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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 any other institutions in application for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

Mr. Thomas, Kwan-choi Tse

July 1997
Abstract

Situated in the post-war socio-political milieu, there has been a poverty of citizenship education in Hong Kong schools for more than three decades. The political changes of decolonization and reintegration with mainland China pose new challenges to political education in Hong Kong. Starting with a concern over the programme of civic education in Hong Kong secondary schools, the present study addresses the question of the role of schooling in transmission of social-political orientation to the students. Drawing upon the theoretical perspectives and findings of political socialization studies, Neo-Marxism, and critical studies of colonial education, the present study conceptualizes school as an agent of political socialization and analyzes the current objectives, contents, organization and implementation of civic education programmes, as well as the formal and informal curriculum at work in six secondary schools in Hong Kong, in particular with reference to the very nature of 'citizenship' itself and the notion of 'civic education'. Albeit with the civic education movement in the 1980s onwards, civic education in schools still fail to provide our further citizens with the necessary political orientation and competence in democracy and national identity to prepare for the change in political system. Instead, the role of school performs socializing and stabilizing functions to the status quo. This dissertation further discusses the theoretical significance on the debate about the role of schooling in political socialization and in the constitution of adolescent political culture and of political order. Practical implications concerning political education in Hong Kong are discussed in addition to a critique and evaluation of civic education programmes in schools.
generating a new role of national citizenry and cultivating a sense of national identity and loyalty among different ethnic groups (Meyer and Rubinson 1975; Watson 1982; Bray 1984, 1994; Fagerlind and Saha 1995).

Hong Kong, as a British colony, is now facing the issue of political transition from a colony to a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (PRC) with the coming of '1997', and, in turn, the issue of political education. This dissertation aims to examine the role of political education in Hong Kong secondary schools in this transitional period before the change of sovereignty in 1997. To provide a theoretical footing for the present study, the following sections first discuss some key definitions related to political education, and briefly review the field of political education studies[1], and in particular the three major strands of theoretical perspectives: the tradition of political socialization studies, the Neo-Marxist theory of education, as well as the literature concerning colonialism and education. After locating the key issues and debates in this field, the remainder of the chapter turns to their criticisms and the remaining unsolved problems. Finally, it will give an account of the continuity and change of political education in Hong Kong in this period and formulate the research problems in the light of a contextualized understanding of the scenario.

1.2 Definitions of Political Education, Political Socialization and Citizenship Education

The term political education carries both denotative, descriptive and normative meanings, and it is always interchangeably used with other terms like political socialization, political learning, civic education, citizenship education, civics, political literacy, political indoctrination, and nationalistic education.

Conceptually, political education simply refers to 'institutionalized forms of political knowledge acquisition which take place with formal and informal educational frameworks' (Ichilov 1994). On the other hand,
political socialization refers to a broader variety of phenomena encompassing political learning of various types both formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life-cycle including nonpolitical learning that affects political behaviour (Langeveld 1994:3974).

Viewed in this way, political socialization is a broader phenomenon about the transmission and learning of political knowledge, attitudes, socio-political norms and values for the members of a political community, whereas political education can be viewed as a part of such a broader phenomenon[2]. First, political education is less inclusive than political socialization which consists of learning processes both planned and unintentional, at every stage of an individual’s life, and within a great variety of social contexts. Second, it differs from political socialization in its deliberate nature and institutionalized form. Third, school is but one of many agents of political socialization and political education.

The content and orientation of political education varies from country to country, and from time to time, depending on the definition of a particular political system. It may deal with an obedient subject in a despotic monarchy or an active participating citizen in a democratic polity. In modern times where nation-states become the dominant political communities in the world, political education is tied closely with ‘citizenship’ education. That is why political education is also commonly called civic education or citizenship education, in particular in the US literature. In brief, ‘citizenship’ refers to the rights, obligations, and power inhered in the legal status of a full membership of a modern nation-state. (Marshall 1950:2; Tsang 1994; 1995, forthcoming:3). As Heater (1991:4) states:

a citizen is, after all, a person who has a relationship with and within the state that is different from that of a slave, a vassal, or a subject. Citizen is both a status and a feeling. In educational terms, therefore, it requires both cognitive and skills leading to understand and use the status, and affective learning to want to behave in citizenly manner.

From the foregoing accounts we can see that the basics of citizenship education comprises (1) education of nation-state, that is, nationalistic education and education of state identification; and
(2) rights and obligation generated from formal citizenship, of them includes democratic education[3].

As to the first dimension of citizenship education, according to David Easton (1957), the new member of a political community, whether born into it or coming to it from outside, must learn the roles, norms, and identifications appropriate to membership. Among the most basic orientations to be acquired is the recognition of oneself as a member of a wider political community and the supportive or non-supportive feelings generated. To Easton and Dennis (1969), such socialization across the generations is significant to each new member of the system, as well as the persistence of the political system. The significance of cultivation of a national identity is also recognized by many educators and government officials. Thus nationalistic education is the core of political education and the school is utilised to indoctrinate and perpetuate these national political and economic ideas in the minds of young citizens (Nelson 1978; Schleicher 1993).

As to the second dimension of citizenship education, the rights and obligation are bestowed on formal citizenship. In modern democratic countries, political education is utilized as a way of cultivation of political literacy or citizenship competencies for political participation. Thus, citizenship education also denotes democratic education.

As citizenship is not a fixed or static concept, instead the concrete content of citizenship is always changing and evolving; so is the content of citizenship education which is multi-dimensional in nature. As Heater (1990:314) points out that citizenship education like a cube comprises three dimensions: elements (identity and loyalty, virtues, legal or civil status, political entitlement and social rights); geographical level (local, nation-state, regional or world); and outcomes of education (knowledge, attitudes and skills). Generally speaking, the content of citizenship education includes knowledge, values, attitudes, and group identifications necessary for a political community as well as its members. So what is included are knowledge of the history and structure of political institutions at both the national and local levels (sometimes even at global level), loyalty to the nation, positive
attitudes toward political authority, fundamental socio-political beliefs and values, obedience to laws and social norms, sense of political efficacy, interest in political participation, and skills in political participation.

Since 'political education' is a contested concept intertwined with different ideologies and normative expectation, it is often used interchangeably with 'civics', 'civic education', 'citizenship education' and 'political literacy'[4]. These titles usually represent different notions and traditions concerning the goals, expectation, nature, and practices of political education. Scholars also accord and classify different orientation to different modes of political education (Giroux 1983; Yu 1992)[5]. Civic education, civics, or citizenship education are frequently associated with the ideas of liberal democracy and modern nation-state. Traditional political education or civics tends to stress apolitical orientations, focusing upon individuals' relations with the social and civic realms, rather than on their affinity with the political arena. The curriculum mainly relates to the structural, procedural, and legal aspects of political institutions, stressing consensus, harmony, and compliance while avoiding the discussion of controversial issues. Hence traditional civic education has also been accused of being associated with conservative politics, aiming to preserve the status quo. On the other hand, 'political literacy' is associated with more radical traditions and particularly with the ideas of participatory democracy (Crick and Porter 1978). The curriculum tends to be issue-based, confronting controversial issues, with activity-based teaching methods often employed (Ichiov 1994:4568-4569). Similarly, we could classify political education into different orientations such as conservative, liberal, and radical.

The above discussion of political education points to its variety, complexity and multi-dimensionality, as well as its underlying philosophical, ideological and political bearings. As for the role of school in political education, the next section will deal with the theoretical debates involved.
1.3 Debates on the Role of Schooling in Political Socialization: seedbed of democracy, ideological state apparatus, or agent of colonial rule?

Whilst the socializing function of school has been recognized by many sociologists of education, the role of schooling in political socialization remains an issue for debates and controversies. Generally there are three major perspectives on political education: the liberal and progressive viewpoint, Neo-Marxism, and the critical perspective on colonial education [6].

*Political Education as Democratic Education and School as a Seedbed of Democracy*

Modern education is premised as a means to promote democracy and citizenship by liberal philosophers and educators (Dewey 1944), and a number of political scientists like Merriam (1931), Almond and Verba (1963) [7]. As an agency of political socialization, school is an indispensable element of democratic political culture, and central to the persistence of a political system (Easton 1957; Hess and Easton 1962; Easton and Dennis 1969). In the studies of political socialization in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, there was a strong sense of confidence and optimism concerning the positive contribution of school to teaching children political orientations. A number of studies have stressed the crucial role of education in the process of political socialization and demonstrated the significant positive impact of education, usually measured in terms of level of education, on raising one's civic awareness, political knowledge, sense of efficacy, political competence and involvement (Key 1963; Almond and Verba 1963; Hess and Torney 1967). Also, attachment to the nation and patriotism is taught in a number of ways in the schools like displaying the flag, pictures of historical figures and national symbols, repeating the pledge of allegiance and singing patriotic songs (Hess and Torney 1967).

Apart from formal lessons, schools also prepare students for efficient citizenship in the community by their provision of extra-curricular activities and experience of self-governance. Many educators or educational theorists (Dawson, et al. 1977:161-163; Fung 1988) have stressed the
benefits of extra-curricula activities and ascertained their positive values for civic education. Research also shows that participation in voluntary association has a positive effect upon citizenship competence (Almond and Verba 1963:307-322; Cuccia 1981; Hanks 1981; Lindsay 1984). Degree of participation in school extracurricular activities is positively correlated with one's sense of political efficacy, positive socio-political attitudes, and expectations of future social and political participation.

A Critique of the Thesis of School as the Seedbed of Democracy

The research on political socialization has been criticized by many scholars on both theoretical and methodological grounds, which I will turn to later. But apart from that, the view of school as a seedbed of democracy was under serious challenges from a number of empirical studies[8].

First of all, a large number of textbook analysis in social subjects in the States and United Kingdom (Massialas 1969, 1975; Goldstein 1972; Riccards 1973; Anyon 1978, 1979, 1981a; Gilbert 1985, 1989; Armento 1986; Patrick and Hodge 1991) shows a great disparity between the expressed curricular aims for participatory and egalitarian concerns and the distorted and idealized images of individual and society actually conveyed in the textbooks. History and Social Studies textbooks generally present an unrealistic picture of society and government, reflect dominant ideology and favour the status quo, while attacking the competing ideologies like socialism and communism. With an emphasis on the study of the historical development and government structure and institutions, most of the textbooks largely ignore the topics of political behaviour, process and conflict, and the socio-economic factors of political decision-making. Nor are many existing social problems or controversial issues discussed in an objective and ethical way. The school curriculum under-emphasizes the rights and obligations of a citizen to participate in government and their power to influence the government and other political topics, and deliver positive orientations toward
governmental figures and institutions. On the other hand, what is presented in the texts is basically obsolete, irrelevant, and has no social or political significance. Questions and exercises on the texts emphasize the recall of information instead of giving students sufficient practice in developing practical skills in thinking and political participation.

The roles of teachers in teaching social subjects are problematic too, given the conservative ideologies of teachers (Zeilger 1969). Constrained by management considerations and contextual factors, many teachers tend to focus on teaching memorization of information. Most teachers are neither knowledgeable about nor interested in using new curricular materials or the innovative instructional strategies. Being comfortable with the familiar text-and-workbook sources, teachers usually equate the curriculum with the contents of the textbook and treat the textbook as an authoritative source of knowledge and regard coverage of the content as primary obligation (Cuban 1991).

With regard to pedagogy and assessment, there have been persistent criticisms over instructional practices and the role of teacher in social and political education (Hess and Torney 1967; Rosenshine 1970; Massialais 1975; Cuban 1984, 1991; Goodlad 1984; Shaver 1991; Wilen and White 1991; Gehrke et al. 1992; Thornton 1994). For many years instruction in Social Studies has been durably marked by a heavy reliance on textbooks and teacher-centred instruction, characterized by a major emphasis on recall of facts which restrain the development of knowledge and higher-level thinking. On the other hand, alternative forms of discussion for the purposes of introducing students to different points of view, encouraging exploration of ideas and critical thinking, and engaging students in group problem-solving are infrequently used by teachers.

Also, teachers tend to present a consensus view of history, stress ideal norms but ignore the tougher, less pleasant facts of the political world, and avoid dealing with partisanship or discussing the role and importance of social conflicts in the political world, the functions of political parties, community action and pressure groups. Teachers also tend to advance and reinforce non-reflective
notions of allegiance and responsibility to the government but disfavour participatory political behaviour directed toward change.

Second, as to the aspect of the less formal environment of the school or school climate, empirical studies also show that the curriculum and students' activities are incongruent with the actual structure of school governance as students experience it (Hess and Torney 1967). Indeed, much of what is called 'citizenship training' in the elementary schools is not about teaching the child about the city, state or national government, but about regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school. The school focuses only on the obligation and right to vote but does not offer students sufficient understanding of the channels influencing the government, nor does it adequately explain and emphasize the importance of collective action. Teachers, in keeping with the general norms of education, are overly concerned with authority (Zeigler and Peak 1970). This style of teaching and their attitudes and behaviour, are in conflict to democratic norms. School organization is also criticized for its authoritarian features (Shipman 1971:54-55; Hawley 1973; Harber 1992). The anti-democratic structure of schooling and patterns of inequality in classroom learning hamper the possibility of learning democratic citizenship (Morgan 1977; Merelman 1980a; Harber 1989). School is similar to a total institution in terms of the anti-democratic nature of control over school students: compulsory attendance backed up by legal enforcement; the prevalence of extrinsic control in schooling, discipline and a policing atmosphere; single authority and the autocratic structure; and daily activities with the aim to fit or refit the individual child into a prevailing social order, which is 'conformist' in nature. Similarly, undemocratic school practices are heavily criticised by the Neo-Marxists for reinforcing the dominant ideology, as will be showed in the next section.

Third, the effects of schooling on the formation of pupils' political orientation are more questionable since many studies have produced controversial, inconsistent, mixed, and even negative results. Despite the early optimism during the 1950s and 1960s, the 'effective school thesis' was seriously challenged in later research (Langton and Jennings 1968; Ehman 1972; Famen and
German 1972; Massialas, 1975; Merelman 1972, 1980a; Prewitt 1975,1977-78). These studies found that the role of schools in teaching political values appeared to be problematical and the formal curriculum did not have a significant effect, even immediate, on the political orientations of the great majority of American high school students (Merelman 1980a, 1980b). The role of schools in teaching democratic values was problematic as research to date showed that teaching styles have little impact on democratic political attitudes among students and show relatively little observable impact on students from teachers, the curriculum, or the school as a whole. Research findings indicate only the inefficacy of schools in teaching democratic values. For instance, Hess and Tormey (1967) challenge the finding of correlation between years of school and political orientation as a serious confounding of the effect of selection with that of the educational process of political socialization[9].

As to the role of extracurricular activities, although many educators have stressed the positive contributions of extracurricular activities to students' values and civic competence, this premise is still contested as it is difficult to assess the effects of extra-curricular activities on student's civic consciousness. Research on their impact is sparse, and even contradictory. On the one hand, there is considerable evidence to support the positive relationship between students' school participation and their political attitudes (Zibaltt 1965; Ehman 1980a:110-111). On the other hand, Holland and Andre (1987) point out the limitations of the available literature and contend that the existing findings have not demonstrated the causal relationships between adolescent's participation and their later involvement in political activity due to the problems of self-selection, and improper causal attribution[10].

Ehman (1980a), in a comprehensive review of US studies, concludes that in general the formal curriculum is relatively more significant in transmitting political knowledge than political attitudes and beliefs. The regular secondary school civics and government curriculum at both elementary and secondary levels have no noticeable impact on the political attitudes of students
except for racial minorities, while systematic and carefully aimed and innovative curriculum can result in considerable political information transmission. Research (Hess and Torney 1967) also indicates that teachers have some modest impact on the political attitudes of youth, and probably more for lower status students. As to the factors affecting students' political attitudes, the hidden curriculum like classroom climate, student participation in school activities, and the school organizational climate are more significant ones. An open classroom climate has been linked consistently and strongly to students' positive political attitudes. Participation in school governance and extra-curricular activities is related positively to students' political attitudes too.

As can be seen, the political education effects of the school are highly variable, dependent on many contextual and organizational factors (Niemi 1973).

In this section, we have discussed the major controversies over school as an agent of political education in the tradition of political socialization studies. But apart from the challenges from a number of empirical studies, the view of school as a seedbed of democracy has also been criticized by many scholars on both theoretical and methodological grounds, in particular from the side of Neo-Marxists which propose an anti-thesis on the functions of political education. So in the next section, we will turn to a discussion of the Neo-Martian analysis of schooling and political education.

