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Rethinking the concept of citizenship education in Hong Kong: as compared to the case of Japan

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Date: May, 2013
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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted to this University or other institution in application for admission to a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

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Date: May 2013
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Abstract

In the globalized contemporary world, different nation states have been more interconnected and an individual has to construct a complex and hybrid identity when involving into a dynamic discourse across a wide variety of communities. To cope with the challenges of the 21st Century, a multidimensional concept of citizenship and citizenship education has been advocated. Though the concepts seem to be widely accepted in academic discourse as being comprehensive, the dynamics between and within each of its dimensions in the actual situation may be different. In the case of Hong Kong, many scholars have pointed out that there are recently surfaced tensions between national education and global education in its development of citizenship education.

This thesis attempts to speculate possibilities for Hong Kong facing the challenges of the tensions between national citizenship education and global citizenship education. A discussion of the situation in Japan is provided to throw light on some possible alternatives that a place can consider in catering the tensions. This thesis examines the development of citizenship education in Hong Kong and Japan to reveals tensions between the multiple dimensions of citizenship education in the two places. As compared to the case of Japan, it is recommended that the educational authority and communities of Hong Kong can rethink the appropriateness of using a centralizing school curriculum of all areas of citizenship education.
and explore the possibility of making good use of social education to promote multidimensional citizenship in Hong Kong.
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### Abbreviation

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<tr>
<td>Hong Kong SAR</td>
<td>Hong Kong Special Administrative Region</td>
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<td>MEXT</td>
<td>Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology</td>
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1. Introduction

1.1 Backgrounds

Since the signing of the Joint Declaration between the British and Chinese government in 1984, debates and discussions of citizenship education has emerged in Hong Kong (Kennedy, 2008; Lee, 2008; Leung & Yuen, 2009; Taniguchi, 2011). The return of sovereignty in 1997 from Britain to China had been agreed, concerns over citizenship education from both the British colonial government and Chinese government had been mounting. In the decolonization period from 1984 to 1997, two official guidelines on citizenship education were released by the British colonial government. The 1985 Civic Education Guidelines aim at politicizing Hong Kong people by promoting democratization and moralization (Ho, 2007), while the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines aim at preparing for the handover by incorporating nationalistic education with democratization (Leung & Yuen, 2009). After the handover in 1997, the Hong Kong SAR government has been promoting national education. In 1998, Civic Education was implemented as an independent subject, emphasizing the multiple citizenships of Hong Kong people in local, national and global sense (Lee, 2008). Moreover, elements of China have been included in various subjects such as culture, tradition and customs (Lee, 2008). The sense of cultivating patriotic Hong Kong citizens could be noticed (Lee, 2008). However, there have been dissenting voices on refusing the promotion of national education in Hong Kong citizenship education curriculum. In 2012, the government planned to implement the Moral and National Education, which aim to strengthen the cultivation of patriotism, as an independent subject in primary and secondary education. Majority of Hong Kong people opposed the implementation of Moral and National Education which led to mass demonstrations had been taken place, resulting in shelving the implementation.
Scholars generally agree that national education has been one big current issue of Hong Kong citizenship education (Leung & Ng, 2004; Leung & Yuen, 2009; Morris & Morris, 1999; Tsang, 1998). Despite the controversy over whether national education is a blessing or a curse to Hong Kong (Leung & Yuen, 2009), there is a common perspective that tensions between national education and global education exist in the development of citizenship education curriculum of Hong Kong (Kennedy, 2008; Lee, 2004, 2008). Some scholars argue that national education and global education are mutually exclusive, because values promoted by national education such as patriotism and nationalism are distinct from global common values such as freedom, democracy and human rights (Leung & Ng, 2004; Tse, 2007). On the other hand, some may argue that national education and global education can be incorporated because the planned curriculum intended to promote multiple citizenships (Lee, 1997; Lee & Sweeting, 2001). To rethink the possible alternatives for Hong Kong to cope with the challenges, this thesis attempts to compare Hong Kong with the situation in Japan.

Tension between national education and global education has also been challenging in Japan. The first citizenship education curriculum of Japan was introduced by the government in the modern Japan education system during the Meiji Era 1868 – 1912 (Taniguchi, 2011). Civic Education was implemented to promote moral and value education. In 1924, the concept of civic education in the curriculum had been shifted to emphasizing the concept of National Spirit due to the enforcement of the Imperial Ordinance Relating to National Spirit legislated in 1923 (Taniguchi, 2011). Influenced by the climate of militarism, national education became the only element included in the citizenship education curriculum from the late 1930s until the end of the Second World War in 1945 (Taniguchi, 2011). After 1945, as a defeated country, Japan lost the autonomy of planning and decision over its education curriculum. Elements related to nationalism were prohibited and Moral Education, Japanese
History and Japanese Geography were banned (Ikeno, 2011b). Instead, Social Studies was introduced with an emphasis on democracy and peace.

With the revival of the economic strength of Japan and its success in industrial advancements and exports, the demand for global education has been mounting since the 1970s. It is part of the world trend that different nation states have been more interconnected and an individual has constructed a complex identity when involving into a dynamic discourse across a wide variety of communities (Tomlinson, 1999; Waters, 1995). As UNESCO (1996) has stated, “people need gradually to become world citizens without losing their roots and while continuing to play an active part in the life of their nation and their local community.” Therefore, there would be a demand of promoting multiple citizenships that are consisted of local, regional, national and multinational citizenships for Japan (Fujiwara, 2011).

Although nationalism is still a taboo in contemporary Japan’s citizenship education curriculum, there has still been a strong desire to solidify national pride and dignity for pursuing citizenship qualities (Ikeno, 2011b). Consequently, the implementation of global education is still facing challenges in the citizenship education curriculum of Japan.

1.2 Framework of the Thesis

This thesis attempts to rethink possible alternatives for Hong Kong facing the challenges resulting from the tensions between its national education and global education. A Discussion of the situation in Japan is thought to be useful to throw light on new possible alternatives for handling the tensions in Hong Kong. The first chapter of this thesis starts with outlining the concept of citizenship and citizenship education in general. The second chapter examines
socio-political context and the development of citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong and Japan. The third chapter discusses new possibilities for catering the challenges regarding the tension between national education and global education in Hong Kong, with reference to the experience of Japan.

2. Citizenship and Citizenship Education

2.1 Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is debatable. There can be different perceptions on what citizenship should be. Traditional view may consider citizenship as the political literacy of citizens (Davies, Gregory, & Riley, 1999), referring to the understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens and the nature of public institutions, such as the structure of government, relationship between government and bureaus, and the authority of public institutions from constitution (1998; Education, 1994). Others may perceive citizenship as the active socio-political participation of citizen through democratization (Griffith, 1998; Kerr, 1999). Still, others citizenship can be regarded as the sense of belonging and identity of citizens of being as a part of the nation (Cogan, Morris, & Print, 2002; Kennedy, 2004; Mizoue, 1997). It is suggested that the controversy occurs due to the complexity in the conception of citizenship and the emphasis could change upon contemporary social and political situations of different societies (Davies et al., 1999; Griffith, 1998). In general, traditional views on citizenship are more state-oriented, while the more recent views are more individual-oriented.

