

In fact, bearing in mind that for any educational innovation and development to be sustainable, at the policy level, it is essential to have a participative process in which the languages of appreciation and cooperation and internal evaluation plus external support are emphasized (Sterling, 2001). Also, Chiang (2010) further argued that for sustainable curriculum leadership, it is imperative to promote teachers' curriculum leadership and beliefs of sustainability and renewal capacity among curriculum leaders and school principals in the context of curriculum reform. Therefore, drawing in frontline teachers in the policy process of planning any curriculum seems to be a must. This study has revealed a phenomenon which has got significant theoretical and policy implications indeed.

This study also signaled that more efforts can be done to explore teachers' perception of their national identity and their meanings on National Education. Indeed, what their perceptions of national identities are, how did their perceptions on their national identities evolve before and after 1997, what significant events and struggles they have experienced, etc. have implications for their meanings and teaching of National Education. National Education debates, after all, began to emerge in Hong Kong's education after 1997. Although we cannot predict their behavior in actual teaching, but the present study has developed a picture of current perceptions among them. These perceptions could be studied from other stakeholders' perspectives in order to give valuable suggestions too.

In conclusion, the research participants have got different emphases in the national identity. They also differ on their perceptions of aims, contents, and to a certain extent, teaching methods and evaluation methods of National Education. The examination of schools' National Education documents, field observations of schools' National Education programmes/activities, plus data of in-depth interviews have the findings triangulated. These triangulated findings have revealed a far more complex and complicated picture than one may originally think of it. This stands in contrast to the unified and simplistic description of National Education as promoted by the Hong Kong SAR government. While Lam (2005) pointed to the functions of constitutive stories in fostering a sense of community in the historical context of Hong Kong after WWII, the researcher calls for deeper understanding about teachers' perceptions on national identity and National Education, which possibly addresses the linkages and interactions between local, national and global levels, among frontline teachers is thus ensured. A policy mindset of taking into account of differential understandings on national identity is also recommended. There is also a call for making reference to how teachers think of their national identity and National Education when designing citizenship education training programmes. Hopefully, these are all the contributions of this study.

(93, 713 words)

Explanation on the Interview Schedule

This study utilized semi-standardized, in-depth, open-ended interviews. The interview schedule proceeds from asking participants' meanings of national identity, to understand their perceptions of their own national identity and the development of their national identity, and then it proceeds to understand the meanings of their teaching: What is National Education? What are the aims and contents of National Education? How do they teach National Education to their students? And how do they evaluate National Education. With such a sequence of interview questions, the participants are guided through thinking from their own meanings and perceptions of their national identity (Q.1 to 3), reflections on the development of their national identity (Q.4-6), and then to perceptions on what National Education should be, and how do they teach National Education (Q.7-8). The idea of this flow of question is that it would be more comfortable to the interviewees by starting with some personal meanings and perceptions and then to their teaching practices, which necessitates an 'openness' to an outsider (i.e. the researcher) about their perceptions of teaching aims and teaching pedagogies. Therefore, a sequence of starting from perceptions on concepts such as national identity and National Education, to the perceptions of how do they teach is adopted here. For the sake of respondents' detailed descriptions and elaborations, the interviews were done in the dialect of Cantonese, i.e. the mother-tongue of the interviewees.

Part I. Perceptions and Development of National Identity

Perceptions on national identity

1. When you hear the word of 'national identity', what comes to your minds?

Perceptions of their own national identity

2. Before 1997, how did you perceive your national identity? Why?
3. How do you perceive your national identity now? Why?

Development of their national identity

4. As long as you can remember, how did your national identity develop since the return of sovereignty in 1997? (or based on the respondent's recall of the time they started to develop a sense of national identity)

5. As long as you can remember, are there any significant events that help to shape your national identity, especially since the post-1997 period?

Part II. Perceptions on teaching of National Education

Perceptions on Teaching of National Education

6. When you hear the word 'National Education', what comes to your minds?

7. Given your perception on National Education, how do you perceive the aims and contents of National Education should be? Why?

8. In your perceptions, how do you teach and evaluate National Education? Why?

9. Do you have anything else to add on the above questions?

School's National Education's Programmes/Activities
Observation Guideline Form

Issue-based Observation Form for National Education
October 2010

Instruction: this form is for gathering data in the field. There is space for needed qualitative and quantitative information, narrative account, and commentaries on National Education issues. The items for entries in Page 2, however, should by no means be mutually exclusive. There can be multiple selection under each column. For validating data, this record form can be used in conjunction with video-tapes.