*Political Education as Conservatism and School as a Mechanism of Social Control and Reproduction*

Similar to Easton's political system theory, the school is also viewed by the Neo-Marxists (Althusser 1971; Miliband 1973, 1977; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Apple 1983, 1990; Carnoy and Levin 1985) as an effective agency of political socialization. But unlike the political system theory which stresses cultural transmission from generation to generation, Neo-Marxists argue that schools are effective for the maintenance of the status quo and social inequalities in the interests of the
dominant classes. The school is considered as an ideological apparatus for the ongoing persistence of

First of all, the view of liberal political scientists is criticized for ignoring the ideological
dimension of political socialization and the issues of power, domination and control (Connel and
Goot 1972-73:181; Miliband 1973; Connell 1987). Obviously the issues like hegemony, interests or
power are not taken into account in conventional political socialization studies. These studies of
political socialization are criticised for treating politics as the effect of the socialization process, but
hardly ever as its cause. Investigators rarely ask political questions about the specific ideological
content of that socialization, who benefits, and who controls the process of socialisation.

Instead, both advocates of New Sociology of Education (Bernstein 1971; Young 1971;
Whitty and Young 1976) as well as the Neo-Marxists (Miliband 1973; Apple 1983, 1990, 1995;
Giroux 1983a, 1983b; Whitty 1985) contend that school knowledge or curriculum is not neutral in
itself at all, which is taken-for-granted in the tradition of political socialisation studies. On the
contrary, selection, classification, distribution, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge
in a society reflect both the distributions of power and the principles of social control (Bernstein
1971; Whitty 1985).

Second, as school knowledge is strongly tied with the ideology of the dominant class and
under the control of the powerful, school knowledge is selected, reinterpreted and distributed in a
systematic way which reflects the dominant ideologies, whether they are dealing with political
legitimacy, colonialism, acceptance of class inequality, sexism or racism.

Third, the importance of schooling lies not merely in the issue of the reflection of dominant
ideology and the control of knowledge, but also in its possible reproduction of social inequalities,
domination and oppression through the process of schooling to the students (Bowles and Gintis
1976; Apple 1982). That is why the school is regarded by the Neo-Marxists as the vehicle of
economic and cultural reproduction and as the most important site of ideological struggles.
Viewed in this way, political education practised in school is a mode of hegemonic-state reproduction, or political reproduction (Giroux 1983a). First, the messages or content of political education is not neutral at all but subject to an ideological critique. Adopting a critical approach of Neo-Marxism, Giroux (1983b:168-204) points to the very notion of 'citizenship' in political education and classifies citizenship education into three modes of rationality: the technical, the hermeneutic and the emancipatory. The technical mode of citizenship education includes both the forms of citizenship transmission and social science, which is linked to the principles of control and certainty. Civics is presented as value-free and deprived of normative and political awareness. As to the mode of hermeneutic rationality, it is characterized by a reflective inquiry approach to citizenship education. Although it recognizes the students' influence on political affairs, it ignores the central questions of economic inequalities in countering democracy. The third mode is emancipatory rationality which provides the students with a critique of existing social and political order and suggestion of the possibility of social transformation.

According to the Neo-Marxists, the ideological transmission or legitimisation function of schooling is mediated by the daily practices of both formal and informal curricular, that is, the course of study as well as the invisible pedagogy or hidden curriculum delivered by the social relations or organizational features in schools. As for the formal curriculum, for instance, Anyon (1978,1979,1981a) documented in detail how history and social science textbooks reflected ideology, favoured American Capitalism, the wealthy and the powerful, and provided justification of U.S. social order and institutions.

In addition to the textbooks and syllabuses, classroom practices like unequal power structures, evaluation methods, coercion of work, and stratification systems also together foster the students with the consciousness of political and economic legitimacy, and an acceptance of one's future social class position (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1981b).
Finally, the practice of allocating students to different academic tracks favours the children of dominant social classes. There is also evidence that the class-based allocation of students to educational tracks produces differences in political attitudes and values among the students (Litt 1965; Anyon 1981b).

Education under Colonialism: political education for cultural imperialism and colonial rule and school as an agent of political control

The above analysis of the role of schooling in political socialization is located in the context of western countries, with major reference to the experience of United States. But what about the case of colonial states where imperialism and colonialism are important forms of domination other than capitalism?

Similar to the Neo-Marxism, studies of colonial education also draw our attention to the relations between education and political domination (Nadel and Curtis 1966). With the rise of the western powers in the seventeenth century and the expansion of their rule over Africa and Asia, their rule over the colonies was brought not only by physical forces and economic exploitation, but also by the school system transplanted from metropoles. Just like economic exploitation by the capitalist colonizers at the expense of the development of the colonized areas, the phenomenon of dependency also happened in the realm of education (Watson 1984). Colonialism in education entails inequalities in education on a national basis for the aims and benefits of the foreign rulers rather than for the nation being ruled. Schools in the colonies reflect the power and the needs of the colonizers, including the colonial administrators, missionary groups, merchants and traders. To sustain the colonizer-colonized relationship and to gain acceptance of the colonial situation, the colonizers attempt to pacify the ruled and to rationalize the irrationality and oppression (Mangan 1993). The control over the colonies is exercised through a number of measures: selection of the content of education and control of the curriculum, the imposition of western educational systems, European
language in place of indigenous language as the medium of instruction, selection of the content of education and control of the curriculum, administrative supervision, financial support, controlled access to school, dualism of schooling provision, and the like (Camoy 1974; Di-Bona 1981; Watson 1982:2,28-35; Altbach and Kelly 1991).

Colonial education, in its very nature, is a kind of alien education which is detached from both the colonized's and the colonizer's societies and cultures (Camoy 1974:62-63; Kelly and Altbach 1978:4). The foremost feature of political education under a colonial regime is the colonial school curriculum which is distinct from the metropolitan in both substance, its relationship to its students, and the culture in which they are born and grew up. History is rarely taught at the primary level in colonial schools. Even when it is taught, what is taught is a colonial history interpreted in the eyes of the colonial rulers which is characterized by a devaluation of indigenous cultures and a glorification of the history of the colonial rule. The curriculum deals only with the present, or those institutions that the colonizer brings to the colonized country, but not with the past or future. What is taught has little to do with the society and culture of the colonized, and the schooled would gain a new culture rather than be prepared to work within the context of indigenous culture. The alien nature of colonial education occurs in the denial of the colonized's past and a simultaneous eradication of historical roots of the indigenous people reflected in the curriculum. The colonized therefore experiences double alienation: the first one comes from having their own culture and history destroyed in the process of legitimizing the usurpation of the colonizer, the second one comes from the selective nature of the elements of the metropolitan culture with which they are confronted.

Viewed in this way, colonial education is also a form of colonial rule. Being an institution of colonialism and imperialism, the school exercises political control and consolidates the legitimation of political authority of the colonial rulers. Thus, colonial education is often accused of disseminating cultural imperialism and sustaining the colonial rule over indigenous people (Friere 1973; Camoy 1974; Kelly and Altbach 1978; Kelly 1979; Ball 1983).
Summary and Critique: theoretical discussion on the role of the school in political socialization

So far we have reviewed the three major theoretical perspectives on political education in schools: Liberal-progressivism, Neo-Marxism, and the critical studies of colonial education. As shown above, both approaches have their own strengths and weaknesses. Although both political socialization studies, mainly the cultural transmission theory mentioned above, and the Neo-Marxist theory (hegemonic theory) agree about the supportive function of socialization, hegemonic theory is more concerned with the issues of manipulation and ideology, the content of message transmitted, manipulation in the socialization process, and the economic origins of cultural transmission. Moreover, Neo-Marxists also direct our attention beyond the supportive political orientation to other socio-economic values. As hegemony theory claims that the pattern of political rule is constrained by the class relationships. Therefore, an inquiry of the process of political socialization and formation of consciousness must be related to the economic structures that determine other spheres of society.

Although with different ideological bearings, both orthodox cultural-transmission and hegemony theories [12] share the same assumptions of an over-integrated view of society and an over-socialized conception of human actor, and commit the same common fallacies, that is, an improper conception of human agency and a lack of concrete analysis of the schooling process (Greenberg 1970; Greenstein 1970; Massialas 1972,1977; Connell and Goot 1972-73; Schonfeld 1973:551-552; Prewitt 1975,1977; Tapper and Salter 1978:27; Connell 1987). Thus, despite different terms like diffuse support and ideological manipulation used by students with different theoretical positions, the transmission of a civic culture or dominant ideology is commonly assumed as a self-evident mechanism and schools are generally viewed as an omnipotent agency of political socialization. But the process of indoctrination in fact is a highly precarious one, full of changes and fraught with tension.
The over-concern with the political relevance or system implication of political socialization diverts our attention to the actual practices or processes of political socialization and takes the effects of political socialization for granted. Most research is concerned with either the agents of socialization or the political orientations of the learners whereas little effort is put to explicate the actual effects of political socialization, as well as the process of political learning. Schooling is usually measured in terms of years of study or number of courses taken. As a result, we are kept in darkness about the actual contribution of political education to the students in schools.

The same pitfalls also occur in Neo-Martian theory. Neo-Marxists have argued that the capitalist economy regulates the social relationships in the school, and, in turn, facilitate the students' personality and consciousness in the needs of the capitalist economy and the persistent social inequalities. There are serious problems with the presumption of existence of value consensus and a monolithic conception of society (Abercombe et al. 1981). Hence early reproductionists like Bowles and Gintis are also trapped in the fallacy of traditional socialization model in analyzing school socialization, that is, a black box-like image of schooling process and an over-socialized conception of human actor. As a result, the complexity of school life is reduced to nothing but stereotyped workplace relationships. Despite the fact that they have revised their theory of reproduction later by incorporating the element of 'contradiction' as well as the conception of 'site of logic', their revision is principally directed to institutional and inter-system levels without working out the details of site of logic (Bowles and Gintis 1988). Hence the schooling process and social relationships in school still remain a black box to be explored.

As to the second assumption: the over-socialized conception of human actor[13], the early reproduction theory by Bowles and Gintis (1976) is heavily criticized as deterministic and mechanistic. Ideological manipulation is depicted as a one-way process and this hypodermic effect is thought to be uniform and direct. It assumes that students passively absorb the curricular messages, which is a very simplistic view of learning process itself as it ignores the intermediate social context.
where learning takes place. Secondly, the question of how different actors make use of or interpret the same content is totally neglected. A smooth dominant ideology transmission process is assumed without giving adequate attention to students social background, subculture and other related factors. But reproduction of consciousness is neither complete nor powerful as they assume. Indeed, the mechanism of formation of students' consciousness is far more complicated than what is simply assumed. Resistance and interaction studies have demonstrated the importance of human agency and autonomy in the process of reproduction (Willis, 1977; Woods, 1979,1983; Hargreaves, 1982; Everhart 1983; Giroux, 1983a)[14]. Students are not passive subjects towards their schooling experience. Rather, they were active learners, capable of restructuring the knowledge they received and using it for their own ends. Although Resistance theory successfully refuses economic functionalism and political pessimism, it is criticized for idealism, romanticism and subjectivism because of a simplistic and romantic notion of working class culture (Giroux 1983b).

Finally, studies of colonial education redirect our attention to the particular historical setting of colonial state, where its social political milieu is significantly different from that of the western capitalist countries. Also, these historical studies of colonial education reveal one important relationship of domination between the colonizer and the colonized which should be taken into account in studying the situations of political education in the colonial states. Albeit with these theoretical insights, the study of colonial education was largely limited to the classical age while not much was about the current situation. Also, there is not a simple relationship between colonial domination and education. Colonial education might not be a direct imposition of the metropolitan's or colonizer's education (Whitehead 1988). Also, there were divergences among different colonizers in their educational policies and practices which were in turn shaped by the indigenous society and culture (Altbach and Kelly 1991:2). Historical studies also showed that colonialism in general, and colonial educational policy in particular, differed from one colonial power to another, from one period to another, from one region to another, and even between racial and ethnic groups within the
same territory, depending on the particular situation. Similarly, the responses to colonial education also varied (Watson 1982; Whitehead 1988). Thus we should underscore the complex interaction between the colonizer and the socio-political organization of the colonized society. There is also a danger of interpreting colonial influence on educational development purely as economic and cultural dependency in the third world and blaming the colonial heritage and the neo-colonial links for all the problems facing the poorer countries of the world (Watson 1982:44,199, 1984:7; McLean 1983). It is too simplistic to apply the dependency theory to educational underdevelopment, but gloss over the internal characteristics and dynamics, constraints and influences, the possibility of relative autonomy for educational institutions and the conflict between them and other institutions in wider society.

With a reliance on economic explanations and an assumption that educational dependence is a function of wider political and economic domination of the periphery by the centre, Dependency theory of education has overlooked the possibility of educational autonomy and assumed that negative educational dependency automatically follows political and economy dependency. In fact, not all educational development is a direct result of the policies of the metropolitan powers, as education systems are relatively autonomous and not simply a function of wider political and economic relationships. Above all, to readdress the balance of the criticisms over colonial education, the nature of educational dependency, if any, requires subtle analysis and more detailed case studies of educational development in individual colonies. There is a great need for more research to be context-specific, and more concrete analysis of subtle, internal dynamics and particular characteristics.

The debates on the role of school in political education point to a crucial question — 'does school as an agent of political education matter?' and leads us to reexamine the process and effects of political education in school. In the past, most theories show a macro-bias and remain only at societal, institutional or policy levels and touch little upon the level of school practices, or teachers and students inside school. Hence they fail to demonstrate the complexity of schooling processes and
actors' responses to the state's policy or institutional constraints. Also, they did not pay adequate attention to contradiction, both the positive and negative processes at work, still far from helping us understand the processes and mechanisms of political learning. Therefore, to provide a concrete and detailed analysis of day-to-day schooling practice concerning political education, as well as the lived experience of actors' encounters with ideological practice, further studies of political education need specification and elaboration of the subtle and complex ways with regard to the question of 'how is the control of culture and meaning related to the reproduction of social order?' and 'how the major forms of curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation as well as hidden curriculum contribute to the recreation of the dominant hegemony of dominant classes?'

Based upon the preceding discussion and explication of the weaknesses of previous conception of schooling socialization, we have already pointed out that school is neither a well-integrated nor a homogeneous agent of socialization. To supplement our analysis of contradiction between economy and educational system at macro level and contestation at the realm of consciousness, more research should be directed to the inner logic of school, that is, the organizational properties of school in formal and informal curriculums, as well as the interrelationships among them. The studies of schooling interaction, curricular experience, and school effectiveness open the question of schooling effects and more subtle analysis of learning effect and formation of consciousness.

After conceptual clarification and briefing the basics of the three perspectives on political education in this chapter, it is the context of Hong Kong society and the nature of political education in Hong Kong we now turn to.

1.4 Political Education in a Colony: the development of ‘civic education’ in Hong Kong from the 1950s to 1990s [15]
Civic Education for Depoliticization and Colonial Rule before 1985

Hong Kong, after becoming a British colony in 1842, its political power has been largely concentrated in the hands of the governor, career civil servants and a small group of co-opted elites. For the period between the 1950s and the late 1970s, allied with the milieu at that time was a "parochial and subject political culture" characterized by an acceptance of the status quo and the colonial government, a pervasive sense of political powerlessness and political inefficacy, and a low level of political participation.

Since the late 1960s, the colonial state gradually opened its political structure, and played a more active role in regulating economic and social affairs and in providing public services to the community. In congruence with the socio-political circumstances from the 1950s to early 1980s, formal political education in Hong Kong has been marginalized in this period (Wong, P.M. 1981, 1983; Tsang 1984, 1985, forthcoming; Lee 1987; Yu 1989, 1992; Leung and Lau 1993). The orientation of political education in this period was alien and subject-oriented in nature, alienated the students from the indigenous nationality and local politics and fostered the students as 'subjects' rather than 'citizens' (Morris 1992a; Morris and Sweeting 1992; Tsang 1994, forthcoming).