Porter (1991) has tried to summarize perceptions from various literatures. Citied by Cogan, Morris and Print (2002), Porter categorizes conceptions of citizenship among different scholars into three perspectives:
Rethinking the concept of citizenship education in Hong Kong

i. *Citizenship as “status”*

It emphasizes the relationship between the society and citizens. Citizens shall be able to understand the rights and the responsibilities as responsible citizens. Citizens shall also understand the nature of public institutions in the society.

ii. *Citizenship as “volition”*

It focuses on the sense of belonging of citizens towards the society. Citizens would embrace their identity as one of the member in the society. They would be proud of the culture, history and values of the society.

iii. *Citizenship as “competence”*

It pursues the active socio-political participation of citizens. Citizens would take action to involve in debating and decision-making of social issues.

Upon the above categorization by Porter, Cogan, Morris and Print (2002) further define citizenship as “the knowledge, skills, and values that are perceived as important to become an effective citizen”. Citizenship as “status” requires citizens to receive knowledge such as rights and responsibilities, public administration and politics. On the other hand, citizenship as “volition” takes account of values that can address the formation of identity. Last but not least, citizenship as “competence” can equip citizens a certain kind of skills for actively involving in social issues, such as critical thinking, inquiry skills and reflective thinking. And through the active socio-political participation, citizens would become committed to act on social justice, and values that are important for being an informed citizen. After all, it is important to encourage the interplay between all three of them for helping individuals to construct a comprehensive citizenship.
Recently, concept of citizenship has been further modified by scholars due to the consideration of the challenges from the ongoing globalization process. The concept of citizenship cannot be bound by nation state. Traditional way of viewing citizenship may be limited and narrowed to national perspective (Cogan & Derricott, 2000). Therefore, scholars now pay close attention to the existence of multiple citizenships along a spatial dimension, which including local, regional, national and global citizenship (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Cogan et al., 2002; Kennedy, 2004, 2008; Lee, 2008). To face the challenges from globalization, Cogan and Derricott (2000) has developed their a comprehensive vision of multidimensional citizenship, which consists of four interrelated dimensions:

i. **Personal dimension**

Citizens shall be intrinsically and actively committed to act on civic ethics and values. In other words, citizens shall be cultivated dispositions to be an informed and responsible person in the society. To effectively construct a set of disposition, education outside the formal schooling is also important, because if learners can perform what they have learnt in schools in their daily life, the development of dispositions can be reinforced due to the consistency of schooling and society.

ii. **Social dimension**

Citizens shall actively participate and involve in the society, willing to live and work with others for civic purposes. Through participatory democratization, citizens can take action to involve in social and political participation with both governmental and non-governmental. Education shall provide experiences and reflection on socio-political participation for building social dimension of citizenship.
iii. *Spatial dimension*

Numerous communities exist around the world and they are usually overlapping. A local community is also the affiliate of a nation state which in turn is a member of the global society. Citizens shall have a macro perspective of seeing global communities and recognize their hybrid identities as members of respective local, regional, national and multinational communities. Once education provides learning experiences out of the boundary of school, learners would be able to broaden their horizons and recognize their multiple citizenships.

iv. *Temporal dimension*

It deals with the dimension of time. Citizens shall be conscious of both the past and the future context, in order to provide long-term solutions to cater problems and challenges in efficient and effective manner. History of the society can let citizens contextualize their solutions into the situation of the society, while proactive vision can let citizens be aware of the impact of their actions for the future. When teaching contemporary issues in schooling, learners shall be facilitated to consider the relationship among the past, present and future, finding out the causes and the effects of contemporary issues.

The multidimensional citizenship framework can categorize the complex conceptions of citizenship in a holistic manner, providing a clearer vision to examine citizenship upon the foreseeable global challenges in the 21st century, including the development of “a global identity, as well as our local, states and national ones” and “think globally while acting locally” (Cogan & Derricott, 2000).
This board definition can offer a multidimensional way of seeing citizenship, enabling educators to examine national citizenship and global citizenship in Hong Kong and Japan. In this thesis, while the personal, social and temporal dimensions are beared in mind, the spatial dimension is used as the main focus, and citizenship is recognized as the knowledge, skills and values of citizens that are substantial for the development of local community, nation state or global society (Cogan et al., 2002; Davies et al., 1999; Kennedy, 2008).

2.2 Citizenship Education

The concept of citizenship education is also arguable as it would be affected by one’s perception of citizenship (Cogan et al., 2002). Despite the debate over the diversified perception of citizenship, there is a consensus among citizenship advocators that education should be taken to be the most important agent for formation of citizenship. Through the process of education, society can cultivate younger generations into informed and responsible citizens (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Cogan et al., 2002; Griffith, 1998; Kennedy, 2008). This commonly assumption of the importance of school curriculum for citizenship education would be adopted in this thesis as its point of departure. This thesis will examine the citizenship education and their evolution, and understand how the tension between national education and global education for citizenship education curriculum has been addressed in Hong Kong and Japan.

There is obviously serious debate also on the instructional and assessment methods in citizenship education. However, in order to keep the work of this thesis manageable, these will not be tackled in this thesis. Moreover, the curriculum documents of citizenship education will be the major sources to be studied, as spoken intentions of the curriculum (Longstreet & Shane, 1993). Although the implemented curriculum can rightly claimed to be
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the more important, the amount of work will clearly be beyond what this thesis can be expected to accomplish.

2.3 Importance of Examining Socio-Historical and Political Context

The relation between the development of citizenship education curriculum and its socio-historical and political context has long been an important theme in the citizenship education literature (Deng, 2009; Ho, 2007; Ikeno, 2011a; Kennedy, 2008; Kennedy, Fok, & Chan, 2006; Lee, 2008; Leung & Yuen, 2009; Morris & Sweeting, 1991). Socio-historical context, historical events have powerful effect on the perception of citizenship education of members of the society, including citizens and the government (Deng, 2009; Ikeno, 2011a). Moreover, the development of citizenship education curriculum is also affected by political context because one of the missions of education is to perform political socialization (Dawson, Prewitt, & Dawson, 1977; Griffin, 2002; Ho, 2007), and the aim of promoting citizenship education is to cultivate informed and responsible citizens that can help the society to cope with its contemporary challenges (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Cogan et al., 2002). Therefore, it is essential to attend to socio-historical and political context when examining the development of citizenship education curriculum. In this thesis, the development of the citizenship education of the two places, Hong Kong and Japan will be studied in close connected to how their socio-historical and political context have changed over time.

3. Development of Hong Kong Citizenship Education

3.1 Socio-Historical and Political Context

The development of Hong Kong citizenship education has been controversial since the signing of the Joint Declaration of the British and Chinese governments in 1984. This
historical incident confirmed that the sovereignty of Hong Kong shall be returned to China in 1997, drawing concerns from both the British colonial government and the Chinese government about the development of citizenship education in Hong Kong.

Before the Second World War, there was no bureaucratic formal education system for general public but several private schools were operating in Hong Kong (Morris & Morris, 2002). At that time, the British colonial government performed depoliticization and denationalization, by prohibiting such private schools to promote active socio-political participation and cultural and national identity (Morris & Morris, 2002).

After the Second World War, the formal education system was established in Hong Kong, controlling over the school curriculum in terms of syllabuses, textbooks and teaching pedagogies (Morris & Morris, 2002). For example, the syllabus of Chinese History was limited to the history before the end of Qing Dynasty, in order to prevent students from understanding the contemporary China (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). The education system neither helped Hong Kong people to construct a Chinese nor Hong Kong identity (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). On the contrary, depoliticized and denationalized Civic Education curriculum was adopted to keep down the formation of national identity, and it can be recognized as a means for delivering anti-communist propaganda (Deng, 2009; Ho, 2007; Morris & Morris, 2002). Therefore, Civic Education emphasized on teaching students the responsibilities of being Hong Kong citizens and avoided controversial local social problems and sensitive issues about the Mainland China (Morris & Morris, 2002).