Observer:	School:	Date:	Time:
Responsible Teacher: M/F	Age: about 25 35 45 55	Form(s):	Time of writing up: Same day
Teacher experiences:	Position: Panel head/Teacher	Number of students:	Title of programme/ activity:
Synopsis and contents of National Education programme or activity (keywords to note: identity, nation, national identity, China, Chinese politics, society, culture and geography, National Education, citizenship education, etc.)		Comments on National Education related issues	

Description of learning aim(s):	Pedagogical orientation(s):	Teacher aim(s): (add descriptions)	Reference made to: (add descriptions)
Knowledge learning	Talk or sharing L/M/H	Didactic (imparting knowledge and memorize) L/M/H	Social 0 /some/ many
Competencies learning	Issue-study L/M/H	Heuristic(experience -based, e.g. problem solving) L/M/H	Politics 0 /some/ many
Values/attitudes learning	Critical thinking L/M/H	Philetic(motivation, voluntary, relations) L/M/H	Culture 0 /some/ many
Others:	Creative thinking L/M/H	Others:	Moral/ethics 0 /some/ many
	Reflective thinking L/M/H		Technology 0 /some/ many
	Problem solving L/M/H		Geography 0 /some/ many
	Others:		Others:

Developed and modified based on Stake(1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousands Oak: Sage Publication.

INVITATION to PARTICIPATE in RESEARCH FORM

Perceptions and Teaching of National Identity and National Education:
Case studies of Hong Kong Secondary School Teachers

You are invited to participate in a project led by Mr. Chong King Man, Eric, who is postgraduate student of the Department of Educational Studies, University of York.

This project aims at understanding and exploring teachers' perceptions and teaching of national identity and National Education. You will be asked to participate in in-depth interviews, have school's documents examinations of National Education examined, and observations of school's National Education programmes/activities. The period of data collection will be from 2009 to 2010.

You have every right to withdraw from the study before or during the research process. All information related to you will remain confidential, and will be identifiable by codes known only to the researcher.

If you have any complaints about the conduct of this research study, please do not hesitate to raise up the issue.

If you would like to obtain more information about this study, please contact the researcher at telephone number 9258 2781.

Thank you for your interest in participating in this study.

Researcher

_____

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Perceptions and Teaching of National Identity and National Education:
Case studies of Hong Kong Secondary School Teachers

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the captioned

research led by Mr. Chong King Man, Eric.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in

future research and published. However, my right to privacy will be protected,

i.e., my personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure of conducting this research has been fully explained to me. I

understand the benefits and risks involved. My participation in the project is

voluntary. I also understand that I have the right to question any part of the

procedure and can withdraw at any time.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____

Date: _____

ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST

(adopted from the Ethics Review Checklist by the Hong Kong Institute of Education, 2010)

PART I   CHECKLIST OF THE ETHICS REVIEW

Please "√" in the following box(es) as appropriate:

	Yes	No	NA
a. Will the study involve subjects who are not able to give informed consent? (e.g. children, mentally handicapped people, unconscious patients)		√	
b. Will there be any coercion on the part of the researcher?		√	
c. Will the study collect information regarding sensitive aspects of the subjects' behavior such as drug and alcohol use, illegal conduct, or sexual behavior?		√	
d. In case the information on the subjects is disclosed, will it reasonably place the subjects at risk of civil or criminal liability or damage the subjects' financial standing, employability or reputation?		√	
e. Will financial or other inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to subjects?		√	
f. Will deception of subjects be necessary during the study?		√	
g. Will the study involve prolonged and repetitive testing?		√	
h. Will the study cause psychological stress or anxiety?		√	
i. Will pain or more than mild discomfort is likely to result from the study?		√	
j. Are drugs or placebo to be administered to the subjects?		√	
k. Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from subjects?		√	
l. Will the research involve any DNA work or human embryo or stem cell research?		√	
m. Will the subject's identity be disclosed if archived tissue samples or personal / medical / social records are used?		√	
n. Will you use irradiation or hazardous substances on human subjects?		√	
o. Will the study impinge on the subjects' right to privacy or their personal life?		√	

PART II   DETAILS OF THE RESEARCH

1.   State Potential Risks, if any, and Measures to Minimize Risks : (State the potential risks in relation to subjects involved in the project and procedures to be used on human subjects, for example, financial, physical, psychological, social etc. and the measures for minimizing these potential risks.)

The in-depth interviews lasted for about 1 hour may create physical discomfort of the participants. This risk was minimized by adopting a friendly and open approach in conducting the interviews. In psychological terms, exposing one's perception on national identity and National Education necessitates a degree of openness.

2.   Methods for Ensuring Confidentiality of Research Data: (Outline steps to be taken to insure confidentiality of data in relation to subjects involved in the project and procedures to be used on human subjects.)

Codes are assigned to each research participant and they are kept in a safe place by the researcher. Also, while writing the cases, care has been taken to keep the confidentiality of the research participants by using writing style and the details of each case.

GLOSSARY (ABBREVIATIONS)

BEd	Bachelor of Education
CDC	Curriculum Development Council
CDI	Curriculum Development Institute
DSS	Direct Subsidy Scheme
EDB	Education Bureau
EMB	Education and Manpower Bureau
Hong Kong SAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
KLA	Key Learning Area
LS	Liberal Studies (Senior secondary)
L & S	Life and Society (Junior secondary)
MEd	Master of Education
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MCE	Moral and Civic Education
NE	National Education
NI	National Identity
NSS	New Senior Secondary
OLE	Other Learning Experiences
PDC	Professional Development Course
PGDE	Postgraduate Diploma in Education
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSHE	Personal, Social, and Humanities Education
SCT	Small Class Teaching

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