First, as a form of colonial education, nationalistic education has been marginalized or even eliminated in Hong Kong for a long period of time. Hong Kong schools generally discouraged their students from an identification with the ethnic group or indigenous culture (Chinese and local society), and the political authority (Chinese Government). Most schools also used an alien foreign language (English), rather than the mother tongue (Cantonese) as a medium of learning. The secondary school curriculum, including both Chinese culture and social subjects, was characterized by being 'a-political' and 'a-national' in nature (Luk 1991; Tsang forthcoming). In addition, in exception for a small number of partisan schools, nationalistic education was almost absent owing to government's legal constraints over political activities in schools.
Second, the political education in this period was also subject-oriented in the sense that the concept of ‘citizenship’ transmitted was distorted, one-sided, and conformity-oriented. The content of civic education has been depoliticized and characterized by a typical political transmission approach to political education with the curriculum carrying supporting beliefs of the present political institution and a passive image of citizenship conducive to a political culture of silence. What reflected in the curriculum was a kind of subject political culture more concerned with administrative output and the political system, rather than political inputs and one’s rights and obligations, in Almond and Verba’s (1963) framework (Morris 1992a; Tse 1997a; Tsang forthcoming).

According to Himmelstrand (1970:69-70, quoted from Leung, SW 1994:149-150), the concept ‘depoliticization’ signifies three meanings. First it simply means the development of ideological consensus or the end of ideology, or there is less of ideological disensus. It would be a transformation of political ideologies into a set of more or less distinct administrative technologies based on a widespread consensus as to what kind of goals one should try to attain. Even if ideological differences are not wiped out altogether, ideological differences are de-emphasized in a depoliticized political community. Second, it refers to the separation of functions of ideological statements and of practical politics, or the impact of ideology in practical politics is becoming weaker. Third, it is used in the sense of a decreasing saliency of manifest ideological statements. In the following sections, depoliticization is mainly refereed to the first sense unless other specifications.

Civic Education for Political Transition from 1984 onwards

Since the early 1980s, the greatest political changes were initiated by the process of decolonization and the accompanied steps of democratization with the advent of 1997 and the issue of Hong Kong’s future. Unlike other former British colonies heading to independence and building of
new nation-states, the experience of Hong Kong is unique in its reintegration with an existing nation-state and at the same time maintaining a higher degree of autonomy and thus, a different way of life (Lau 1987, 1990). As stipulated in the *Sino-British Joint Declaration on Hong Kong Future Status* (henceforth *Joint Declaration*) and the *Basic Law of the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China* (henceforth *Basic Law*), China will restore its sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 and Hong Kong will become a SAR of China, preserving the capitalist system and enjoying a high degree of self-government under the principle of 'One Country, Two Systems' promised by the Chinese Government.

The socio-economic development since the 1960s, the process of democratization, and the increasing politicization of society from the 1980s onwards produced changes in the ethos of Hong Kong Chinese, particularly in the moving away from a subject political culture to an immature form of participatory political culture. There has been a growing normative orientation of political participation and attentive attitudes towards mass media among Hong Kong Chinese people. Nevertheless, Hong Kong people's aloofness and apathy remains strong, and many people stay at the spectator level of political participation.

Political reform in Hong Kong since the mid-1980s and the signing of *Joint Declaration* triggered changes in the Government's policy toward political education. These two important political events resulted in a growing concern over the issue of 'civic education' in the Hong Kong community. With the introduction of political reform in the local community toward a representative democracy system and the stipulation of China's policy of 'One Country, Two Systems', civic education was thus considered a major way to provide Hong Kong's future citizens with the necessary political orientation and competence to prepare for the change in the political system. In the first place, in 1984, the Hong Kong Government published a White Paper entitled *The Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong* with the aims to develop a system of
representative government which is more directly accountable to the people of Hong Kong. Civic education was thus expected to play a vital role in promoting an understanding of the new system of representative government and a concern for its successful development, as the White Paper in 1984 states:

> an opinion which has been expressed strongly by many organizations and individual members of the public is that arrangements should be made for the people of Hong Kong to be educated more effectively and comprehensively in political and constitutional matters so that they will be able to understand better all the implications and complexities of proposals for the development of the system of government in Hong Kong (p. 12).

Meanwhile, the advocacy for civic education further stemmed from the signing of the Joint Declaration in 1984. The Joint Declaration indicated that British colonial rule over Hong Kong would end by 1997 and China would assume her sovereignty over the territory and preserve its status quo for a period of fifty years. The end of the colonial rule in Hong Kong will therefore be marked by reintegration with its mother country, rather than by independence. Also, Hong Kong will become a ‘Special Administrative Region’ with Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong. As the change in the sovereignty of Hong Kong in 1997 means that Hong Kong people will acquire a new identity as a citizen of the People's Republic of China, there were calls and debates for using of civic education to enhance nationalistic education and prepare for national integration for the 1997 run-up.

These above factors together demanded for promotion and reform of civic education. In response to the changing local socio-political milieu and public demand for civic education, the Hong Kong Government also adjusted its education policy from a stance of depoliticization to a more active role in civic education by introducing some measures of civic education in schools. The most salient one was the publishing of *The Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* (henceforth the Guidelines) by the Education Department in 1983, then it was accompanied by a number of measures including curricular innovations such as the introduction of the new subject 'Government
and Public Affairs' (GPA) at Advanced Level and Certificate Level, and reforms and revision in curriculum in major social subjects.

Albeit with the change in government policy toward civic education, the progress of civic education in schools seems to be problematic as many studies call the practices of civic education in schools into question. Also, some recent studies have shown that the practices and implementation of civic education in secondary schools and its effects on shaping students' socio-political orientations were highly problematic (Tse 1997a). As we do not know much about the causes of its failure, except for a few case studies (Leung 1994), the present case study of Hong Kong thus serves to fill the gaps in a number of areas. First, Hong Kong, as both an advanced capitalist and colonial society, unlike western capitalist societies, nor developing countries in the third world; its distinctive experience from other societies serves a significant case in comparative education. Second, in studying the schooling process, the present study targets organizational levels which could bridge the missing linkage of analysis in existing studies. As mentioned in 1.2, political education is a phenomenon of variety, complexity and multi-dimensionality, the present study focuses on the aspects of political education, with particular reference to the notion of citizenship, instead of all aspects of civic education commonly called in Hong Kong.

1.5 Organization of the Following Chapters

This dissertation is divided into three parts, and, in turn, eight chapters. After briefing the theoretical background and the development of political education in Hong Kong, Chapter 2 will describe the research objectives, research design and methods, the choice of the schools studied, the procedures of data collection and analysis in detail.

After that, we will look closely at the issue of ‘what do schools do with civic education?’ in the light of the studies of six schools in part 2. Chapter 3 is a review of the ways civic education which was defined by the school administrators and teachers respectively and the organization of
civic education programmes. Then I proceed my analysis to the actual day-to-day practices of civic education in both the formal and informal curriculum in those schools respectively. In the aspect of formal curriculum, Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the content of civic education and depict the ideological underpinnings of the formal curriculum, as well as the pedagogy and assessment practices. As to the sphere of informal curriculum, Chapters 6 and 7 examine the underlying norms, values, and attitudes that are transmitted tacitly through the social organization and social relationships in the schools and classroom interactions.

After a detailed discussion of the practices of civic education in the schools, Chapter 8 summarizes our findings of the six schools under investigation, assesses the role of school as an agency of political socialization and its effects on students' socio-political orientations, and discusses the implications of these results on bigger theoretical issues and practical concerns over the making of future citizens in Hong Kong.
Chapter 2 Research Design and Methods

2.1 Theoretical Framework for the Present Study

After outlining the theoretical background and the context of Hong Kong society and the development of political education, this chapter offers an account of the theoretical framework, research problems, research design and methods for the present study.

The present study borrows both the theoretical inputs of the Neo-Marxist perspective, along with the theories of political socialization and political learning, as well as the inspiring ideas of the study of colonial education, to analyze the content, process and outcomes of civic education in Hong Kong secondary schools.

As mentioned in chapter 1, both the political socialization model and the Neo-Marxist perspective have a number of strengths and weaknesses. Bearing in mind the above weaknesses, I attempt to make an extension and a refinement of the original theory in the light of the perspectives and findings in political education studies. A proposed theoretical model guiding the present study is represented in the following diagram:

**Figure 2.1: The Civic Education Programme at Work**

- **Forms of domination**: colonial setting and capitalist society
- **Schooling processes**: an inadequate formal curriculum, an authoritarian informal curriculum
- **Formation of socio-political orientation**: students' reception

Context of school: background, intake, ideology, curriculum, school organization, and objectives
The model depicts the relationship between forms of domination, schooling processes and students' political orientation. It is hypothesized that the schooling processes are under the influences of larger socio-political forces located in a particular historical context. The context of school, in terms of background, intake, ideology, curriculum, school organization, and objectives set the meso-level of context where school political education happens. Within the schooling processes, both formal and informal curriculum transmit political messages to students. However, the formation of political orientation is an interactive process between the students and the curriculum. Thus the part of students' interpretation and reception of schooling processes and the political messages is worth attention. Finally, the formation of political orientation is functional to the reproduction and transformation of dominations.

The basic weaknesses of reproductionist mode of political socialization is its reliance upon an inadequate conception of socialization both at the consciousness and organizational realms. The original formulation assumes a simplistic, direct and deterministic relationship and a unified, smooth process of transmission and passive reception. However, my study recasts and inputs the factors of mediation into the process of political education. At its best, a complete model of formation of consciousness is the one articulating both the elements at the institutional, organizational and consciousness levels. At the organizational level, the mediating factors include both the formal and informal curriculums. To avoid the problems of reification and causal mis-attribution, what we need to do is a specification of the operation of the schooling processes, in both formal and informal curriculums. At the same time, the school is an organization composed of different kinds of social relationships, under the governing principles of multiplicity and contradiction. Also, I have pointed out the missing links in the chain and advocated a refined model of formation of consciousness. The new model rejects an oversocialized conception of actor and an over-integrated image of socializing agent. Instead, it stresses a recapturation of the actors' lively experience and consciousness. Also,
the impacts of the schooling processes need to be carefully assessed, rather than being taken for

granted. Most Neo-marxists' account of school socialization and previous studies in political

socialization erred in the fallacy of misplaced inference, that is, mis-inferring the attitudes and beliefs

of the individuals from the contents of socialization to which they are exposed, and in turn, the

effects of school's political socialization. Of course, content analysis of political education

documents or programmes might inform us about the goals and ideological underpinnings of the

political messages. However, it can not inform us of the degree to which the messages have been

acquired or internalized by the target audience. Also, data of cross-sectional survey tells us more

about what the children believe or understand than about the mechanisms through which these

knowledge, beliefs or attitudes came to be internalized. And even more, we have learnt little about

the students' political learning situations. Thus, a crucial research question is 'what is actually

received by school students in the process of civic education transmission?' In other words, to assess

the socialization or legitimization effects of civic education on students, we need to study not only the

question 'what do schools do to students?' but also the question 'what do students do with their

schooling experiences?' A valid account requires a rejection of a determinist conception of

ideological manipulation and the view of students as passive subjects in the process of political

learning, but replaced by a view of their active interpretation and subjective experience of political

education. As the studies by others (Leung, SW 1994) also point out that students' political

orientation is far more complex than we previously supposed and there are also various modes of

receptions of formal curriculum and schooling experience among students. We should probe into the

students' experience with their immediate schooling environment and examine in detail its

contribution to the formation of students' political consciousness, that is, the ways civic education are

received by the students; the ways the students perceive the subjects and classroom learning

concerned with civic education, and interpret the textbooks and the contents taught by the teachers;
the ways they perceive the social relationship in schools; and the impacts of the school ethos on the students' political orientation. Meanwhile, a proper analysis should also be sensitive to the structural constraints imposed by social institutions like the state and its impacts on the socialization process in schooling.

2.2 Research Questions

Under the theoretical question of the role of school in political socialization and with special considerations of the socio-political context of Hong Kong society as mentioned above, a key question of sociological concern is ‘does civic education in schools prepare the students for citizenship in this transitional period prior to the 1997 handover?’ With the introduction of civic education in school, have these changes facilitated the achievement of objectives as stated in the Guidelines?

To answer the above questions, I narrow them down to a set of more specific research problems in light of the theoretical framework depicted above:

First, what is the political orientation of civic education programmes in school? What form of ‘citizenship’ do schools promote? Is it still the mode of political transmission or towards a more reflective and critical one?

Second, what is the state of civic education at work in schools? How are the formal and informal curriculums in operation? What are the differences in promoting civic education among different schools?

Third, what kind of young citizens does school create? What is actually transmitted to students? How is civic education received by the secondary school students in Hong Kong? All of these questions will serve as a guide to my present study.
Having discussed the basic research questions and the theoretical perspectives, I would like to elaborate more about their bearings on the present research design. With respect to methodological issues, the conventional method of studying political socialization is far from adequate [1]. For example, the studies of students' attitudes and antecedent variables in the political socialisation studies in light of the methods of cross-sectional questionnaire are flawed by a lack of control of time variables and the absence of an explanation of actual experience. As a result, at most we could only understand the students' subjective feeling of the subject matter but not the actual effects of the learning activities. Since the measures are unable to reveal the kinds and qualities of experiences students have during the course of lessons, the learning mechanism is always obscured, and the effects of teaching is asserted rather than rigorously or clearly demonstrated. Even the psychological approach to political learning fails to unveil much about students' consciousness. Students' experience is often neglected or transformed into psychologists' constructs without proper understanding of their nature and origins [2].

To avoid the pitfalls and limitations of previous studies, and to have an in-depth understanding of the conditions, processes and outcomes of political education, the present study collected multiple sources of data by utilizing a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods including longitudinal survey, in-depth interview, observation as well as documentary analysis. As shown in the Table 2.1, the overall design incorporated a variety of methods for data collection and analysis at appropriate stages in dealing with particular research questions [3]. First of all, textual analysis was performed on the Guidelines and other official curriculum documents concerning the social subjects Economics and Public Affairs, Social Studies, Chinese History at the third year (S3) to portray the current objectives and contents, curricular and pedagogical prescriptions, as well as contents of the formal curriculum in secondary schools. The use of the documentary analysis can
depict the ideological bearing of the formal curriculum and display a configuration of the implementation of civic education. Also, secondary data like textbooks, learning and teaching materials, student handbooks, school magazines, minutes of staff meeting, and the like was utilized to provide a general picture of the school background, and the implementation of civic education programmes in the schools.

Table 2.1: An Overview of Data Collection and Data Analysis Strategies

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What has been the development of civic education in recent years? (Chapter 1)</td>
<td>to provide a context of discussion</td>
<td>official guidelines and published reports on civic education</td>
<td>Education Department &amp; previous studies</td>
<td>review of literature, secondary data analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What were the goals of civic education held by various practitioners? (Chapter 3)</td>
<td>to depict the ideological bearing of formal curriculum, e.g. the themes of politics, citizenship, democracy, and socio-economic values</td>
<td>school’s documents of civic education programme, school magazine.</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>documentary analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What was the political orientation of civic education programmes in individual schools? What was its policy and organization? (Chapter 3)</td>
<td>to illuminate the day-to-day practice of civic education programs of six secondary schools;</td>
<td>the documents of civic education programmes and activities</td>
<td>six secondary schools</td>
<td>concept development, typology-making, finding association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. What was the contents of the formal curriculum? (Chapter 4)</td>
<td>to illuminate the ideologies embedded in the subjects.</td>
<td>syllabuses, textbooks, learning and teaching materials</td>
<td>syllabuses, textbooks, learning and teaching materials</td>
<td>documentary analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How did the formal curriculum function? (Chapter 5)</td>
<td>to illuminate the day-to-day practice of political education process.</td>
<td>survey and in-depth interview with teachers and students concerning the teaching contents, pedagogy and assessment;</td>
<td>fieldwork in six secondary schools</td>
<td>statistical analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. In terms of informal curriculum, what are the organization of students' council, rules of school as well as other organizational features in schools? (Chapters 6 &amp; 7)</td>
<td>to grasp their subjective experience of the civic education in practice.</td>
<td>Open-discussion with the school administrators and teachers; survey and in-depth interview with students concerning their perception of school climate, teacher-student relationship, students' participation and the like; in-school observation</td>
<td>fieldwork</td>
<td>statistical analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, a six-secondary schools-study, using both qualitative and quantitative data, was conducted to enhance our understanding of the concrete day-to-day practice of civic education programmes happening in schools. A multiple-case study was adopted on two counts:
(1) As different social groups uphold different and even sometimes conflicting definitions of civic education. Disagreement about the conceptions of civic education was also witnessed amongst different educational organizations, school principals as well as teachers. Different organizations in the education sector provided their own civic education programmes for students. For some educational organizations, civic education is conceived as a form of moral education, and even religious education. However, for the PRC's supporters, more emphasis is put on 'nationalism' or 'patriotism', while other educational organizations put more emphasis on the role of civic education as democratic education and accord the priority to the notion of 'democracy'. Differences in ideas concerning the proper role of civic education also resulted in different ways of the civic education programme being implemented. Thus variances in school practices warrant comparative case studies.