In 1967, there were riots challenging the rule of the British colonial government (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). The riots were organized by some Chinese nationalists in Hong Kong
whom were influenced by the Cultural Revolution that occurred in the Mainland China at that time (Deng, 2009). Although the riots were eventually suppressed by the British colonial government, with the support from the general public who desired social stability (Lee, 2004), the British colonial government was alerted by this socio-political chaos. For the sake of socio-political stability, the British colonial government further strengthened a depoliticized citizenship education curriculum by emphasizing civil citizenship and diminishing political citizenship after the 1967 riots (Deng, 2009; Ho, 2007; Morris & Morris, 2002). Moreover, as the riots were agitated by Chinese nationalists, the British colonial government strengthened denationalization through constructing a local identity for Hong Kong people through many educational and social programmes (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007).

In 1970s, Hong Kong economy kept flourishing because Hong Kong as a stepping stone for foreign countries to trade with the Mainland China. To meet the economic demand from the global world, Hong Kong economy was transformed rapidly and human resources with educational qualifications were in demand (Deng, 2009). Therefore, various educational reforms were carried out to provide more education opportunities for Hong Kong people in order to nurture more qualified human resources. At that time, academic excellence became the main focus of students as well as their parents, in order to grasp occupational opportunities to get themselves being benefited in the new growing economy (Morris & Morris, 2002). As a result, at that time, most of the Hong Kong people were indifferent to citizenship education (Lee, 2004; Morris & Morris, 2002).

The signing of the Joint Declaration of the British and Chinese governments in 1984 is a watershed moment in the development of citizenship education in Hong Kong. The sovereignty of Hong Kong would inevitably to be returned to China in 1997. As a result, the
British colonial government tried to decolonize Hong Kong through the politicization of the citizenship education curriculum (Ho, 2007; Lee, 2004; Leung & Yuen, 2009; Morris & Morris, 2002). The reasons for the politicization were mainly speculated as preparing for Hong Kong people to be nationalistic to China, or the preparation for Hong Kong people to be independent and critical to decide their own destiny within the “one country, two systems” model (Morris & Morris, 2002).

In 1985, the Guidelines on Civic Education was firstly issued, urging the youth in Hong Kong to develop social, political and civic awareness such as democracy and rationality (Morris & Morris, 2002). At the same time, the political reform of District Council increased the number of directly elected seats from about half to two-third of all district councilors. It showed that the British colonial government had the intention of politicizing Hong Kong society. Yet, national awareness was not emphasized. National qualities such as “sense of national identity and belonging”, “love for the nation and pride in being Chinese”, and “respect for Chinese culture and tradition” are only perceived as less important in the 1985 Guidelines (Ho, 2007). Therefore, it was criticized that the level of politicization for citizenship education in 1980s was still inadequate (Leung, Chai, & Ng, 2000). Moreover, it is suggested that the atmosphere of Hong Kong society were still depoliticized at that time as there were still more than ten years to go before the change of sovereignty (Lee, 2004).

In 1989, the historical June-Fourth Incident happened in China indirectly assisted the British colonial government to turn up the politicization process of Hong Kong’s socio-political climate. On 4th June 1989, the Chinese government suppressed the mass demonstration held by students in the Tiananmen Square, which aroused Hong Kong people’s concerns about the political environment after 1997 (Lee, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007).
Many Hong Kong people were fear of the suppress of freedom of speech and the principle of rule of law in the future, so they started to concern politics and wished to build a democratic society (Lee, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Furthermore, the structural changes on the Legislative Council in 1991 and 1995 fostered the socio-political participation of Hong Kong people at that time. The number of directly elected seats increased from 12 to 18 in 1991, and from 18 to 20 in 1995 (Lee, 2004). This indicated that the power of vote of Hong Kong people was progressively enhanced, motivating Hong Kong people to participate in socio-political events. Thus, two symbolic historical events of the June-Fourth Incident and the structural changes on the Legislative Council resulted in another scenario for political context in Hong Kong. The results of politicization can be recognized as satisfactory because of the rising socio-historical and political awareness of Hong Kong people. However, this also would be taken as one of the contributing factors leading to the opposition of national education after 1997 as it widened the gap between Hong Kong and China in terms of culture and politics (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007).

In 1996, a year before the return of the Hong Kong sovereignty, the British colonial government introduced the second Guidelines on Civic Education before leaving (Lee, 1997; Morris & Morris, 2002). Civic Education was politicized in light of the 1996 guidelines. On one hand, the 1996 guidelines valued the importance of promoting national education, which was the first curriculum guideline that explicitly included qualities of national citizenship, say, patriotism, national pride, cultural identity, Chinese traditional values (Lee, 2008; Morris & Morris, 2002). On the other hand, it also stated that Civic Education shall aim to promote civil qualities that have long been defined during the British colonial age, such as democracy, human rights, freedom, equality, and rule of law (Morris & Morris, 2002). Therefore, it can be interpreted as providing multiple ways for Hong Kong to prepare for facing the uncertain
On 1st July 1997, Hong Kong has officially returned to China. Hong Kong has been a Special Administrative Region which shall be ruled by Hong Kong people under “one country, two systems” principle. On the one hand, fostering national citizenship has been inevitable because “one country” clearly states that Hong Kong is a part of China. On the other hand, “two systems” empowers Hong Kong to retain certain British colonial civil heritage, such as upholding the principle of rule of law, maintaining a democratic society, protecting human rights, justifying with rationality, which are also universal common values for being a global citizen (Leung & Yuen, 2009). Therefore, both national citizenship and global citizenship shall be included in citizenship education in post-colonial Hong Kong. However, there have been tensions between national citizenship and global citizenship can also be clearly identified in Hong Kong. It is because national education can be perceived as irrational and indoctrinating, which would be in conflict with global citizenship such as rationality, human rights and democracy (Lee & Sweeting, 2001; Leung et al., 2000; Leung & Yuen, 2009).

In 1998, a civic education syllabus for junior secondary schools was issued by the Hong Kong SAR government, which promoted national identity (Lee, 2008). Moreover, elements for cultivating national citizenship were incorporated into other subjects such as Chinese Language, Chinese History, Liberal Studies, etc. (Lee, 2008). It was also recommended by a curriculum document, entitled “China Element in the School Curriculum: Curriculum Examination Report”, that more elements related to national citizenship shall be added into other subjects as much as possible (Lee, 2008). It showed the effort and ambition of the Hong Kong SAR government for promoting national education in Hong Kong.
From 1999 to 2007, the promotion of national education, nonetheless, has been balanced by the emphasis on global education in the government’s educational policy. In 1999, the Hong Kong SAR government started education reform by publishing a document named “Holistic Review on School Curriculum,” arguing that there were needs to reform the curriculum (Lee, 2008). In 2001, a curriculum reform document entitled “Learning to Learn: Lifelong Learning and Whole-person Development” was issued. Although national identity has been recognized as one of the five priority values in moral and civic education under the “Learning to Learn reform” document, the Hong Kong SAR government has placed importance on global education because the aim of the reform has been justified as to face the challenges of globalization (Lee, 2008).

In recent years, a much stronger emphasis on strengthening national citizenship can be seen in the government. It is because Hu Jintao, the former President of the People’s Republic of China, urged the Hong Kong SAR government to emphasize national education during visiting Hong Kong in 2007 (Commission on Strategic Development, 2008). The implementation of Moral and National Education curriculum in 2012 was a clear evidence. Yet, at the same time, resistance among Hong Kong people also became very strong, because they worried that the subject would indoctrinate students and weaken students’ sense of global citizenship such as democracy and independent thinking.

In sum, the British colonial government had put effort to provide depoliticized and denationalized education for Hong Kong people to maintain the colonial rule before 1984. During the period from 1984 to 1997, Hong Kong came into the decolonization period. The British colonial government was continuously presiding educational reforms to politicize the citizenship education curriculum. Although the citizenship education reforms were not
effective at all, the 1989 June-Fourth Incident happened in China and the reform of the Legislative Council structure aroused awareness of Hong Kong people in politics. As a result, the politicization of citizenship education was achieved to a remarkable degreee. After the handover in 1997, the Hong Kong SAR government would like to promote national education. However, resistance arose from the fact that the values advocated in national education and global education are in clear tensions.

3.2 Learning to Learn: The Way Forward in Curriculum

The “Learning to Learn” curriculum document comprehensively sets the general principle for the curriculum development in contemporary Hong Kong education system, which is currently in effect (Curriculum Development Council, 2001). In this section, aims of education for school curriculum recommended by the document would be examined to understand the current status of citizenship education in Hong Kong.

The following aim of education for school curriculum recommended by the “Learning to Learn” document clearly shows that both national citizenship and global citizenship shall be included in the concept of citizenship education in Hong Kong:

“The school curriculum should provide all students with essential life-long learning experiences for whole-person development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physical development, social skills and aesthetics, according to individual potential, so that all students can become active, responsible and contributing members of the society, the nation and the world” (Curriculum Development Council, 2001).
However, global education seems to be on the higher priority as compared to national education in the “Learning to Learn” document. It is because the other two recommended aims of education for school curriculum are as follows:

“The school curriculum should help students learn how to learn through cultivating positive values, attitudes and a commitment to life-long learning, and through developing generic skills to acquire, construct and communicate knowledge. These qualities are essential for whole-person development to cope with challenges of the 21st Century” (Curriculum Development Council, 2001).

“A quality curriculum for the 21st Century should therefore set the directions for learning and teaching through a coherent and flexible framework which can be adapted to changes and the different needs of students and schools” (Curriculum Development Council, 2001).

Furthermore, in the preface of the “Learning to Learn” document, the Chairman of the Curriculum Development Council reinforced the importance of promoting global education for facing the challenges in the 21st Century:

“To cope with the challenges of the 21st Century, education in Hong Kong must keep abreast of the global trends and students have to empower themselves to learn beyond the confines of the classroom. The school curriculum, apart from helping students to acquire the necessary knowledge, should also help the younger generation to develop a global outlook, to learn
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how to learn and to master life-long skills that can be used outside schools”

(Curriculum Development Council, 2001)

In addition, here are the challenges in the 21st Century defined by the “Learning to Learn” document:

- A knowledge-based society
- Globalization
- The impact of information technology
- The transience of things
- The rising need for moral considerations
- Increasing public participation in government affairs
- The interdependent but competitive world

(Curriculum Development Council, 2001)

The above list can show that elements related to global education can be found, such as globalization, the impact of information technology and the interdependent but competitive world, but elements related to national education has not been defined as challenges in the 21st Century by the document. Although national identity has been defined as five priority values for moral and civic education in the later “Basic Education Curriculum Guide: Building on Strengths” (Curriculum Development Council, 2002), the reject of forming a ninth Key Learning Areas of “National History and Guoqing Jiaoyu (National Education, in Chinese: 國情教育)” in the “Learning to Learn” document implies there is limitation in promoting national education in contemporary Hong Kong citizenship education curriculum (Curriculum Development Council, 2001).
In short, both national education and global education has been the agenda in contemporary citizenship education curriculum development in Hong Kong. The “Learning to Learn” document attempts to integrate both national and global education into the curriculum. However, there seemed to be an order of priority in the curriculum (Lee, 2008). As explained above, the promotion of national education is unavoidable, but the “Learning to Learn” document shows that global education was in fact given higher priority for teaching than national education.

3.3 Subject Curriculum Guide: Moral and Civic Education and Liberal Studies

Moral and Civic Education and Liberal Studies are the subjects that to perform the key learning task of moral and civic education recommended by the “Learning to Learn” document, helping students to establish their values and attitudes (Curriculum Development Council, 2001; 2007, 2008). The importance of following the recommendation included in the “Learning to Learn” document shows the superiority of the “Learning to Learn” document over the subject curricula. In this part, features of the subject curricula of Moral and Civic Education and Liberal Studies regarding to citizenship education would be examined.

3.3.1 Moral and Civic Education

Moral and Civic Education is one of the four key learning tasks proposed by the “Learning and Learn” document (Curriculum Development Council, 2001). In 2002, curriculum guide of Moral and Civic Education for Primary 1 to Secondary 3 has been introduced in “Basic Education Curriculum Guide: Building on Strengths” (Curriculum Development Council, 2002). Five priority values and attitudes have been emphasized for helping students to enhance personal and social development, these are:
It is obvious that national education shall be promoted by implementing moral and civic education curriculum in primary and junior secondary education. The curriculum guide further explains the value and attitude of “national identity” as below:

“There is a need to strengthen the sense of national identity among our young people. It is imperative to enhance their interests in and concern for the development of today’s China through involving them in different learning experiences and life-wide learning. Instead of imposing national sentiments on them, we must provide more opportunities for young people to develop a sense of belonging to China” (Curriculum Development Council, 2002).

To avoid Hong Kong general public being unsettled, the curriculum guide clearly states that there shall not be indoctrination. On the contrary, life event approach shall be adopted for students to develop national identity through experiencing and reflecting a wide range of life experiences (Curriculum Development Council, 2002).

On the other hand, the value and attitude of “perseverance” has been described as follows:
“Globalization, momentous technological advances and the emergence of a knowledge-based economy present pressures and challenges that are more daunting than ever to our young people. Perseverance, which is considered as a strength of the Chinese people, is an important quality that they should embrace to help them face life's challenges and cope with adversities” (Curriculum Development Council, 2002).

From the above quote, it can be considered that Moral and Civic Education aims to cultivate global citizenship with a national identity. It is because it emphasizes that students shall embrace perseverance, which is a Chinese value, to cope with challenges from globalization.

Last but not least, “respect for others”, “responsibility” and “commitment” have been propounded as multi-spatial dimensions. Students are expected to be committed to these values and attitudes in familial, social, national and global dimensions (Curriculum Development Council, 2002). In brief, the curriculum guide for Moral and Civic Education in 2002 seems to balance the position of national and global education.

Yet, the tensions between national and global education in Hong Kong citizenship education has been intensified since the revision of the Moral and Civic Education curriculum guide in 2008. In the revised curriculum guide, it clearly states that the promotion of national education should be strengthened, in order to enhance students’ understanding of China and sense of national identity (Curriculum Development Council, 2008). Afterwards, “Moral and Civic Education Section”, who is responsible to plan and draft the Moral and Civic Education curriculum guide, has been renamed as “Moral,
Civic and National Education Section”. This symbolic change further highlighted the gradually intensifying tensions. Then in 2011, a curriculum for compulsory National Education from primary 1 to Secondary 6 was announced for public consultation and of the revised “Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide” was published in June 2012 for implementation. Although the implementation was shelved because of massive opposition demonstrations, this incident has already made the tensions explicit to Hong Kong society.