(2) Unlike previous studies based on large-scale survey in Hong Kong and abroad, it is also more appropriate to employ comparative case study to provide an in-depth explanation of the poverty of political education at organizational level. Previous research (Ho 1989:87) also points to the need of in-depth case study, that is, studying not whether a variable is present or not, but how it operates. Case study has the advantage of context-sensitivity. To capture the richness of context also requires using multiple methods and sources of data. Multiple-case study also simultaneously fulfils descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory purposes and satisfy the criteria of revealatory nature and the peculiarities of critical and rare cases (Yin 1993; 1994:xi,32-35).

The choice of a variety of settings can serve the purpose of comparison and hypothesis-generation. Also, comparative case study is preferable to single case study as it allows an examination of the particularities and commonalities across the cases concerned[4]

The main body of my present research is a multiple case study of six secondary schools. To achieve the goal, the overall design incorporates a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods at
appropriate stages in dealing with particular issues, as shown in the Table 2.1 which provides a list of objectives, rationale, data gathered and data analysis (Brewer and Hunter 1989; Brenman 1991; Creswell 1994).

The use of quantitative data, including the first-hand data of questionnaires I collected and other previous studies, can facilitate qualitative research in the following ways: (1) the use of quantified background data can contextualize my case studies, against which to interpret the data collected; (2) it can be used to test hypotheses or to explore ideas thrown up by the qualitative work, especially the part of students' socio-political orientation; and (3) it can provide a basis for the sampling of cases and comparison groups which form the intensive study, for example, the pattern of students' socio-political orientation revealed in the survey data.

In addition, the uses of qualitative research can facilitate the survey in four ways: (1) as a source of hunches or hypotheses which quantitative work may then go on to test; (2) in the development and piloting of research instruments such as questionnaires; (3) in the interpretation and clarification of quantitative data, particularly providing more detailed exploration; and the need to follow up an issue in a way where quantitative methods are inappropriate, for example, inner-meanings of respondents' concepts; and (4) as exemplars of the survey findings.

Choice of Schools

The six schools were selected through purposive sampling based upon the considerations of theoretical significance. The theoretical criteria of choosing the schools for comparative studies may also need further clarification. Based upon the strategies of maximum variation and critical case, the adoption of a multiple-case study could facilitate comparison as well as obtain a more complete picture (though not representative in statistical sense).
The sample of the schools was not randomly selected from the whole population of Hong Kong secondary schools. Instead, I strived for a sample encompassing various types of schools, in terms of ideological background (pro-Communist China or religious), degree of involvement or provision of formal civic education programmes, (active or passive, explicit or not), school type (e.g. government, aided or private), curriculum (e.g. grammar, technical or prevocational), medium of instruction (e.g. Chinese or English), intake of students(banding), and the presence of student organization. The purpose of maximum variation sampling strategy is to document diverse variations and identify important common patterns across the six cases (Yin 1994). More importantly, of the six schools selected, some were critical cases worthy of in-depth investigation. Readers can find a profile of the six schools contained in Table 3.1 in Chapter 3. In each school, the civic education programme, whether in the aspects of objectives, contents, organization and activities, formal and informal curricular, was studied through an examination of documents, observation, interviews and survey data mentioned above.

Gaining Access

After choosing the target schools for investigation, I approached the schools through some key informants. Also, letters requesting assistance with explanation of the project were sent to the principals of individual schools when appropriate. Visits to the schools and talks with school principals and administrators concerning the research proposal were made to facilitate entry. By the end of August 1994 access to the schools was confirmed.

2.4 Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection
The fieldwork began in mid-September 1994 and finished in late-September 1995. There were approximately 30 working weeks for the field visits. Small-scale surveys for students, in-depth interview, as well as document analysis were utilized to collect the data during this period for studying each school's activities and civic education programme.

In the formal curriculum across these grade levels, the focus was put on the S3 subjects such as Economics and Public Affairs (EPA), Social Studies, Chinese History, as well as Civic Education (if any) because the contents of these subjects are seen to be particularly relevant to the programme of civic education. As to informal curriculum, attention was paid to the organization of students' council, school rules, school climate as well as other organizational features in the schools.

To facilitate a comparison of the development of political orientation as well as to examine the effects of age and curriculum, students in the third- and sixth-years were selected to study. These grade levels were chosen based on the following consideration: (1) the first-year students may not be well-equipped to fill in the questionnaires in terms of persistence and ability, while students in the fifth and seventh years were busy with their studies and preparation for public examinations, and most schools were reluctant to allocate them to research. (2) With regard to the third year, Social Studies and Chinese History were still the subjects of the common curriculum showing direct relevance to civic education. Meanwhile, it was also the last year of the nine-year compulsory education, a threshold for the secondary school students. They were facing the choice of further studies and work. (3) As to the choice of the sixth-year students, it was because they were more mature at this stage and they also usually played the roles of leadership in students organizations, so we can make a comparison with the lower form students.

Survey-data Collection: subjects and sampling
For a systematic assessment of the change of students' political orientation over a period of approximately nine months, and the actual learning effects of school political socialization, a small-scale longitudinal survey was conducted for the third- and sixth-year students [5]. Two surveys were conducted during the academic year in 1994-95. The first one was launched in late-September 1994, the month of the beginning of academic year while the second one was in mid-June 1995.

As to the selection of students for filling questionnaires, ideally speaking, the best method was certainly random sampling by which students were selected from all classes in each grade level. However, it was not feasible in practice as it would put a heavy burden on the school's administration. Alternatively only one class of students from each form was selected [6].

On the day of distributing questionnaires, each student present in the class selected was required to fill in a self-administered questionnaire, which was mainly in structured form, during a regular class-period monitored by the investigator, helpers or the teachers who read the survey instructions in advance. The person in supervision was responsible for explaining the study to the students. Normally the whole process took about 40 minutes and the questionnaires were collected immediately. After that, a total number of 252 third- and 245 sixth-year students in the six schools were surveyed. The profile is shown in Table 2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Royal College</th>
<th>On-Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-Kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S3 (male)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27 (technical class)</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6 (female)</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>29 (arts class)</td>
<td>30 (arts)</td>
<td>31 (arts)</td>
<td>31 (Arts)</td>
<td>29 (technical and commercial class)</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 (science class)</td>
<td>33 (science)</td>
<td>37 (science)</td>
<td>30 (Arts)</td>
<td></td>
<td>90 (commercial class)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>94</strong></td>
<td><strong>108</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>497</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Instruments and Measurement**

The questionnaire collected information about (i) students' background, (ii) students' perception of formal curriculum, (iii) their perception of informal curriculum such as their
participation in students' council, school rules, as well as school's civic education activities and (iv) their socio-political orientations and civic involvement.

The questionnaire incorporated the measures of a variety of variables derived from the curricular objectives in the Guidelines and official syllabuses of the social subjects; and followed the scales developed by former studies in political education and citizenship education (Torney et al. 1975; Giroux 1983a, 1983b; Yu 1989; Ho 1989; Tse 1992). For a reference, please find a copy of the questionnaire enclosed in the Appendices.

Qualitative data collection: interview and observation

To supplement the survey data collected and assess the actual socialization effects of school political education on students, in each class selected for survey, some students were further selected for in-depth interview. In addition, open-discussion with the school administrators and teachers, in-depth interview with teachers and in-school observation (if permitted) were utilized to grasp the actors' experience of the civic education and to understand the situation of students' participation better. In the schools under study, interviews with a total number of 81 persons were conducted. They included school principals, teachers, as well as students at S3 and S6 levels. A profile of them is shown in Table 2.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Royal</th>
<th>On-Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrators/teachers responsible for civic education programme</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary 3 subject teachers</td>
<td>1 EPA teacher, 1 Chinese Language teacher</td>
<td>1 EPA teacher &amp; 1 Chinese History teacher</td>
<td>1 Chinese History teacher &amp; 1 Social Studies teacher</td>
<td>1 Chinese History teacher &amp; 1 Social Studies teacher</td>
<td>2 Social Studies teachers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary 3 students</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary 6 students</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data recording and analysis

The essential instruments of data-recording in the survey were the questionnaire itself and a codebook. After the procedure of data-cleaning, the survey data collected were subject to statistical analysis through the SPSS programme. Factor analysis was utilized for data reduction and scale construction. Reliability tests were performed to assess the scale's reliability. Comparisons between different groups were conducted by the means of cross-tabulation and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). For the sake of simplicity, an overview of the data collection and data analysis strategies utilized is summarized in Table 2.1.

Pilot Study

Prior to the stage of data-collection, I was a supply teacher in a secondary school for about two months in 1994. During this period, I conducted participant observation and interviews with teachers and students. Then it was followed by a small-scale survey on a number of students and the data collected was subject to preliminary data analysis like reliability and validity test, as well as factor analysis with an aim to improve the validity of the instrument and the layout of questionnaire. The findings of the pilot study in turn informed the survey design in the aspects of setting questions and selection of variables, the format of the questionnaire, as well as developing indicators and building scales. Conducting in-depth interview and participant observation was also conducive to the design of an interview guide and observation scheme for later fieldwork [7].

After describing the research objectives, research design in the present chapter, in Part 2 we shall closely look at the ways schools approached civic education in light of the six schools.
Chapter 3 Civic Education Programmes in the Six Schools:

Background, Policy and Organization

3.1 A Portrait of the Six Schools under Investigation

After describing the theoretical perspectives, research objectives, and research design in Part 1, we shall look closely at the ways schools approached civic education in Hong Kong in Part 2. As a study of civic education at work in six Hong Kong secondary schools, the present chapter aims to provide a profile of those schools under investigation by describing their general background, their provision of civic education, as well as the problems encountered in the process of implementation.

The six secondary schools in Hong Kong chosen for the present study are Royal College, On-yan Foundation Secondary School, Bishop Brown Secondary School, Yuk-kwan Middle School, Virtues College and St Anthony's Prevocational Secondary School (the names of schools and persons in these schools referred in this dissertation are fictitious) [1]. Their general background information is provided as follows to offer a better understanding of their distinctiveness and the running of each school's civic education programme. Table 3.1 presents a profile of them in 1994.
### Table 3.1: A Profile of the Six Selected Schools in September 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Royal College</th>
<th>On-Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-Kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>Hong Kong Island</td>
<td>A new town in the New Territories</td>
<td>New Territories</td>
<td>Kowloon</td>
<td>Kowloon</td>
<td>A new town in the New Territories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Campus area (m²)</strong></td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year founded</strong></td>
<td>mid-1920s</td>
<td>late-1980s</td>
<td>mid-1980s</td>
<td>mid-1940s</td>
<td>mid-1960s</td>
<td>late-1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curriculum</strong></td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Pre-vocational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium of instruction</strong></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Finance</strong></td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>Directly subsidized</td>
<td>Private, under the Bought Place Scheme</td>
<td>Aided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender composition</strong></td>
<td>Boys mainly, admission of girls to S6 &amp; S7</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
<td>Co-educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intake of SI students</strong></td>
<td>Band 1</td>
<td>Band 2-3 mainly</td>
<td>Band 4 mainly</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Band 5 mainly</td>
<td>Band 5 mainly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No of students</strong></td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No of classes</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No of clubs for extracurricular activities</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Joining SMI</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Student union/board of Student Representatives</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents-teachers association</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alumni association</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Royal College: a prestigious school**

As a prestigious Anglo-Chinese secondary school, Royal College was founded in the 1920s. Being a government school, the school hoists the photo of Queen Elizabeth II in the hall and classrooms and flies the Union Jack on the roof.

Royal College has a grammar school curriculum and teaches through the medium of English except for Chinese subjects. It is a 'symmetrical' school with five classes at each level from
S1 to S5 and four classes at each level from S6 to S7\(^2\). Classes are streamed from S4 to S5 with one arts class and four science classes. In S6 and S7, there is one arts class and three science classes. In September 1994, there were 33 classes with approximately 1,200 students. Most of the students were boys except for a small number of girls enrolling in matriculation courses.

Students are admitted to S1 through the Secondary School Placement Allocation System (SSPAS) operated by the Education Department, with a small number of discretionary places being filled through open competition. Most places at S6 are filled by its own S5 graduates, while a limited number of places are filled by external students with good performance in the Certificate Examination. As a prestigious school, Royal College recruits not only the most distinguished students, usually those who performed best in the SSPAS (the so-called ‘band one students’), but also those from better socio-economic background in terms of both type of housing, parents’ monthly income, educational level, and occupational status.

The school has formally adopted the new School Management Initiative (SMI) scheme since September 1993\(^3\). Under the SMI scheme, a School Advisory Council is formed to give advice and support to the school management affairs. The Council consists of the Principal, representatives from the Education Department, Parents-Teachers Association, Old Boys’ Association and the teachers. Since 1993, the school has prepared annual school plans to introduce innovations in the teaching of English, Chinese and Mathematics, in class discipline, in civic education and moral education and in staff development.

Royal College’s Parents and Teachers Association was set up in February 1993 to forge closer ties between the parents and the school. Since its founding, it has organized several parent-teacher meetings and social functions like seminars, Parents’ Day, study tours to Beijing and Guangzhou, and a harbour-cruise. It also donated equipment to the school and sponsored sports and musical activities, school publications, study tours, and other school functions and students’ activities.
With a respectable school tradition of more than sixty years, the Royal College has produced numerous prominent old boys who are playing leading roles in the local community. A strong old boys' association established in the 1930s has been playing a very active role in taking part in school events like annual speech day, the Annual Sports Day, the Swimming Gala, and providing constant support to the school and students through donations and sponsoring students' activities.

Royal College has maintained a rather high academic standard, as evident in the students' brilliant performance in the public examinations like Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) and Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE). For instance, 180 Secondary 5 students sat for the 1995 HKCEE and scored 184 distinctions and 569 credits, with an average pass rate of approximately 90%. Some of the best students even achieved 9 A's or 8 A's in the examination. In the same year, out of the 115 Secondary 7 graduates, 90% furthered their education in local or overseas universities. Apart from academic achievements, the school also emphasizes students' participation in extra-curricular activities. There are over forty clubs and societies offering a wide variety of academic, sports, cultural, social service, religious, recreational and interest group activities, with the students playing a key role in organizing all these activities. The students publish school newspapers and the school magazine too. In addition, the school has actively participated in numerous inter-school activities like the Hong Kong School Music Festival, Hong Kong Schools Speech Festival and the sports competition held by the Hong Kong Schools Sports Association, and attained excellent results in some of these activities.

**On Yan Foundation Secondary School: an innovative school**

On Yan Foundation Secondary School (henceforth On-yan) is an Anglo-English grammar school located in a public estate in a new town. It is an aided school run by the On-yan foundation, a philanthropic organization. There are 6 classes at each level from S1 to S3, 4 classes at each level.
from S4 to S5 and 2 classes at each level from S6 to S7. At each level from S4 to S5, 4 classes are streamed into 2 arts and 2 science classes respectively. From S6 to S7, there are one arts class and one science class. In September 1994, On-yan had altogether 30 classes with an enrolment of approximately 1000 students.

A majority of the students come from the public estates in the New Territories. Also, a majority of the students’ parents has primary or lower secondary education and belongs to the working class.

The Principal is energetic and innovative in implementing a number of measures to improve the school. Among the pioneers taking part in the SMI scheme in 1992, On-yan has developed a new school management framework, school plan, staff appraisal, school policies and procedures, and made more flexible funding arrangements. A School Advisory Council consisting of the Principal, teachers, parents and alumni representatives functions to give advice and support to the affairs of school management. The school has also accepted many new ideas of school management and accordingly introduced a number of measures like systematic evaluation and assessment practices of schooling effectiveness, teachers' appraisal and the like. It has also paid special attention to staff development and in-service training for teachers. The school has an open climate where teachers could discuss school policies and pinpoint the problems arisen.

Over the past few years, the School Advisory Council has implemented a series of innovations in civic education and moral education, staff development and development of school-based curriculum in the subjects like EPA, Chinese History, Mathematics, and Home Economics.

The school has a strong climate of professionalism and constantly holds induction programmes for new teachers, in-service training programmes, seminars, and evaluation camps for the teachers. There are teaching-assessments for each class and each teacher. Teachers also attend each other's lessons every year. The school claims a team of professional teachers as a certain amount of teachers are keen to pursue further studies in education. Also, quite a number of teachers
actively participated in professional educational groups and enthusiastically engage in interchange activities with other schools and educational organizations.