3.3.2 Liberal Studies

Liberal Studies is a new core subject under the New Senior Secondary Curriculum in 2007 (Curriculum Development Council, 2009). It takes an important role promoting citizenship education to senior secondary students in formal lesson time. It is because Moral and Civic Education for senior secondary level is proposed only as a part of “Other Learning Experiences”; it does not require Moral and Civic Education to be a formal subject in class. Therefore, the curriculum and assessment guide of Liberal Studies states the nature of Liberal Studies is that:

“The development of positive values and attitudes is an important goal of Liberal Studies. The core values emphasized in moral and civic education throughout all key stages are reinforced in Liberal Studies” (Curriculum Development Council, 2007).

Following the guidance from the “Learning to Learn” document, Liberal Studies aims to promote national and global education. According to “Liberal Studies Curriculum and Assessment Guide”, it states that the rationale of promoting Liberal Studies is:
“To enable student to be an informed and responsible citizen with a sense of global and national identity” (Curriculum Development Council, 2007).

Moreover, the Curriculum and Assessment Guide also states the aim of Liberal Studies is:

“To help students develop positive values and attitudes towards life, so that they can become informed and responsible citizens of society, the country and the world” (Curriculum Development Council, 2007).

To achieve the curriculum aims, Liberal Studies includes the module of “Modern China” and “Globalization” to promote national and global citizenship. The curriculum and assessment guide identifies related values and attitudes to be promoted when the module of “Modern China” and “Globalization” are taught, as shown in Table 1.

Liberal Studies is a cross-curricular subject in providing broadened perspectives and making connections across different fields of knowledge, so as to enhance students’ social awareness through the study of a wide range of issues (Curriculum Development Council, 2007). And the cross-curricular nature is also promoted among its different modules. Therefore, it can be observed from Table 1 that there is overlapping in certain values and attitudes in the module of “Modern China” and “Globalization”. They include culture and civilization heritage, justice, and plurality, which are universal common values and attitudes. On the other hand, national citizenship such as solidarity and patriotism are also included in the theme of “China’s reform and opening-up” of the module of “Modern China”.

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In sum, it can be interpreted that the curriculum planner of Liberal Studies attempts to bring in an interplay of national and global education. Although there is consideration on developing a sense of national identity by teaching Liberal Studies, inquired-based learning with students centered approach is recommended by the Curriculum and Assessment Guide, in which students are encourage to study the issues in “Modern China” with values and attitudes related to global citizenship, such as plurality and justice. In this way, the apprehension of irrationality and indoctrination of the general public towards national education is minimized by the interplay of national and global citizenship, resulting in relieving the tensions between national and global education.

Table 1: **Related values and attitudes for fostering national and global citizenship in New Senior Secondary Liberal Studies in Hong Kong**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Related values and attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern China</td>
<td>1. China’s reform and opening-up</td>
<td>Solidarity, patriotism, sustainability, human rights and responsibilities, care and concern, <em>justice</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Chinese culture and modern life</td>
<td><em>Culture and civilization heritage</em>, respect for different ways of life, beliefs and opinions, <em>plurality</em>, sensitivity, appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization</td>
<td>Impact of globalization and related responses</td>
<td>Interdependence, <em>justice</em>, cooperation, <em>culture and civilization heritage</em>, <em>plurality</em>, adapting to changes, open-mindedness, empathy, participation, mutuality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 Conclusion

To sum up, the post-colonial curriculum reform in Hong Kong education system has started with the publication of the curriculum reform document entitled “Learning to Learn: The Way Forward in Curriculum” in 2001. In the part of citizenship education development of the document, national and global citizenship have both been included into citizenship education curriculum. However, the Hong Kong SAR government seems to put more emphasis on promoting global citizenship when compared to national citizenship, resulting in tensions between national and global education. Nevertheless, the Moral and Civic Education curriculum guide in 2002 seems to balance the importance of national and global education. Moreover, the introduction of New Senior Secondary Liberal Studies since 2007 has provided opportunities for national and global education interplay. As a result, the tensions between national and global education in Hong Kong citizenship education curriculum can be relieved. Yet, the change of the Moral and Civic Education from 2008, especially the Moral and National Education curriculum guide in 2011 - 2012, has heated up the debate of citizenship education in Hong Kong again.

4. Development of Japan citizenship education

4.1 Socio-Historical and Political Context

The development of citizenship education in modern Japan during the pre-war period was firstly enlightened in 1872, the year of the end of feudal Tokugawa shogunate reign and the start of the Meiji Era. During the regime of Tokugawa shogunate, Japan was still in the age of feudalism. Private schools were created, especially for Samurai who were in higher social status; they existed to deliver the spirit of Samurai (Taniguchi, 2011). Private schools were not coordinated as these schools were founded by different feudal lords, but not centrally organized by Tokugawa shogunate (Taniguchi, 2011). Although there were other small
private schools provided for merchants and farmers who were in lower social class, they aimed at vocational training (Taniguchi, 2011). During this period, citizenship education of introducing morality and civics was limited to the elites only.

The feudal age of Japan dominated by Tokugawa shogunate came to the end in 1868 and the Meiji Emperor got back the regime of ruling Japan. Japan was changed from feudalism to imperialism through the Meiji Revolution (Lin, 2005). Driven by the historical context of aggression by western countries under Tokugawa shogunate, the Meiji Revolution aimed to rebuild the national power of Japan by modernization and westernization (Ikeno, 2011b; Lin, 2005; Taniguchi, 2011). Social institutions such as public educational institutions were established. Formal education system was constructed in 1872 with reference to the French approach and public elementary schools were available for general public (Taniguchi, 2011). During the Meiji Era, more than 30% of Japanese citizens, and about half of Japanese male, became literate (Parmenter, 2004). Citizenship education was no longer limited to elite class, but an universal citizenship education was proposed.

However, there were still groups of Samurai opposing westernization and the governance of the Emperor (Lin, 2005). Rebellious movements of the Samurai occurred. For the sake of stability of the regime, imperial Japan suppressed the Samurai uprisings, limited the rights of citizens and considered the promotion of nationalism (Taniguchi, 2011). In 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education was proclaimed under constitutional monarchy (Taniguchi, 2011). There still were debates between the western and the conservative concepts on citizenship education, but the rescript had tried to include both into the citizenship education curriculum. Conservative morals and values, western values, and knowledge about the constitutional imperialism of Japan were included in a national subject called “Civics” (Taniguchi, 2011).
In 1912, the Meiji Emperor was replaced by the Taisho Emperor and modern Japan entered to the Taisho era. Coup happened at the beginning of the Taisho era. The military authorities would like to arrogate the regime by supporting another as the Emperor, but it was discontented by many Japanese. As a result, the Movement to Protect Constitutional Government emerged and the regime of the Taisho Emperor was preserved (Lin, 2005). Success of the Movement to Protect Constitutional Government created an atmosphere of liberalism among the society, influencing the development of citizenship education in Japan during 1910s. It was the Taisho liberal education movement that considered progressive strategies to teach citizenship education (Taniguchi, 2011). Student-centered learning and democratization were promoted to cultivate students’ citizenship as the national subject of “Civics” (Taniguchi, 2011).