Since 1992, the school issued letters to parents and held a number of activities such as forums, workshops, parent-children tours for parents and their children. The formation of Parents-Teachers Association started in 1994 with the aims to build up partnership relations and channels of communication between parents and school; to promote the parents' obligations and duties of educating their students; and to seek the opinions of parents for improvement of the school. The PTA used to organize meetings for parents to address the issue of S1 student adaptation to school life, and a seminar on the school syllabus and the way of handling examinations. An alumni association was established in late 1994.

Although with a short history of less than ten years, On-yan has already attained a good reputation within the local community. The quality and academic abilities of students were steadily improving in recent years as it has more and more bands 1 and 2 students enrolling in the S1 classes. For the school year 1994-1995, among the 220 S3 students, almost all of them were entitled to have S4 places sponsored by the government and about 160 students stayed in the same school for S4 study. Also, there has been a steady improvement of the students' performance in public examinations over the last few years. For instance, 160 S5 students sat for 1995 HKCEE and attained an average pass rate of some 70%. As for 1995 HKALE, the average pass rate was 80%. Of the 60 S7 graduates, 50% entered local universities and colleges and 2% furthered their education overseas.

With a better intake over the last several years, the school showed more concern to boost students' performance in public examination and their level of English by making a better preparation for the students for public examinations and providing a better environment of learning English. The school is planning to switch into English as the major medium of instruction and reinforce English teaching in junior years. Also, the school is planning for a change from an
asymmetrical school to a symmetrical one. The school maintains a close relation with a local community youth centre and has frequent interchanges with other schools and educational organizations. Also, as a member of the inter-school alliance of the local community, On-yan has actively participated in a number of joint-school functions like sports competitions and interchange programmes, as well as community activities within the local district.

_Bishop Brown Secondary School: a religious school_

Bishop Brown Secondary School (henceforth Bishop Brown) is an aided Anglo-Chinese grammar school run by a Christian Church since 1984. Located in the New Territories with several public estates nearby, the school comprised altogether 30 classes with about 1,100 students in September 1994. It had 6 classes at each level from S1 to S3, 4 classes at each level from S4 to S5 and 2 classes at each level from S6 to S7. From S4 to S5, 4 classes were evenly streamed into science and arts classes where commercial subjects were offered to arts students. At each level in S6 and S7, there were one arts class and one science class.

In recent years, the school has recruited mainly band 4 students from the primary schools in the catchment area. Most of the students belong to the working class and live in the public estates in the same district.

Students were generally poor in academic performance. For the school year 1994-1995, among the 201 S3 students, 116 of them were entitled to have S4 places sponsored by the Government and out of them, only 71 students stayed in the same school for S4 study. In 1995, 152 S5 students sat for the HKCEE with an average pass rate of 21.2%, while 58 students sat for the HKALE with an average pass rate of 68.9%. Out of the 58 S7 graduates, 20 students entered local universities. Because of a poor learning climate and the poor results in public examinations, only a few S5 students got promotion to S6 studies and many S6 places were filled by students from other schools.
As a Christian school, a special emphasis is paid to religious education with the establishment of a religious affairs committee. Morning prayer meetings are held on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Members of Christian Fellowship meet regularly on Tuesday afternoon, with two cell groups arranged for senior and junior forms. Also, special activities such as religious week are held in each school year.

The Principal often stresses the notion of family and aims at making the school a warm family, building a close relationship between the teachers and students, and showing care to every student in the school. As a new school admitting a significant number of less able students, over the last several years, student discipline has been considered a serious problem in the school with much effort paid to maintain the school order and preserve the proper conduct of students. For instance, the school reconstructed the Discipline and Counselling Committees into a single Guidance Committee to reinforce co-operation between the two aspects and strengthen the control over the students. Thus, the Committee has adopted a number of measures to tackle students' emotional and behaviour problems and strengthened the work of students' guidance and the co-operation with parents. In 1994, School Parents Day was held with parent interviews and report card distribution, together with board-exhibition, video-shows, talks, and a book exhibition. A number of parent seminars concerning the ways of parenting and parent-children relationship were held too. Besides that, there was a Peer Guidance Scheme, a youth development camp, an orientation and training camp for S6 students, and an annual leadership training camp for prefects.

Finally, as far as the participation of other parties in school affairs is concerned, Bishop Brown has not yet established its parents-teachers association and alumni association.

Yuk-Kwan Middle School: a patriotic school

Located in urban area, Yuk-Kwan Middle School (henceforth Yuk-kwan) is a partisan school with a history of more than forty years. As a pro-Communist school with close ties with
Mainland China and an emphasis on patriotic education, it has been in a position outside the mainstream of Hong Kong secondary schools for many years. The school's mission is to make contributions to the motherland and to serve the society by educating the students. For many years until late 1970s, the school has adopted an anti-establishment orientation and showed hostility to the colonial government. During this period, the school premises were even searched by the police force on some occasions.

The school offers a grammar school curriculum. It has four classes at each level from S1 to S5 and 2 classes at each level from S6 to S7. At each level from S4 to S5, 4 classes are streamed into 2 arts classes and 2 science classes respectively. At each level in S6 and S7, there is one arts class and one Science class. In September 1994 there were altogether 24 classes with an enrolment of about 1000 students.

Yuk-kwan has been running as a non-profit-making private school until 1992 when it joined the new Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS). Under this scheme, Yuk-kwan can receive a public subsidy from the government for each eligible student. It is also free to decide the school curriculum and set entrance requirements and fee levels. Unlike the other five schools where students are admitted to S1 classes through the centralized placement allocation scheme, Yuk-kwan's students are admitted through open application for entrance.

In Hong Kong, within the grammar school system, schools can be further differentiated by the medium of instruction into the Anglo-Chinese and the Chinese-Middle schools. Yuk-kwan is one of the minority of Chinese-Middle schools in which Chinese has been the language of instruction for all subjects since its founding. The choice of Chinese also signifies its affinity with China and a mission of preserving Chinese culture. Meanwhile, Mandarin is taught for students at S1 and S2 levels.
A majority of its students was born in Mainland China and emigrated to Hong Kong in less than five years. In terms of family socio-economics status, most of them belong to the working class.

Since the early 1980s, the school has strived for a high standard in academic performance, especially in public examinations. To meet this end, weekly tests are held frequently and remedial tutorials after school are provided for the students. For continuous improvement of teaching effectiveness, teachers meet bi-weekly to exchange experience and study teaching materials. Over the past ten years, Yuk-kwan students have attained good performance in public examinations. In the 1994 HKCEE, 170 S5 students sat for the examination and resulted in an average pass rate of over 95% and 43.6% obtaining grades A to C. In the 1995 HKALE, it yielded an overall average pass rate of 85.8% and a 22.2% obtaining grades A to C. In addition, the school has a good record of sending its graduates to local tertiary institutes.

Clubs and societies concerning academic activities, sports and games, arts and crafts, and social services organized by the school and the students' association number over twenty. In recent years, Yuk-kwan has sent its students to a number of inter-school contests in sports, dance, music, composition, verse speaking and mathematics, and attained satisfactory results.

Teachers visit the students' parents every year, a tradition which has been upheld for decades. Meetings of parents in the same form are convened in the school every year, at which the parents are informed of their children's performance and recent developments of the school. A parents-teacher association, composed of 21 parents and 10 teachers, was founded in the 1950s to enhance the friendship between parents and teachers, and the linkage between parents and the school, and to support the development of the school's matters. The association published information about the association and held seminars, recreational activities and social gatherings for the parents. An alumni association was established in the mid-1960s and a students' union was founded earlier in 1958.
Virtues College: a private school

Located in a dense residential urban area with a number of public estates nearby, Virtues College (henceforth Virtues) is a grammar school with a history of nearly thirty years. Being a private school under the government Bought Place Scheme (BPS), Virtues is qualified for limited government financial assistance in the form of per capita grant for each place bought and supplementation of teachers’ salaries.

In terms of school facilities, teacher-student ratio and teacher qualifications, the private schools in Hong Kong are generally poorer than their government and aided counterparts (Tse 1992). Virtues is a small school in terms of both physical facilities and human resources. The present five-floor school premises are merely equivalent to an ordinary primary school building.

Virtues did not offer S6 class until 1992. In 1994, the school had 4 classes at each level from S1 to S2, 3 classes at each level from S3 to S5, and 1 class at each level from S6 to S7. From S4 to S5, the three classes were streamed into 2 arts classes and 1 science class respectively. In S6 and S7, it offered one arts class at each level only. In total, it had an enrolment of 680 students in 19 classes, as well as 36 teachers.

The private schools are not only deprived in terms of resources, material and personnel, but also impaired by the quality of students. Virtues accepts mainly less able primary school leavers, the so-called 'band 5 students', and some students with learning and behaviour problems transferred from other schools. Indeed, most of the students are from the low socio-economic strata and quite a notable number of students are children of single-parent families.

Under the constraint of resources, facilities and staff, the extra-curricular activities offered by Virtues are also limited. Also, teacher-parents association and alumni association have not been established so far. The public examination results were rather poor as the average pass rate in HKCEE was approximately 30%. Since only a few students were qualified for S6 study, Virtues
had to recruit students from other schools to fill in the places and only a small number of its graduates (around 10%) were admitted to universities.

*St. Anthony’s Secondary School: a prevocational school*

St. Anthony’s Prevocational Secondary School (hereafter as St Anthony) is an aided school managed by a Catholic organization. Founded in 1979, the school is located in a new town in the New Territories.

Unlike the grammar schools, St. Anthony offers a form of pre-vocational training suited to students with an aptitude for practical and technical subjects. The curriculum from S1 to S3 is made up of approximately 40% technical and practical subjects and 60% general subjects while the technical and practical content is reduced to approximately 30% from S4 to S7.

In September 1994 there were 28 classes with an enrolment of 920 students. It had 6 classes at each level from S1 to S3, 4 classes at each level from S4 to S5 and 1 class at each level from S6 to S7. From S1 to S3, 6 classes at each level were streamed into 2 commercial classes and 4 technical subjects classes respectively. Four classes were evenly divided into commercial and technical streams at S4 and S5 respectively and one class offered both commercial and technical subjects at each level in S6 and S7.

Compared with their counterparts in the other five schools, St. Anthony’s students are placed in an inferior situation in terms of both study and career prospects. In the past, a large number of St Anthony’s students completing S3 entered the labour market, continued their studies in technical colleges, or registered in apprenticeship schemes for semi-skilled vocational training, whereas only a smaller proportion of them pursued their studies to S5. In 1994, among the 200 S3 graduates, some 70% of them were promoted to S4 studies in the same school, while others went to other secondary schools; technical institutes; or entered into the labour market. In 1993, St Anthony started to provide sixth form classes for students furthering their studies in local tertiary institutions.
Yet St Anthony's students are still in an unfavourable position in seeking higher status qualifications and occupations, and in competition with their counterparts in grammar schools in public examinations. The public examination results were poor too. The average pass rate in 1994 HKCEE was merely 15%. Among the S5 graduates, 11% of them were admitted to S6 classes in the same school, 13% of them repeated their studies, 13% were admitted to technical institutes for further studies, and the remaining students were admitted to apprenticeship training scheme or getting a job. In 1994, among the 30 S7 graduates, most of them furthered their studies in non-degree courses.

The prevocational schools are often classified by the public as second-class schools for 'academic failures'. Without exception, a majority of St Anthony's students is the band five one under the SSPAS who are allocated because of either their poor academic performance in primary school years, their interests in practical subjects instead of in the traditional academic subjects, or for the sake of learning some practical skills in preparation for employment. Compared with other mainstream schools they are facing less academic pressures. Most students belong to the working class and live in the public estates in the same district.

St Anthony has not formally participated in the SMI, despite it has developed a new school management framework, school plan, and made more flexible funding arrangements over the last two years. A School Advisory Committee has been formed to involve the participation of teachers, parents and alumni representatives in the formulation of school policies. St Anthony also formed its parents-teachers association in 1993.

A Recapitulation: commonalities and diversities

As can be seen from above, the schools under study differ in location, facilities, history, curriculum, medium of instruction, finance, religious or political background, intake of students, school size and number of classes, provision of extracurricular activities, openness of school
management, presence of student union, liaison with parents and alumni, public examination performance and college attendance, and a number of other characteristics. As would be shown in detail below, their distinctiveness in history and background significantly affected the running of each school and its provision of civic education programme in terms of objectives and priorities, organization and management, as well as the problems encountered in the process of implementation.

3.2 Provision of Civic Education in terms of Objectives and Priorities

Prior to the 1980s, civic education in Hong Kong schools has been depoliticised for several decades and the arrival of the official Guidelines in 1985 changed little. The objectives and contents of the Guidelines are characterized by an extensive, conservative and moralized definition of civic education, as well as an exclusion of the issue of transfer of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997 and a fostering of national and ethnic identities with China (Tsang 1985; Lee 1987; Tse 1997).

An ambiguous and over-encompassing official conception of civic education, and the inclusiveness of the objectives and goals in the Guidelines make civic education a 'hotchpotch' of moral, social and political education and leave much room for different interpretation by different persons, and, in turn, has different curricular implications. As there is disagreement and conflict in defining civic education, it is important to scrutinize the different conceptions of civic education held by different actors. Hence this section examines each school's policy in civic education with particular reference to its definition, objectives, contents, and the priority of political education.

Royal College: Civic education as a hotchpotch

Although moral and civic education is highlighted in Royal College, it is biased toward moral education. For instance, the school report states:

Civic education is to awaken in their pupils a sense of consciousness and responsibility to society, develop in them an ability to understand social change and to face and live with reality, as well as inculcate in them attitudes and values considered acceptable to society.
Accordingly, the school’s Civic and Moral Education Committee (CMEC) designs and coordinates a programme of studies aimed at promoting personal development, interpersonal relations and awareness of one’s civic rights and responsibilities, and a caring attitude towards the community amongst students. The working themes over the past several years were ‘making a pleasant school’, ‘politeness’, ‘environmental protection’, and ‘election’. The year plan for the school year 1994-95 was targeted at the themes ‘politeness’ and ‘democratic election’. As can be seen from these objectives and programmes, the content of civic education was wide-ranging encompassing moral education, environmental education, and political education.

On Yan: Civic education for democracy and understanding of China

The promotion of civic education is stated in the school mission statement with three objectives: first, it serves as an education for democracy, that is, to cultivate the students with democratic attitudes and attributes through schooling life; secondly, it aims to enhance their understanding of China; and finally, it is a training of methodology of thinking.

Mr Wong, the teacher in the charge of civic education, recognized that civic education was a package of knowledge, attitudes and skills cultivation and embraced a political literacy approach to civic education advocated by Crick and Porter (1978). He agreed that the ideas stated in the Guidelines were good, but concerned more with how to put the officially suggested measures into practice, with the consideration of the existing resources of the school. He commented that the Guidelines contained too many topics and it was difficult to handle them. Thus On-yan adopted a yearly theme approach to civic education. For example, the main theme for the school year 1994-95 was ‘cherish your life, cherish your study’.

Bishop Brown: Civic education in response to current affairs
Civic education in Bishop Brown started formally only in 1992. In the past, there was no formal and explicit policy toward civic education and the principal also felt that civic education was quite superficial and immature at that time. Thus a civic education group was set up latter with the aim to focus on the community, national and political aspects. To the Principal, the major aims of civic education were to foster the adolescents with a sense of responsibility and a commitment to society, while the other objectives such as personal improvement, maintaining harmonious relations with others would still be taken care by the school’s guidance committee. But even recently, Mr Lau, the teacher in charge of the civic education programme, did not have a detailed plan for civic education. He expected civic education could arouse the students’ greater concern with society because he observed that many students knew little about society. Mr Lau focused on current affairs in the working plan of civic education activities. Apart from this, he thought that 'legal knowledge', 'rights of duties of citizen', 'road safety' and 'proper use of government facilities and services' were also topics to be included in civic education.

**Yuk-kwan: Civic education as nationalistic and patriotic education**

Civic education, or what might alternatively be termed as nationalistic and patriotic education, has been a long-standing educational goal of Yuk-kwan since its founding. In the school magazines and during interviews, the Principal stressed the significance of fostering students' national and ethnic consciousness. According to the Principal, the Guidelines were generally good, albeit with some deficiencies. Paramount among them, the objectives of civic education proposed were criticized as paying much attention to moral education, whereas the elements of nation and state were relatively neglected, as it was also happening in most Hong Kong schools.