However, liberalism and democratization was in conflict with the political perspective of imperialism. Therefore, imperialist Japanese decided to oppress the Taisho liberal education movement and reinforced a more conservative kind of nationalism. The “Imperial Ordinance Relating to National Spirit and the Items of Instruction in Civics Act” were issued in 1923 and 1924 respectively (Taniguchi, 2011). The ordinance empowered national spirits shall be put into the curriculum of “Civics”, and national spirits that the empire would like citizens to recognize were listed in the Act. Thus, the empire enforced standardized values of citizenship on citizens. Apart from making good use of “Civics”, “Japanese History” and “Japanese Geography” were also utilized to promote nationalism until the formal appearance of militarism into the curricula in the late-1930s (Ikeno, 2011b; Taniguchi, 2011).

Attributed to the First World War, the economy of Japan kept arising in 1910s (Lin, 2005; Taniguchi, 2011). But since 1920s, the economy of Japan shrank due to the Great Kanto
Earthquake in 1923 and the Great Depression in 1929 (Lin, 2005; Taniguchi, 2011). To break out of the crisis, voices for militarism emerged among the society (Lin, 2005). In the late-1930s, militarism was adopted and affected the development of citizenship education. All elementary schools were reformed as national schools and the new and only subject called “Nation” was taught in 1941 and “Nation (Morality)” was introduced in all middle schools in 1943 (Taniguchi, 2011). Citizens, especially the youth that were in schools, were indoctrinated the National Spirits based on Shinto, the indigenous spirituality and religion of Japan (Taniguchi, 2011).

In short, Japan citizenship education in the pre-war period was developed upon socio-historical context of the chaotic citizenship conception during the feudal age ruled by Tokugawa shogunate. There were private schools founded by different feudal lords. Although these private schools had the common mission of teaching the Samurai the Spirit of Samurai, these schools were not coordinated. Teachers might have different perception of citizenship. Facing the challenge that there were no generally agreed values of citizenship, imperial Japan provided a national perception of citizenship. It was not only the educational concern, but also a kind of political consideration that the empire would like to construct identities for Japanese citizens as members of the empire and nation, which was obviously lacked in the reign of Tokugawa shogunate. Therefore, imperial Japan had put much effort to promote nationalism since the Meiji era. Yet, because of the social climate of militarism, citizenship education in pre-war Japan had been push to an extreme where indoctrination prevailed.

In August 1945, the United States launched two atomic bombs to Nagasaki and Hiroshima, leading Japan to surrender, which in turn began its dramatic changes of citizenship education. At the beginning of the post-war period, Japan lost the autonomy to
Rethinking the concept of citizenship education in Hong Kong

plan and decide the citizenship education (Ikeno, 2011b; Otsu, 2008; Parmenter, 2004). Civil Information and Education, an organization under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) and dominated by the United States, controlled the education system in Japan (Taniguchi, 2011). Civil Information and Education adjudicated a ban on teaching the subjects of Moral Education, Japanese History and Japanese Geography. It was because these three subjects were regarded as the means of indoctrinating nationalism to Japanese citizens (Taniguchi, 2011).

In 1947, the Basic Act on Education was issued and stated that “education shall aim at the full development of an individual’s personality; strive to nurture the people, making them sound in mind and body; and show them how to love truth and justice, esteem individual values, respect the workers, have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society” (Kimura, 2011), which instituted the aim of education after the war shall be the formation of responsible citizens, that is citizenship education.

In the same year, the first Course of Study for Japan, which was based on the American model, was issued. In addition, a subject called “Social Studies” was implemented as the core subject to provide citizenship education. General social studies was taught in elementary school level Social Studies, while Japanese History, Eastern History, Western History, Human Geography and Current Affairs were included in middle school level Social Studies (Kobara, 2011). Although Japanese History was available in Social Studies, the post-war Japanese government was not granted eligibility from the Civil Information and Education to re-launch any nationalistic education. The curriculum aim of Social Studies had to cultivate students’ democratic citizenship with peaceful mind according to the 1947 Course of Study (Ikeno,
Rethinking the concept of citizenship education in Hong Kong

2011b). Moreover, the subject of “Nation (Morality)”, which took the major indoctrination role to promote nationalism during pre-war period, was prohibited. It could be easily figured out that the subject of Social Studies was a political means of the United States, to constrict the development of nationalistic citizenship in Japan, by confining the concept of citizenship to democracy and peace without nationalism.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers left in 1952 and the sovereignty was returned to the Japan government (Lin, 2005). Although Japan has regained the autonomy of planning education curriculum, the historical context of restriction from the Civil Information and Education was still influential to the Japan’s education system. Democracy and peace was still the visions of Japan education.

In 1961, the fourth Course of Study was issued and Moral Education was finally reappeared in the Japan education system. Yet, Moral Education had been recognized by neighboring Asian countries and the United States as a subject of promoting extreme nationalism and militarism during the Second World War. Due to the political consideration of international relationship, it was not treated as a formal subject in the curriculum and it only took one hour per week (Kimura, 2011). The curriculum objective of Moral Education was to enable students to acquire moralities that would contribute to develop a democratic nation and the peaceful world (Kimura, 2011). In addition, it was remarkable that there were wordings to remind teachers not to teach Moral Education in the old and wrong style of Moral Education in Japan (Kimura, 2011). This shows that moral education in post-war Japan did not aim to enhancing nationalism, but to construct the concept of democracy and peace among citizens. Nevertheless, this action might also reflect the Japanese government’s intention to rebuild its citizens’ national identity. It is suggested that Japan made good use of
non formal education in daily life to cultivate national citizenship (Ikeno, 2011b; Parmenter, 2004). Responsibilities as a Japanese citizen were always emphasized in different social institutions such as schools, sport clubs, public transports and offices. It could be considered as cultivation of national identity in imperceptible manner.

During 1970s to 1980s, the economy of Japan kept rising and the economic structure of Japan was expanded from solely relying on domestic demand to global market. In response to the opportunities and challenges brought by globalization, the Course of Study was amended in 1971 to emphasizing academic understanding of internationalization (Fujiwara, 2011).

Recently, the new version of Course of Study was adopted in 2011. The aims of education are defined as “zest for living” based on the principle of the Fundamental Law of Education issued in 1947 (Ikeno, 2011b). Also, it is noticed that the Japanese government would like to emphasize the concept of nationalism again and to strengthen global education in citizenship education. Details would be discussed in the later part of this thesis with reference to the contents of the 2011 Course of Study.

In sum, there has been a dramatic difference of citizenship education between pre-war and post-war periods in Japan due to its socio-historical and political consideration under different conditions. Extreme nationalism prevailed over Japan during the pre-war period. Concept of citizenship education was controlled by the militaristic Japan and citizens were indoctrinated by citizenship education. However, Japan was defeated in the Second World War and was occupied by the Allied Powers, particularly the United States. Extreme nationalism was banned and suppressed by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. In place of that, democracy and peace were advocated by implementing the new subject of
“Social Studies” with reference to the American model. After the Japanese government recaptured the regime, Japan started to reform a new moral education that promoted democracy and peace but not nationalism. Instead of using formal curriculum, the Japanese government implicitly promoted a sense of national identity through non-formal education among society.

The recently adopted Course of Study plans to promote national education in a relatively explicit manner. Meanwhile, the demand of promoting global education has also been mounting since countries around the globe are now more interconnected and Japan is participating in the global market strongly. Hence, there is a current debate on tensions between national education and global education over the development of citizenship education in Japan.

4.2 The 2011 Course of Study

The latest version of Course of Study has been approved and adopted in 2011. Citizenship education in elementary school, junior secondary school and high school are now regulated by the 2011 Course of Study. In this part, features of the curriculum of social studies and moral education written in the 2011 Course of Study would be examined by comparison with the previous versions of the Course of Study. Moreover, Foreign Language Activities, the newly established curriculum for elementary schools, would also be discussed.

4.2.1 Social Studies

First of all, it is noted that Social Studies has been separated into two subjects, which are “Geography and History” and “Civics”, since the adoption of the 1992 Course of Study. And there are still Social Studies in both elementary and junior secondary
curriculum. Therefore, in this section, Social Studies for high school is referred to “Geography and History” and “Civics”.

In general, Social Studies curriculum for both elementary and junior secondary school do not have much amendment in the 2011 Course of Study, but there are quite a few changes in the 2011 Course of Study for high school “Geography and History” curriculum. Firstly, according to the 2011 Course of Study, the aims of “Geography and History” in high school are as follows:

“To deepen the understanding of the history of development and the regional characteristics of life and culture regarding to the formation of our country and the world, and to develop indispensable sense and qualities of Japanese citizen for constructing a peaceful and democratic country and society that independently living in global society” (MEXT, 2011c).

The term of “Japanese citizen” has been used to replace the expression of “a member of country and society” in the 2002 Course of Study. It is believed that the term of “Japanese citizen” is a strong indication that national citizenship should be promoted, because it clearly specifies “member” and “country and society” shall refer to “citizen” and “Japan” respectively.

In fact, the promotion of national citizenship in post-war Japan educational system can be traced back further to the 1980 Course of Study. In the 1980 Course of Study for elementary schools, the aims of social studies were written as follows:
“To attempt the basic understanding of living in society, to foster the understanding and love towards land and history of our country, and to develop foundation of indispensable qualities of citizens for being a builder of a democratic and peaceful country and society” (Ministry of Education, 1980).

The bold wordings were newly added to the 1980 version and the italic were amendment, as compared to the 1971 Course of Study for elementary schools (Ministry of Education, 1971). It is noteworthy that “fostering the understanding and love towards land and history of our country” was a totally new aim at that time. It shows that the promotion of national education in formal curriculum had started since 1980. Since then, the government took one step ahead at a time. In 2002, promoting national education was added into the aims of Social Studies for junior secondary school, which was not included in the 1992 Course of Study (Ministry of Education, 1992):

“To increase concern about society and investigate information multi-perceptively with broaden visions, to deepen the understanding and love towards land and history of our country, to foster the foundation of cultivation for being citizens, and to develop foundation of indispensable qualities of citizens for being a builder of a democratic and peaceful country and society that independently living in global society” (MEXT, 2002b).

Furthermore, as mentioned above, the Japanese government finally put national education into the high school context by converting the term from “a member of country and society” to “Japanese citizen” in 2011. Apparently, national education has
been reappeared in post-war Japan education system in a process of gradual development.

Besides, the content of “Geography and History” has also changed. It is observed that the changes are in line with the principle of cross-module learning. Numerous examples showing the principle of cross-module learning can be found in the 2011 Course of Study, say, an introductory chapter is newly added in the module of “World History A”. One of the objectives of this chapter is “to experience the basic skills for learning world history with increase concern about geography and history” through “an appropriate issue which can connect natural environment, Japanese history and world history” (MEXT, 2011c). Another example is that the module of “Japanese History B”. The module requires students “to comprehensively investigate the development of Japanese history based on information on geographical condition and world history” (MEXT, 2011c). Furthermore, the overall objective of the module of “Geography A” is “to investigate geographical issues of contemporary society based on the linkage between regional and historical background and daily life” (MEXT, 2011c).

From the above examples, the bold wordings can show the nature of cross-module learning of high school Social Studies. Due to cross-modular way of teaching, World History can help students to review the national situation from a global perspective, Japanese History can reinforce the national point of view, and Geography can provide issues for students to link Japanese point of view with the global perspective. Therefore, it can be interpreted that the Japanese government would like to broaden students’ horizon to perceive the world in a global perspective from a national point of view.
4.2.2 Moral Education

The aims of promoting Moral Education in elementary, junior secondary and high schools are the same. Here are the common aims of Moral Education quoted from the 2011 Course of Study (Kimura, 2011; MEXT, 2011a; 2011b, 2011c):

“To cultivate morality as a foundation for developing Japanese citizens with a proactive attitude who would apply a spirit of respect for human dignity and reverence for life in specific activities at home, school and other social situations, have a generous spirit, respect traditions and culture, love one’s country and hometown which have fostered such traditions and culture, create culture with a distinctive character, honor the public spirit, make an effort to develop the democratic society and state, respect other countries, contribute to world peace and the development of the international community and the preservation of the environment, and have interest in exploring possibilities for the future.”

The bold wordings were not in the 2002 Course of Study (MEXT, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c). In other words, those wordings are the new aims of Moral Education written in the 2011 Course of Study. Therefore, one can discover the new message is that social, national and global citizenships are to be delivered to students’ minds through Moral Education under the guidance of the 2011 Course of Study, in which national education is written into the aims of Moral Education for the very first time after the Second World War.
4.2.3 Foreign Language Activities

It is a new established curriculum in the 2011 Course of Study. Same as Moral Education, Foreign Language Activities is not a formal subject. Although it is mandatory for only grade 5 and grade 6 elementary school students, the structure is similar to the subject of “Foreign Language” in junior secondary and high school. They share the common objectives:

“To develop the understanding of languages and cultures, fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign language” (MEXT, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c).

The difference between Foreign Language Activities and the subject of “Foreign Language” in junior secondary and high school is the level of attainment. The difference is listed as below:

**Elementary schools:** “To form the foundation of pupils’ communication abilities through foreign languages.” (MEXT, 2011a)

**Junior secondary schools:** “To develop students’ basic communication abilities such as listening, speaking, reading and writing.” (MEXT, 2011b)
High schools: “To develop students’ communication abilities such as accurately understanding and appropriately conveying information, ideas, etc.” (MEXT, 2011c)

With reference to the difference of the level of attainment, it is discovered that Foreign Language Activities is set as an introductory subject in elementary schools, while Foreign Language in junior secondary schools and high schools are taken to be basic and advanced subjects respectively.

Moreover, the Foreign Language to be taught in Foreign Language Activities in elementary schools is restricted to be English. And “Communication English I” in high school Foreign Language curriculum has been made a compulsory subject (MEXT, 2011c). It indicates that the Japanese government would like to expand the foreign language experience of students, especially the experience of English usage, in order to sharpen students’ competitive edge to cope with challenges in the globalized world.

4.3 Conclusion

In sum, from the above analysis, two features regarding to citizenship education in contemporary Japan can be summarized. First, the reappearance of national education in post-war Japan educational system in the curricula of elementary, junior secondary and high school has been completed. Second, global education is to be strengthened by emphasizing the importance of global perspective and the learning of foreign languages, especially English. These show that the Japanese government attempts to advocate both national and global education in the latest citizenship education curriculum in Japan. However, when implementing the citizenship education curriculum with integrating national and global
education in schooling, tensions between national and global education exist, and they are handled in a gradual and tactful manner.