**Virtues College: Civic education for living education but not for politics.**
Virtues revealed no formal statements concerning civic education, nor did the school set a specific year plan for civic education. Neither was civic education highlighted in daily lesson teaching. In the past when form periods were used for civic education, the objectives of civic education were to cultivate the students with good characters and civic consciousness. According to the Principal, there was a deliberate omission of political education in the school civic education’s programme due to the political background of the school and the conservative political orientation among some of the school governors.

_St. Anthony: Political education in retreat and civic education for moral and social education_

St Anthony made civic education more as moral and social education rather than political education. According to Ms Hui, the teacher in charge of civic education, it was more realistic and pressing to confine civic education to a narrower area such as to improve the relationship between teachers and students and to enhance students’ sense of belonging to their own school. She did not think that the more politically-oriented topics would be suitable for St. Anthony’s students in view of their limited interests and capabilities. Because Ms Hui’s experience convinced her that higher-level objectives like showing concern with the community and promoting civic involvement were unattainable and difficult to carry out; thus the focus of school’s civic education programme in recent years was instead put on the internal affairs of the school. Although 1994 and 1995 were years of election, the Group did not set the theme of year plan related to it.

_Divergences and Commonalities: moralization and depoliticization of civic education and reduction of political education_

As can be seen from the six schools’ policies toward civic education described above, their overall mission, goals and objectives were not neatly congruent with the ones proposed in the Guidelines. In most cases, the Guidelines were taken not so much as a guiding document as a
reference. At worst the document was neglected completely. Even when the Guidelines were consulted, the schools merely appropriated parts of the Guidelines alone and modified them in light of each school's particular conditions. Also, not all the schools under investigation had an agreed policy or written statement about civic education. Nor were the goals of civic education well articulated in a curriculum document addressing the issue of civic education.

The comprehensiveness of the objectives and scope of civic education allowed various interpretations and each school to set their own civic education programmes. Differences in background led each school to pursue different civic education programmes, with differences in orientation and emphasis. While Yuk-kwan and On-yan delivered a clearer and more politically-oriented civic education programme, the other four schools tended to provide a more piecemeal and vaguely-conceptualized programme with regard to political education. Thus, civic education was a hotchpotch in Royal College; education for understanding current affairs in Bishop Brown; a living education in Virtues College; and moral and social education in St. Anthony. With a moralistic conception in dominance which showed no explicit concern with political education, civic education in general was perceived as a package of moral, social and political education concerning ethical and moral creeds, personal growth, self-understanding, political institutions, current issues, health education, and sex education, albeit with variation and differences in conceptions from school to school.

Given that the objectives of civic education were moralized and the priorities were given to moral education, political education was omitted, concealed, minimalized, trivialized, marginalized, or reduced to merely an understanding of public affairs or concern with current affairs.

After considering the objectives of civic education in these schools, now I turn to the aspects of organization and management of civic education. As can be seen below, depoliticisation and moralization of civic education was further reinforced at organizational level, when we consider the 'civic education' programmes in next section.
3.3. Organization and Management of Civic Education: ideal and reality

The Education Department of Hong Kong strongly holds that civic education is every teacher's responsibility and that within the school it should not be treated as just another subject for which exclusive responsibility rests with particular teachers. Hence the Guidelines call for adopting an organizational pattern which maximizes all the opportunities for civic education in both the formal, informal and hidden curriculum and the whole-hearted commitment of the staff and pupils (p.4). The Guidelines especially advocate a 'whole school' approach to civic education in which school establishes an organizational framework utilising both the management and teaching resources (p.84), and recommend a three-tier structure which consists of a school management committee, a co-ordinating committee for civic education, and panels for formal and informal curriculum with careful delineation of the aims and objectives, and the ways of implementation and evaluation (pp.77-79).

Regarding other administrative arrangements, the Education Department encourages setting up display boards or exhibition areas for civic education purposes, and a resource corner for better accessibility and circulation of relevant references and materials to the teachers concerned. The school library is expected to be a teaching and learning resource centre of civic education (p.65).

The Education Department also realizes the importance in assessing students' achievement in civic education as modifications and improvement could be undertaken in the light of the feedback. Thus, assessment procedures cover not only knowledge, but also aspects of attitudes and skills. Also, while the assessment of the cognitive outcomes of social and public affairs is assumed to be conducted in the teaching of social subjects, the assessment of students' attitudinal and behavioral changes is achieved through teachers' observation (pp.80-81).

Finally, the roles of teachers in implementing civic education and the significance of teacher development are recognized too, with the recommendations for teachers to attend in-service training programmes.
However, as far as the organization and management of civic education programmes in the six schools was concerned, the actual situations showed great disparity from the official prescriptions and expectations.

Royal College

The Civic and Moral Education Committee, formerly the Moral Education Committee, was established in 1985. Since moral education and civic education was perceived to overlap on a wide range of areas, the Moral Education Committee was reorganized to embrace civic education in 1989. In the school year 1994-95, the Committee had eight members, including one teacher in charge, one deputy teacher and six ordinary teachers. The members of the committee included the discipline master, teacher adviser to the Club of Environmental Protection and the panel head of Chinese Language. Apart from these core members, there were form coordinators to coordinate the form periods and civic education activities in each form and collect feedback from the form teachers. All the members of the Committee were appointed by the Vice-principal with the consideration of the teachers’ interests, abilities and workload. Ms. Cheung, the teacher in charge of the Committee, has served as a member of the committee for several years and took the present position in 1994. According to Ms. Cheung, because all the members were very busy, it was not easy to call a meeting with all members present. Thus, there were no regular meetings among the members and the working of the Committee largely depended on her contacts with individual members. Also, Ms. Cheung would inform the teachers about the year plan of civic education during form master meetings and seek the opinions of the Committee of Extra-curricular Activities and Counselling Committee.

The duties of the Committee were limited to form teacher periods, assemblies and some non-routine activities outside formal lessons. One main responsibility of the Committee was to design, prepare and distribute some teaching and curricular packages and reference materials to the
form teachers based upon the suggestions and source materials published by the Education Department. The Committee also circulated information to teachers about seminars and training programmes of civic education. In addition, under the SMI scheme and with the assistance of a voluntary organization, a sex education training programme was arranged for teachers during staff development days for the school year 1994-95.

However, the Committee was not responsible for coordinating the formal subjects for cross-curricular transmission of civic education. Nor did it coordinate the formal and informal curriculums. Also, though the close relation between civic education and the subject EPA was recognized, there was no coordination with the EPA panel concerning civic education. Organizationally, there was no formal linkage with any other divisions of school administrative structure, whether the Discipline Committee, Counselling Committee, prefect teams, extra-curricular clubs or student organizations such as the Student Union and Civics Society. Thus, even some student organizations also held their own civic education activities, it was beyond the scope of the Committee. Nevertheless, the Committee also co-operated with the Discipline Committee for classroom cleanliness and classroom order competitions, and with the Counselling Committee for sex education activities.

The overall pattern of civic education activities was quite similar over the last several years, albeit with variations in the yearly themes. Although the original year plan for the school year 1994-95 was targeted at ‘politeness’ and ‘democratic election’, in practice the original working plan was displaced by sex education as it received outside support from a Roman Catholic organization.

In recent years, a form-teacher period has been introduced to carry out moral and civic education in a more systematic way. In each six-school days teaching cycle, all classes had a form-teacher period for civic and moral education and student affairs. During the form-teacher periods, the students studied selected topics related to moral and civic education under the guidance of their form teachers. The Committee prepared files of curricular materials about the topics and suggested
teaching-learning activities in advance for the home-teachers as reference to conduct civic education. However, the Committee allowed high autonomy to the teachers to conduct their lessons on their own with flexibility. Thus the curricular materials were indicative rather than mandatory and the teachers could conduct civic education in a way in their discretion. In most cases, the home teachers followed the suggested pedagogy by the Committee. After each lesson, the teachers were required to fill in a simple form of record about the activities carried out and their evaluation. The topics of civic education were numerous, covering aspects of personal growth, moral, social and political education. For the year 1994-95, at S3 level, there were 25 form-teacher periods covering the following topics: the meaning of co-operation, the meaning of election, respecting other people's values, illegal behaviour, wealth and happiness, self-understanding and self-acceptance, worship of idol, subjects-selection, respect others, relaxation and preparing for examination, courtesy, AIDS, fashion, and the influence of peers, communication, fairness, gender difference, ways to enhance self-confidence, and aptitude test. As can be seen from these topics, the major emphasis of civic education lies in personal growth instead of politics.

Also, guest speakers from the Police Force, the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), Central Health Unit of the Medical Department, religious bodies, tertiary institutes and other organizations have been invited to give talks on various topics relevant to civic and moral education. For junior students, the topics included road safety, sex education, puberty, rule of law, anti-triad activities, traffic hazards, anti-corruption, and the like. In the whole school year 1994-95, eight lectures were organized around the topics about sex education, anti-triad activities, drug abuse, ICAC and anti-corruption, environment protection, road safety and traffic hazards, human consciousness, and adolescence. Of them, two talks organized for the S3 students were about 'protection of endangered species' and 'sex education'.

In addition, occasionally the Committee also held board-displays, drama performance and inter-class competitions in classroom board display, cleanliness competitions, slogan creation,
composition, and the like relevant to civic education. Over the previous years, two mock elections of District Board and Legislative Council were also held for the students to practise voting.

On Yan

The Principal is a leading advocate of civic education and actively serves as a member of both central and regional committees for civic education. He has a lot of new ideas and encourages the school's Group of Civic Education to promote civic education, provided that considerations are given to the existing institution and resources. Nevertheless, he leaves a free hand to the group to devise civic education activities.

From the early beginning since its founding in 1987, On-yan paid much attention and efforts to promote civic education by offering a lower form subject 'Civics' to the first and second year students. The Group of Civic Education was set up in the second year. In 1989 the Group started to devise formal curriculum in a systematic way with the making of its own school-based teaching materials and textbooks. In 1990, the Group of Civic Education was divided into the Group for Moral and Civic Education and the subject panel of Civics. The panel was responsible for the formal subject teaching in the lower forms, while the former group was responsible for weekly assembly, form teacher period and other extra-curricular civic education activities. In the school year 1994-95, the Group of Moral and Civic Education had four core members, including three teachers in Economics or Economics & Public Affairs (EPA).

For On-yan, the civic education programme included mainly the formal teaching of civic education in lower forms from S1 to S3. Subject integration starting from S1 was put into practice for the school year 94-95 and would be gradually extended to S2 and S3. At S1 level, the subjects Geography, History and Civics were integrated together into a new subject called 'General Studies'. At S2 level, the subject 'Civics' still remained. While the subject Economics and Public Affairs
(EPA), instead of Civics, was offered for the S3 students, albeit with a special coverage of the topics of civic education like environmental protection and China's economy.

Subject-integration was carried out mainly because the Principal embraced the idea of subject integration and thought that it was positive and beneficial to the students. In addition, subject integration could enhance the scope of teaching in terms of time and resources as six periods could be allocated to the subject and more teaching time could be used for discussion in lessons. Also, outdoor visits would become possible. Although On-yan is an Anglo-Chinese school, the subjects General Studies and Civics are taught in Cantonese, the mother tongue of most Hong Kong children, for better teaching and learning effects.

As far as political education was concerned, an emphasis on democratic education was deliberately carried out through the channels like class association and the Board of Student Representatives with the aim to cultivate the students with a sense of democratic spirits. Thus the school authority advocated full-scale election in which class officers were completely elected by the pupils and the class representatives were responsible for collecting students' opinion during class meetings.

For the year 1994-95, a mock election of the local District Board was held for the students to experience voting. As for extra-curricular activities, there was a Civic Education and Current Affairs Society. Also, to provide the students with the first-hand experience of ways of life in China and to enhance students' better understanding of China, in recent years the school organized trips to Guangdong Province or interflow programmes with organizations in Mainland China during the Christmas and summer holidays.

During the weekly assemblies, teachers also gave talks on their living experiences, and concern with society, but not deliberately about democracy or the Chinese nation. In addition, there was a drama allude to the June Fourth Incident during a weekly assembly organized by some teachers and students.
In the past, there was no specific civic education programme in Bishop Brown. As a Christian school, civic education, along with living education, health education, moral education, environmental education and others, was incorporated under religious education, a responsibility of the counselling division. Albeit with the advocacy by the government, the school's civic education programme was 'low key'. First, although the Principal reminded the teachers to incorporate civic education in their subject teaching, she also empathised with the workload of the teachers and did not coerce them to do so. Second, the 'low key' policy was also related to the school background and history. When the present principal took up the post six years ago, the students were naughty and disruptive and some even followed members of triad societies. At that time the teachers were preoccupied with handling students' emotional and behavioral problems and could hardly spare any time to promote civic education. For a long period of time in the past, the school civic education was centred on individual, school, family, one's surrounding environment and one's duties to the society without tackling the aspect of Hong Kong political development.

The formal civic education programme started quite late until 1992 when the Group of Civic Education was created mainly for promoting civic education through some activities outside the formal lessons. The Group of Civic Education, along with form co-ordinators, health education, moral education and youth programmes, was nominally under the Counselling Committee which composed of eight persons. Nevertheless, there was no close tie between the Group of Civic Education and other members of the committee. Nor did the Group have formal links with the Committee of Extra-curriculum Activities or the Discipline Committee.

Two teachers were responsible for civic education. Mr. Lau, the teacher in charge, was a mathematics teacher, while his partner was an Art teacher. In fact, even the contact between Mr Lau and his partner was minimal and they seldom shared their experience and ideas with each other.
Because of the limited number of staff available, Mr Lau also sought the assistance from students for organizing civic education activities like board-shows and so forth.

There was no formal teaching of civic education in the school timetable, which will be further discussed in next chapter. Instead, civic education activities were conducted with the assistance of, or in cooperation with other bodies like the local community youth services, government departments and other voluntary organizations. Upon invitation from outside bodies concerning civic education activities, Mr Lau would consider the nature of the activities and decide whether the school took part or not. Over the last two years, Bishop Brown held a number of civic education activities such as board-exhibition of news-headlines of the week, a civic education crossword puzzle competition, an election of the ten most striking news of the year and so on. For the school year 1994-95, The working themes were 'election' and 'Legislative Council' with the following activities: a quiz on Election of Regional Council 94, board-shows exhibiting the electoral districts of the Legislative Council and Legislative Councillors, nomination of the ten most striking news stories of the year 1994, 'Who's who?: caricature of local political celebrities', and an exhibition of news headlines of the week.

School assemblies were also used for civic education in which guest speakers were invited to give talks on the topics like self-value, road safety, careers, juvenile delinquency, and responsibility. Also, a talk dealing with 'election and democracy' was delivered by a Legislative Councillor during an occasion of school assembly.

**Yuk-kwan**

Unlike the suggestion of the Guidelines, Yuk-kwan did not form a general co-ordinating committee for organizing civic education activities. Also, there was no formal and systematic plan or assessment and evaluation of civic education activities. Instead, there was a division of civic education under the Committee for Counselling set up in 1988. The Committee consisted of six
members responsible for the work of further studies and careers, student union, extra-curricular activities, and student affairs, with the support of twelve teachers. The Committee also coordinated civic education activities with other school activities. Mr. Yu, who was teaching S1 and S3 Social Studies and upper forms Chinese Language, was the head of the Committee and the Group of Civic Education. The Group had other two teachers: a Social Studies teacher and a teacher responsible for the school's Social Services Group. There were no regular meetings among them. They came together only to discuss particular activities such as national celebration.

According to Mr Yu, the school did not have a detailed plan for civic education but largely followed the routine of the past or the school's tradition. Civic education was transmitted through the activities and occasions such as newspaper reading periods, form periods, cleaning competition, current issues contests, Social Service Group, blood donation, flag day, 'festival education', student union, and student award-scheme.

The Education Department's decision not to install an independent subject of civic education but in favour of a cross-curricula approach was criticized as unsound by the Principal. He thought that under the pressure of examination, it was quite insecure to conduct civic education in this way as it was subject to the teacher's discretion and thus led to variations in transmitting civic education across subjects. So an independent subject was needed to ensure that at least a formal teaching period was devoted to civic education and a teacher to take up the responsibility. Thus, Social Studies has been introduced to lower form students since 1986 for teaching of civic education in formal lessons. Two periods of every teaching cycle were devoted to Social Studies. The teaching of the subject largely followed the official syllabus, albeit with some modifications in view of the social events such as '918 District Board Election' (an election of District Board members held on September 18 1994). The students also conducted questionnaire interviews and a study project on candidates standing for the election.
In addition, to strengthen students' national and state identities, a new course—'China Studies'—was introduced to the S4 students in the school year 1994-1995. The course comprised eight lectures in which speakers were invited to give lectures concerning the development of China in the aspects of education, science and technology, diplomacy, and modern history. Also, students were grouped together to write a report after the lectures.

A period of newspaper reading has been practised for many years. Every morning the first twenty minutes in class is devoted to reading newspapers. Two local pro-Communist newspapers ‘Wen-hui Pao’ and ‘Tai-kung Pao’ are offered as options to the students for reading. The school highlights two or three key headlines in each newspaper on a notice-board on the ground floor and the monitor or monitress of every class copy these headlines for reference. Students could read the newspaper on their own, and in some cases under the form-teacher’s guidance, especially for the junior students. After newspaper reading, sometimes there would be discussion among the students and teacher.

Some amount of classroom time other than class affairs would also be spent on civic education in the form teacher periods in each teaching cycle. In addition, the Principal often made use of the occasions of weekly assembly to air his views on current social and political issues.

Apart from the school, in the school year 1994-95, the Students' Union also held activities for countdown of days of return to China with the aim to remind fellow students about change of sovereignty and to promote their understanding of Basic Laws.

In addition to the activities mentioned above, other important ways of conducting civic education included ‘festival education’ and field visits to Mainland China and interflow programmes with organizations in Mainland China, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

**Virtues**
In the past, the teaching of civic education was solely dependent on the initiative of individual teachers, while a systematic implementation of civic education did not appear until 1992. Since then, the school's discipline master has been in charge of civic education and there was a civic education programme in form teacher periods for S1 to S4 students between 1992 to 1994. The original programme lasted for two years but it was suspended during the school year 1994-95 as a result of its complete failure and the change in leadership.

According to the Principal, civic education was introduced in Virtues because many schools had already implemented it and the school's students also needed civic education because the school timetable could accommodate no more subject, civic education was installed in the form teacher period. In the past when civic education was conducted in the form teacher periods for S1 to S4 students, approximately ten periods were spent on civic education during the whole school year. The civic education programme was mainly around the topics of moral and living education, albeit with a few topics related to political education. Two lessons were devoted to the preparation for inter-class 'classroom cleanliness' board-display competition, whereas the other lessons were used for the topics like the life of secondary school, personal growth, sense of responsibility, the ways of making-friends, proper uses of leisure, fairness, freedom, rights and responsibilities, psychological pressures, adaptation to high school curriculum, and family life. Most of the teaching materials and worksheets were adopted from teaching kits of different sources. The discipline master prepared them in advance and distributed to the form-teachers before lessons. Some lessons were supplemented by the aids of audio-visual programmes or cassette. However, there was no formal briefing to the teachers before the lessons and teachers merely referred to the instruction and procedures of the tasks printed on the materials provided by the discipline master. Also, there was no formal assessment for the form teacher period. Thereby, the teaching of civic education was subject to individual teachers' interpretation and implementation.
Because civic education was no longer available in form periods, there was only a few civic
education activities for the school year 1994-95, including an inter-class writing competition on civic
education; poster design competitions; talks by ICAC officers on anti-corruption, Red Cross workers
on soft drug, and a police officer on juvenile delinquency; and flag-selling and other voluntary
services activities.

St. Anthony

St. Anthony's civic education programme was formally established in the mid-1980s after
the advent of the Guidelines. For the school year 1994-95, the Group responsible for its teaching
comprised three teachers appointed by the school. Ms Hui, the teacher in charge, taught Chinese
Language and Mathematics. The other two members included the head of the Social Studies panel
and a teacher in commercial subjects. The Group held regular meetings to discuss and devise civic
education activities.

The Group enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in devising civic education activities. In
1993, St. Anthony formed the Moral Education Co-ordination Committee and began to lay down
yearly themes for moral and civic education activities. The theme of the year 1993-94 was
‘enhancing the sense of belonging to the school’ and the one for the year 1994-95 was ‘improving
teachers-student relationship’. For the year 1994-95, under the civic education programme were a
series of activities such as citizen's knowledge contest, board exhibition of news-headlines of the
week, election of the most striking news of the month, the election of polite students, board displays
about election about municipal councils and AIDS, teachers-students badminton contest, ‘Card of
Gratitude’ (cards distributed to students for expressing their gratitude to the ones they liked), and
‘Teachers and Students in Link’ (recreational functions for strengthening teachers-students
relationships).
Because the head of the Social Studies panel also got involved in the group, the Group could make use of the Social Studies lessons for organizing civic education activities such as election of the most striking news of the month and citizen's knowledge contest.

Apart from the activities held by the Group, the form period, devised by the Discipline Committee, was also used for moral and civic education which covered topics such as the ways to improve personal relations and self-confidence, and the ways of getting along with friends.

A Recapitulation: the peripheralization and poverty of political education at organizational level

As far as the patterns of the organization in the six schools were concerned, the suggestions of the Guidelines regarding organization and management were barely followed by the schools studied. Instead, civic education programmes were being implemented in adjustment to the school's facilities, human and material resources, and the perceived needs and characteristics of the students. Under a number of constraints, most schools could not follow the Guidelines in the aspects of administrative structure, staffing, communication pattern, curricula and assessment practices. Also, little in-service training related to political education was provided for teachers. At most, schools followed the official suggestions of setting up display boards or exhibition areas for civic education purposes, and a resource corner for collection of relevant references and materials. But even so, few teachers made use of the resources corners for their teaching. Civic education was undermined at the level of organization in the following ways:

First, unlike the Guidelines' proposal of a whole school approach and a three-tier model with careful delineation of the aims and objectives, and ways of implementation and evaluation, these six schools did not set up any powerful coordinating committee to coordinate civic education in formal and informal curriculum panels. The informal curriculum was largely neglected. Indeed, committees or groups of civic education were not established in all schools. These committees or groups of civic education in terms of organization and functions also varied school by school.
Second, most of the civic education groups or committees were subordinate to higher divisions such as the counselling committee. Although in general these committees enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, their power was limited to providing advice and guidelines, but not training, curriculum development, or evaluation. They also exercised no control over the student union, prefect teams, house system, and clubs and societies of extra-curricular activities. With so limited capacity and strength, the committees or groups merely occupied a secondary place in the whole school organization structure.

Also, in most cases these civic education committees or groups were loosely-organized rather than well-organized as the linkage with other divisions or panels within schools dealing with civic education was loose and minimal, if not totally absent. Except that there was a better coordination mechanism in St Anthony, the committees or groups of civic education in other schools lacked formal linkage with panels in other formal and informal curriculum. Thereby, coordination with other divisions was mainly dependent upon personal relations, rather than formal channels or positions.

Third, as most of the cases shown above, there were no explicit and well-promulgated procedures for planning and implementation of civic education in schools. Even for topics related to political education, they were conducted in fashionable ways in response to the political environment, but not crystallized as a long-term plan. Also, in most cases the goals and objectives were not well negotiated, promulgated and disseminated with the various members in the school and there were no effective policies and procedures for keeping all staff up to date with the development of civic education and their role in its delivery. In addition, resource arrangement, in-service training programmes and evaluation practices, formal evaluation and monitoring procedures of civic education programmes were rare if not absent.

Fourth, the limited capacity and strength of civic education groups also restricted the functions and activities of civic education as most of the deliberate programmes of civic education
organized were centred around form periods, assemblies, special civic educational activities like board-show, and to a lesser extent, through social subjects like Social Studies and Economics and Public Affairs. As a result of organizational constraints, these programmes in terms of design, time allocation, and focus were piece-meal, fragmentary, and marginalized in nature.

Fifth, although the schools differed in objectives, organization and programme, some difficulties in common were found. Out of them civic education was particularly hindered by the problem of the practitioners' themselves. The six schools, in a varying degree, were facing problems in organizing civic education and mobilizing their teachers and students. The practitioners' knowledge might be limited and they were not necessarily enthusiastic toward promotion of civic education, let alone political education. It was not easy to find the appropriate persons to carry out civic education due to a number of constraints. Thus sometimes the persons allocated to the group were based upon administrative considerations and other factors (such as the result of staff turnover and promotion), rather than based upon the person's expertise and interest. Indeed, many organizers in charge of civic education were not social science majors in their undergraduate studies, some even received little training in civic education. Also, ordinary teachers were either apathetic, uninterested or too busy to perform the work of civic education.

For most teachers, their roles in implementing civic education were still rather passive. At most only the teachers in charge, rather than the ordinary teachers, attended the in-service teaching training programmes offered by the Education Department and other tertiary institutions.

The problems were mainly due to the shortage of staff and heavy workload of teachers. Many senior teachers hold two or more posts concurrently. The extra-work for civic education also cost the organizers a lot of time after school. Thus the work on civic education largely depended on the teachers' commitment and sense of mission. However, the fact was that not many teachers, even the form teachers, showed interests or took civic education as their primary duty. So even when a
form period was available to civic education, conducting civic education was not an easy task, as the words of Ms Cheung of Royal College capture the crux of the problem:

[...] mainly because form teachers take this as a concurrent post. Most of the teachers share these feelings. Their own subjects are professional subjects and they have got a lot of work to do already. That is why many teachers think that the topics such as sex education should be taught by specialists. Another case is election, they will think that it should be taught by EPA teachers, they think [...] But under the circumstances without a special subject, they are assigned to do this. They tend to think that they are not fully competent at this work. Since most of the topics are pretty specialised, indeed. If you mean to teach it well, it would require some knowledge in a specific field and certain kind of expert knowledge. Even when you give a talk on the topics like family, friends-making, strictly speaking they belong to ethical education. If you aim to achieve something better, but not superficial, that would require some more thoughts. But at present we dare not expect too much. [...] Yes, there are reference materials available, but the form teachers still need to read the materials before the lessons, and some teachers will consider this as ‘additional work’ or ‘sideline job’. Another problem is about manpower, as most teachers are terribly busy with their work. Not many teachers can fully get involved in the Committee, because there have many posts and tasks within the school.

More importantly, the teachers were passive or frustrated too. Mr Lau, a civic education co-ordinator of Bishop Brown, perceived that the Principal did not stress too much the promotion of civic education. Mr Lau speculated that the Principal merely wanted someone to take up the post of civic education, rather than had a thoughtful plan of civic education. Some colleagues even showed a sceptical attitude towards his work. Indeed, Mr Lau himself showed not much interest in civic education and only had a glance at the Guidelines. He also frankly expressed that he wanted to quit the post.

The problem of staff shortage led the organizers looking for outside support such as exhibition, seminars and visits provided by guest speakers or voluntary organizations. And in turn, the programme of civic education depended on outside support. For instance, the Catholic Marriage Counselling Association took an initiative to help Royal College to organize sex education programmes for the students, which was beyond the original plan.
Another problem arisen from the worries over students' reaction and the organizers had to cater for the students' needs and interests. For instance, St Anthony used to organize civic education for Basic Law, but only resulted in poor responses from students. As Ms Hui expressed her worries in this way:

[...] but some topics we dare not touch upon. You can see that the ones concerning history and politics are relatively fewer. Why? Because most of our students are the band five ones, that is a problem of quality, in other words. As for these historical and political topics, their abilities to know, or their understanding of these topics are pretty limited. For example, when we held the citizen's knowledge contest, and asking the questions about history, they failed to answer most of them. That make us hesitant to address these kinds of issues because they are not interested in these. Thus we don't touch upon that again and instead we favour the topics which are 'play-like' and more 'activities-oriented'. Because actually it is the problem of the students' background.

As can be seen from above, the avoidance or neglect of political topics concerning the school's civic education programmes were due to deliberate omission originated from political anxiety and suspicion (as in the case of Virtues), or lack of intra- and outside support (Royal College), or an adjustment to the students' needs and responses (St Anthony).

3.4 The Underdevelopment of Political Education

Undoubtedly, successful curriculum innovation and implementation requires the cordial reception of the practitioners (Fullan 1992, Morris 1992b). Nevertheless, as can be seen above, the promotion of civic education in these schools was still in an embryonic stage. In particular, political education through the existing civic education programmes in most schools under study was problematic and inadequate in both objectives and organization. While the objectives of civic education were moralized and depoliticized, the programmes were marginalized and under-developed within the organizational structure of school.

After outlining the profile of the background, objectives and organization of the civic education programmes in the six schools concerned, the following chapters will proceed to the actual
practices of civic education and schooling processes. I shall show how the problematic and inadequate objectives and organization pattern, together with the properties of school organization, adversely affect the implementation of civic education in the realms of formal, informal and hidden curriculum respectively.
Chapter 4 The Formal Curriculum at Work (I):
Provision of Subjects, Syllabuses and Textbooks

4.1 Introduction: the Conception and Significance of Formal Curriculum

In the previous chapter I have discussed the six schools' provision of civic education in terms of objectives, priorities, organization and management, as well as difficulties encountered in implementing civic education. Since civic education is expected to be realized in formal lessons, Chapters 4 and 5 will describe and analyze the formal curriculum at work in light of the theoretical perspectives of New Sociology of Education and Neo-Marxism as discussed in Chapter 1.

Formal curriculum, as a planned and purposeful organization of learning experiences provided in formal periods of lessons in school, is a complex arrangement of teaching and learning activities including curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation (Bernstein 1971) [1].

The formal curriculum in schools receives our utmost attention because it is potentially a major instrument of cultural transmission including political culture. Neo-Marxists and advocates of New Sociology of Education argue that cultural transmission in schools is not a neutral process but operates through deliberate selection and organization. Likewise, formal curriculum is not neutral but penetrated by dominant ideologies like sexism, racism, and political doctrines in favour of the dominant groups. Accordingly, social subjects like History, Social Studies, and Civics are officially designed to acquaint students with learning of particular political ideologies and nationalistic values, an acceptance of the established social order, and socio-economic values such as legitimacy of capitalism (Young 1971; Anyon 1978; Whitty 1985).

More importantly, apart from the question of manipulation in the socialization and cultural transmission process, as well as the ideological and political nature of school knowledge, Neo-
Marxists also draw particular attention to the role of ideology as an active force used by the
dominant classes to legitimize social inequalities and maintain the status quo. They conceive the
school as a state instrument of control to create false consciousness by teaching young people to
accept the status quo and the values of the dominant groups. They argue that the organization of
knowledge, the form of its transmission, and the assessment of its acquisition is crucial to the cultural
reproduction of the domination relationships in capitalist society.

Following the logic of the above analysis, the content of curricular messages transmitted in
general, and the very conception of citizenship itself in particular, in the formal curriculum is
problematic and subject to reflection and critique. In the discussion of citizenship education, Giroux
(1983a:168-204) classifies citizenship education into three modes of rationality: the technical, the
hermeneutic and the emancipatory, which could serve as a comparative framework of different
ideological underpinnings of civic education as well as a yardstick to check against the actual
practices.

Since formal curriculum is composed of a number of components and activities, in our
analysis of the formal curriculum in the six schools concerned, I will respectively discuss the
following six dimensions: (1) provision of subjects for study; (2) curricular objectives, goals, and
contents; (3) textbooks; (4) pedagogy; (5) assessment; and (6) students' experience with the formal
curriculum. The present chapter deals with the first three dimensions while the others will be
discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 The Social Subjects in the Six Schools: Under- and unequal provision

A basic determinant of students' exposure to political education is the availability of
relevant social subjects in the formal curriculum. In Hong Kong, the Guidelines recommend a
cross-curricular approach to implementation of civic education in schools with a view that civic
education is everybody's responsibility. In addition, the wide coverage of topics and numerous objectives of civic education also lie outside the scope of a single subject, so the Education Department prefers teaching civic education through a wide variety of subjects, rather than installing 'Civics' as an independent subject. The Guidelines also remind us that civic education should be merged into the widest possible programme of interdisciplinary studies but without losing its focus and identity. Out of a number of subjects, Chinese History, Economics, Economics and Public Affairs (EPA), Geography, Politics and Public Affairs (GPA), Social Studies and World History are particularly highlighted for conducting civic education (the Guidelines pp.12,82-83). In addition, for effective implementation of civic education through the formal curriculum, the Education Department proposes the devising of teaching modules specifically centred on topical areas related to civic education for use during the normal lessons, the form periods, or some time-slots specially allocated for civic education (Tam 1989).