5. Discussion and Conclusion – As Compared to the Case of Japan

The above examination depicts the development of citizenship education in Hong Kong and Japan by outlining the socio-historical and political context and the current planned curriculum. It is discovered that the two regions are facing the difficulties in promoting multidimensional citizenship, especially tensions between national and global education (Kennedy, 2008).

In Hong Kong, the introduction of Moral and National Education curriculum excelebrated the tensions in citizenship curriculum in 2012. The “Civil Alliance Against the National Education” was formed by 15 organizations, including the Hong Kong Professional Teachers’ Union, the National Education Parents’ Concern Group, and a group founded by secondary school students called Scholarism. The Alliance worried the implementation of Moral and National Education as the neutrality of the subject is doubtful. The Alliance apprehended the subject would indoctrinate students’ minds to be irrationally nationalistic, resulting in eroding Hong Kong’s core values and the freedom of speech in particular. On this issue, there were large-scale protests taking place over months to request the Hong Kong SAR government to recall the curriculum. Remarkable protests include the march held in July, the occupation of the government headquarters from 30th August to 9th September, and the strike of University students in September. At last, the government decided to shelve the Moral and National Education curriculum on 8th October 2012 because the government claimed that there was no consensus in implementing the curriculum among the general public of Hong Kong.
In Japan, there has been a prolonged debate over the adoption of Hinomaru as national flag and Kimigayo as national anthem since 1999. In 1999, the Japanese government carried the motion of legislating Hinomaru as official national flag and Kimigayo as official national anthem. The Ministry of Education needed to enforce the legislation for promoting national education. Therefore, the bureaucrat requested schools to raise Hinomaru and sing Kimigayo whenever official school events took place. However, there were opposing voices towards the use of Hinomaru and Kimigayo because they would symbolize the aggression of imperial and militaristic Japan against neighboring countries during the Second World War, and some of them recommended the Japanese government to put effort on promoting global education (Otsu, 2000, 2002). Upon the opposing voices, the Ministry of Education further pressed schools to use Hinomaru and Kimigayo. This finally led to a tragedy that a high school principal in Hiroshima committed suicide because he was clipped between the law enforcement and the objections from colleagues (Otsu, 2002). This tragedy catalyzed the debate of citizenship education in Japan. Up until now, although most of the schools have to follow the law due to political pressure, the issue of the use of Hinomaru and Kimigayo for promoting national education is still controversial in Japanese society (Otsu, 2008).

These above mentioned incidents reveal tensions between national and global education would be intensified if a government politicizes a centralized citizenship education curriculum. Both Hong Kong and Japan citizenship education curriculum is centralized, which the government would have the authority to control the contents of curriculum (Ho, 2007; Ikeno, 2011b). The government would easy tend to adopt a top-down approach to force schools to accomplish “political socialization” according to the concept of citizenship education identified by the government (Ho, 2007). Hence, the political discourses between the government and the general public are generally controlled by the powerful authority of
the government. However, the difference in power on manipulating the concept of citizenship education would trigger conflicts between the government and the general public, resulting in possible opposition against the use of formal school curriculum to promote sensitive and controversial concepts of citizenship. Even in Japan, a country with solidarity and patriotism, resistance emerged in promoting national education under a centralized citizenship education curriculum. It hints the Hong Kong government to rethink the appropriateness of centralized curriculum for promoting multidimensional citizenship.

As mentioned above, Japan is also facing the tensions between national education and global education. And the fountainhead of the tensions can be traced back to the period of 1945 to 1952, when post-war Japan was controlled by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. At that time, national education was suppressed but democratic citizenship with the notion of peace was encouraged in Japan. National education could not be set as an aim of education in formal curriculum. In normal situation, the sense of national identity of Japanese citizens might be expected to diminish. Nevertheless, the national identity of Japanese still remained strong while democracy and peace can also be promoted at that time.

The tensions between the promotion of national citizenship and democratic citizenship in post-war Japan were responded quite well in preserving their national identity. It is believed that one important reason is that the social education of Japan had exercised strong influence over national identity of Japanese. Ikeno (2011a) views the education system of Japan as a dual system, which consists of school education and social education. School education is a formal education platform for children to be educated under the school curriculum, while social education is “independent of the school curriculum” (Ikeno, 2011b). Ikeno (2011b) points out that Japan citizenship education in school and society are “distinct
from and independent of one another”. Therefore, the ban against promoting national education in Japan formal school curriculum would not come into effect with the existence of effective social education. As a result, there was the space and capacity to promote national identity to citizens in the post-war Japanese society.

Besides, social education exists in daily social activities even with the absence of tentative plans and intended learning (Ikeno, 2011b). All citizens in the society would be the learner and also the educator of social education. An individual can develop his or her qualities of being a member of the society by learning from other members in the society. On the other hand, an individual with good qualities can also be the role model for others to learn. Therefore, interaction between individuals is also important for promoting national identity under social education. Japanese citizens have the capacity to promote national identity in social education context. In socio-cultural context, it is perceived that Japanese would assume national citizenship as inborn, representing that they have the responsibility to the country (Willis, 2002). Hence, Japanese citizens would be willing and also being capable of performing as a “good” Japanese with qualities in the society, which contribute to the promotion of national education during the period from 1945 to 1952.

The case of post-war Japan shows the capacity of social education to cope with tensions between different concepts of citizenship under the multidimensional citizenship context. Social education system can facilitate the post-war Japan to retain elements of national citizenship, coping with the challenges of democratization in school education. When the students could gain learning experience from both school education and social education, they can construct a multidimensional citizenship including national identity, democracy and peace. For this reason, it is commented that both school education and social education are
indispensable to construct a multidimensional citizenship education in Japan (Ikeno, 2011b).

The current state of Hong Kong is in a similar developmental stage as in the case of post-war Japan in terms of social education development. On the one hand, Japan in post-war period was prohibited from promoting national education while democratization was encouraged by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. On the other hand, Hong Kong just entered into the post-colonial period. Global education, which helps Hong Kong to maintain as a cosmopolitan city, is weakening, while the promotion of national education has been highly recommended by the People’s Republic of China. Both situations in Hong Kong and post-war Japan are at the stage of great change in political status. Moreover, the concept of citizenship before the change of political status is challenged by the concept laid by the new superior authorities, resulting in tensions among the different dimensions in citizenship education. In this sense, there is similarity between Hong Kong and the post-war Japan. Therefore, the case of post-war Japan shall be worth comparing when we consider Hong Kong citizenship education development.

It is predictable that the Hong Kong SAR government would keep stressing the promotion of national education as the Moral and National Education curriculum was merely shelved for 3 years but not completely withdraw. Meanwhile, Hong Kong, as a cosmopolitan city, shall provide a multidimensional vision of citizenship education for citizens to face the global challenges of the 21st century. Respond to the tensions in multidimensional citizenship, the government shall avoid the imbalance between national education and global education. The dual education system consisting of school education and social education in Japan could be a possible alternative for Hong Kong to cope with the tensions in citizenship education. In the foreseeable future, as the government would probably strengthen the promotion of
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national education in school education, the writer of this thesis would advocate that social education shall be utilized to prevent the promotion of global education from being neglected in school education, so as to achieve a multidimensional vision of citizenship education in Hong Kong.

In summary, this thesis examines the development of citizenship education in Hong Kong and Japan. The examination reveals tensions between multi-dimensions of citizenship would arise in citizenship education. Based on a comparison the case of Japan, the thesis recommends a rethinking about the appropriateness of a centralized school curriculum, and exploring the possibility of making good use of social education to promote multidimensional citizenship in Hong Kong.

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