The school timetable reflects the basic organization and selection of the curriculum, as well as the allocation of time, the most valuable resources for teaching and learning. Since school subjects are in competition with one another for the resources of teaching, we may also infer the relative status of school subjects, and the priorities and orientation of the curriculum from the timetable.

With respect to provision of subjects in the formal curriculum, Tables 4.1 and 4.2 display the school subjects offered and time allocation for each subject in S3 and S6 respectively in the six schools concerned in the school year 1994-95.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Royal</th>
<th>On Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk Kwan</th>
<th>Virtue</th>
<th>St. Anthony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Language</td>
<td>/7</td>
<td>/7</td>
<td>/6</td>
<td>/9</td>
<td>/8</td>
<td>/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language</td>
<td>/10</td>
<td>/12</td>
<td>/7</td>
<td>/10</td>
<td>/9</td>
<td>/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>/8</td>
<td>/6</td>
<td>/6</td>
<td>/8</td>
<td>/7</td>
<td>/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated Science</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Studies</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese History</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World History</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>/3</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/8</td>
<td>/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalwork</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/6 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/3 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design &amp; technology</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/3 for boys only</td>
<td>/2 every alternate week</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Drawing</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/3 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics &amp; Electricity</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/6 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/4 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principles of Accounts</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/3 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typing</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/2 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catering</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/6 ****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/3 for girls only</td>
<td>/2 every alternate week</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Studies</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
<td>/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form period</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>/1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of subjects</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of periods</td>
<td>54 (6 days for a teaching cycle)</td>
<td>48 (6 days for a teaching cycle)</td>
<td>42 (6 days per week)</td>
<td>48 (6 days for a teaching cycle)</td>
<td>48 (6 days for a teaching cycle)</td>
<td>45 fixed day per week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* the number in parentheses indicates the number of periods allocated to the subject for each teaching cycle or each week.
** each period lasted for approximately 35 to 40 minutes.
*** for technical subject classes only
**** for commercial classes only
Table 4.2: Subjects Offered for S6 Students in 1994-95 with Time Allocation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Royal</th>
<th>On Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk Kwan</th>
<th>Virtus</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AS level Chinese Culture</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(5)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(6)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS level Use of English Language</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>*(8)</td>
<td>*(6)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*AS level Mathematics &amp; Statistics</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*AS level Computer Application</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Pure Mathematics</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Applied Mathematics</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Physics</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Chemistry</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Biology</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Chinese History</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level History</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Geography</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Economics</td>
<td>*(11)</td>
<td>*(10)</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Engineering</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*A level Business Studies</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>*(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*A level Principle of Accounting</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(7)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Studies or Ethics</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(1)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>*(2)</td>
<td>*(2)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(2)</td>
<td>*(2)</td>
<td>*(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form period or self-study</td>
<td>*(1)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*(1)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of subjects</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>6-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* students can choose the subject as options.
** the number in parentheses indicates the number of periods allocated to the subject for each teaching cycle or each week.
*** each period lasted for approximately 35 to 40 minutes.

The learning of civic education through the social subjects suffered from under-provision and variation. As can be seen from the Table 4.1, at the S3 level, each school offered around twelve to fifteen subjects to their students. In Hong Kong, competitions in public examinations are fierce and a school's reputation is largely determined by its academic results. With an overriding concern for academic performance, most schools pay much effort to academic affairs and preparing their pupils for examinations. To prepare students for S4 studies and the HKCEE (Hong Kong...
Certificate of Education Examination), many schools have started to offer many specialized academic subjects at junior years despite the official advocacy of subject integration (Nicholson 1988; Morris 1995:65). So many schools offer Physics, Chemistry and Biology instead of Integrated Science at S3. The result of emphasis on teaching languages, mathematics and science is crowding out other subjects in the formal curriculum and little time left for civic education and other cross-curricular activities. This pattern is also reflected in Table 4.1.

Second, there was no independent subject of civic education offered to the students in the six schools at either S3 or S6 levels. Instead, 'civic education' was mainly taught through the social subjects like Chinese History, Geography, Economics and Public Affairs (EPA) or Social Studies.

Third, lower form Chinese History was taught in all schools except for St Anthony's Prevocational School because of its vocational and practical orientation.

Fourth, Royal College offered EPA to lower form students. In On-yan, school-based curriculum 'civic education', as an independent subject, was offered to S1 and S2 students while EPA was for S3 students. While Virtues College adopted the Social Studies model I for formal subject teaching, both Yuk-kwan and St Anthony's offered Social Studies Model II instead. More importantly, Bishop Brown offered neither EPA nor Social Studies at all[2]. In other words, Bishop Brown's students did not have a formal lesson to receive political education related to Hong Kong.

Last but not the least, Table 4.1 also reveals that social subjects related to civic education only occupied a minor place in the formal curriculum in terms of the lesson time allocated for teaching. Within a crowded timetable with as many as fifteen subjects, on average less that 15% of the periods was devoted to the teaching of Chinese History, EPA and Social Studies at S3 level. In most cases, Chinese History and EPA shared no more than three periods a week while Social Studies at most shared six periods only.
At S6 level, it was basically a matriculation examination-led curriculum which prepared the students for A-Level examination leading to higher education. Driven by an examination-syllabus, the curriculum was strongly academic-oriented and highly specialized, demanding and difficult equivalent to the first year level at university [3]. Most schools practised subject specialization, or tracking in early years at S4 to prepare the students for a highly specialized curriculum in either arts, commercial or science streams. Even more, the social subjects were unpopular among schools and students for their 'high cost and risk, low value and return'. Even though subjects like GPA, Sociology and Liberal Studies had much relevance to civic education, these late-coming subjects were not available to a majority of students because of an already overcrowded timetable. Indeed, some subjects for senior forms did not have enough teaching time and needed after-school classes. It was also not easy to find suitable staff to teach these social subjects. Finally, a concern with students' performance in public examination also disfavoured offering those subjects of less academic value. As can be seen in Table 4.2, neither GPA, Sociology nor Liberal Studies was offered by the six schools under study. Also, the subjects like Chinese History and World History related to civic education were offered in all arts classes in these schools except St Anthony because of its vocational and practical orientation. Also, owing to the practice of tracking, students in the science streams were deprived of the opportunity of studying Chinese History and World History. As a result, this tendency prevented a large proportion of students from learning civic education [4].

In sum, the opportunities for learning civic education were inadequate at large and unequal across different schools, grades and streams. In the struggle for resources (mainly time and staff) in the formal curriculum, social subjects were in a disadvantaged position in competition with other established academic subjects. The official promotion of cross-curricular approaches or integration of civic education into other subjects was in vain, given the problems of subject specialization, and under-provision resulted from academic concern on the side of schools.
4.3 The Objectives, Goals and Coverage of the Three Social Subjects: disconnection with the Guidelines

The official curriculum document, usually in the form of published syllabus, covers both objectives, goals and topics for teaching and learning and defines the knowledge to be taught and learnt. Thus the syllabus is worthy of investigation because it underscores the basic orientation of political education. Also, the objectives and coverage of topics contained in the syllabus are important in setting a stipulation for textbook-production, teaching and assessment (Morris 1992a).

In view of the coverage of a wide range of subjects and the particularities of the six schools under investigation, I focus on the secondary 3 subjects Chinese History, Economics and Public Affairs, Social Studies (Model I/ Model II) alone, and depict their objectives, orientation of political education and the scope of topics one by one. These three subjects are chosen to study for two reasons. First, there was no independent subject like 'Civics' or 'Civic Education' offered at both S3 and S6 levels in the six schools concerned. Second, they were officially conceived as the core subjects to transmit civic education to the students.

First of all, with regard to the current lower-form Chinese History syllabus (CDC 1982), it originally stemmed from the Report of the Committee on Chinese Studies in the 1950s which advocated an idea of 'Chineseness' emphasizing cultural heritage rather than statehood and citizenship (Luk 1991). Accordingly, the post-war secondary school Chinese History curriculum in Hong Kong mainly aimed to foster in students an identification with Chinese culture or heritage, but not with China as a political entity. Therefore, nationalism was never stated as a goal in the syllabuses. For instance, the lower form Chinese History syllabus states:

The first and most important aim of the teaching of Chinese history is to induce the pupils to an understanding of traditional Chinese culture and features of the nation. For thousands of years, Chinese culture is in constant fusion with other cultures, with an enrichment of its substance. The second aim of the teaching of Chinese history is to foster our pupils with an understanding of the cultural interchange between China and other foreign countries. [...] The third aim of Chinese history is to help our pupils to understand better the context and evolution of the current
events. The study of history emphasizes an objective understanding and fair judgement of historical events. The fourth aim is to cultivate our students with an objective attitude and analytical ability. [...] Finally, the teaching of Chinese history is to cultivate our pupils good characters through the learning of the good conduct of the sages. (Chinese History Syllabus p.6, original in Chinese)

As can be seen from the above quotation, among the five aims of the teaching of Chinese history, none of these objectives are about national identity with China, nor about the Chinese Government. The 'apolitical' nature of the curriculum in Hong Kong is more distinctive when compared with the formal curriculums in Mainland China and Taiwan which are characterized by an advocacy of patriotism and nationalism, an adoration of political leaders (either Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek or Mao Ze-dong and Zhou En-lai), a dissemination of ideological doctrines (either Socialism or the Three People's Principles), a promotion of distinct national or political policies (for example, unity of China, making contribution to the nation or revolutionary doctrines), a deliberate cultivation of loyalty to the ruling party (either the Chinese Communist Party or the Chinese Nationalist Party) and an hostility to, and even rejection of the competing regime or authority (Roberta 1975; Ferro 1984). While nationalism and political ideologies take priority over moral principles in Mainland China and Taiwan, things are different in Hong Kong. National loyalty and patriotic sentiments, as either objectives or topics, are completely absent in the Hong Kong curriculum, let alone treated as a chief virtue to be imparted. Also, we find no national doctrines like Socialism, Mao Ze-dong's Thought or the Three People's Principles, nor any admiration of political leaders mentioned in the syllabus. Instead, the Hong Kong syllabus aims to encourage the students to develop an appreciation of Chinese culture and traditions, rather than to cultivate a sense of national identity, nationalism or patriotism as commonly expected in a national curriculum. Indeed, a strong orientation of moral education predominates in the teaching of Chinese History. Thus, the teaching of Chinese History is confined to revive the younger generation's respect for traditional
Chinese culture and virtues, good characters, and the cultural interchange between China and other foreign countries; but not to instil vanity and anti-foreignism.

In addition to Chinese History, EPA and Social Studies are two other important lower-form subjects closely related to civic education deserving discussion. The current Secondary 1-3 Economic and Public Affairs syllabus was first implemented in 1987. With the general aims to help pupils develop into rational, sensitive and responsible citizens and to provide knowledge and develop basic study skills of Economics and Public Affairs, the syllabus further specifies the objectives as:

(a) to help pupils know and understand the society in which they live; (b) to develop pupils’ awareness of social and economic problems and to foster their appreciation of individual, group and Government efforts in solving them; (c) to develop a sense of social responsibility by encouraging participation in appropriate activities for community improvement; (d) to help pupils acquire the skills to gather, interpret and evaluate information, as well as the ability to identify problems and offer solutions through logical thinking. (p.7)

As for the Social Studies syllabus, to equip the Hong Kong pupils to be effective decision-makers in an age of rapid social changes is the central objective in the revised syllabus[5]. Accordingly, ‘it aims to help pupils understand the approaches and techniques in decision-making at various levels—beginning from personal, family and school levels, then onward to the community, the national and finally the world level’ (p.8). Furthermore, the syllabus specifies the general aims as follows:

(1) to help pupils acquire knowledge, develop ideas and skills that will contribute to an understanding of themselves, their society, their nation and the world; (2) to help pupils think clearly and critically about human behaviour and values so that they may make reasoned and responsible decisions; and (3) to help pupils develop a sense of commitment and apply their knowledge and skills for the betterment and well-being of their society, their nation and the world. (Ibid pp.6-7).

As can be seen from the above excerpts, there are several distinctive features. First, both the EPA and Social Studies syllabuses are concerned with the development of social knowledge, interests in current affairs and social concern, sense of commitment and participation in community activities, intellectual skills and analytical abilities. Nevertheless, the Social Studies syllabus
contains more holistic, active and action-oriented curricular objectives in comparison with the EPA's syllabus.

Second, the EPA syllabus also shows an explicit pro-government stance, as can be seen in its emphasis on 'understand and appreciate how the Hong Kong Government is structured to serve the people; be willing to cooperate with the Government and other citizens for the welfare of the community' (p. 12).

Third, similar to the Chinese History syllabus examined above, national identity and loyalty, patriotism, an adoration of political leaders or ideological doctrines, a cultivation of loyalty to the ruling party, and an evaluation of the competing regime or authority, as either objectives or topics, are simply absent in the EPA and Social Studies syllabi. Instead, the dominant objectives are centred around developing the students as responsible and co-operative citizens.

Closely allied with the objectives contained in the syllabus is the coverage of the topics and suggestions on pedagogy and assessment. The lower form Chinese History syllabus comprises two parts with a wide scope of topics. The first part, approximately two-thirds of the whole syllabus, is mainly concerned with the political history of China from the prehistoric era to the establishment of the People's Republic of China, while the second part contains several special social and economic topics in the areas of ethnic origins, Chinese characters, agriculture, technology, transportation, commerce and industry, intellectual history, and religion. The focus of the syllabus is clearly on political history, particularly the succession of dynasties, the cycle of prosperity and chaos, revival and decline of each dynasty, and the merits and misrules of political leaders whereas relatively less emphasis is put upon economic and social history.

With such an extensive coverage of Chinese history spanning over five thousand years, the history of early and medieval China occupies almost two-thirds of the whole syllabus, and the part of modern and contemporary China is not taught until S3. At S3 level, the first part covers the
historical period from the establishment of the Qing Dynasty (started around 1644), Republican China to contemporary China until 1984, while the second part covers the topics in intellectual history and religion only.

Regarding the coverage of topics, the current EPA syllabus for junior secondary years is structured around seventeen topics. At S1 level, they are the growth of Hong Kong, the people of Hong Kong, citizenship, food, water and power supply, and transportation and communication. At S2 level, they are how Hong Kong is governed, law and order, education, social welfare, housing, and public health. At S3 level, the topics covered are Hong Kong industries, Hong Kong as a trade and financial centre, pollution and conservation, social evils, their prevention and remedies, mass media and consumer education.

Likewise, the lower form Social Studies syllabus is centred around the central theme 'the adolescent and his world' in five areas: myself, my family and friend, the local community, the Chinese People, and the world. Under these particular topics are a variety of sub-topics. At S1 and S2 levels, they include my study and leisure, my health, knowing myself, decision making, my family, my friends, identity and social approval, relationships with the opposite sex, my school district, living in Hong Kong, the past and present of Hong Kong, political development and future of Hong Kong, my role as a citizen, and issues like smoking, alcoholism, diseases in Hong Kong, safety education, law and order, juvenile delinquency, drug and social welfare, my country and my people, Hong Kong's place in the world, and world history. At S3 level, the focus is put on the topics like my future, marriage and family formation, political development and future of Hong Kong, my role as a citizen, consumer education, corruption and Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), pollution and conservation, AIDS awareness and cancer education, structure of the Chinese government and the Chinese economy, human landscape in China, Hong Kong as an international
trade and financial centre, developed and developing countries, and international conflicts and cooperation.

As can be seen from the coverage of topics, the subjects EPA and Social Studies are an amalgamation of a number of topics about social, political and economic and geographical knowledge. They serve not purely as social or political education, but also as a kind of living education covering topics like leisure, hobbies, and using pocket money. More importantly, there are far more non-political topics than political topics. And even more, the political topics are very simple and superficial as most of them are about formal political institutions whereas little space is devoted to informal politics, democratic principles, political ideas and socio-political skills. When compared with the Social Studies syllabus, the EPA's is much more economics-oriented. As the curricular documents not only state the objectives of the subjects but also delineate the topics and substance of the textbooks, I will show that the limitations for civic education are even more explicit with the textbooks, which is the focus of my analysis in the next section.

4.4 The Representation of Citizenship in the Textbooks

The textbooks, among other printed curricular materials, are the main tools of teaching utilized by school teachers (Eisner 1987; Venezky 1992). Textbooks provide the major part of basic knowledge and information of the formal curriculum and serve as the base of instruction and assessment. Hence the treatment of topics and contents becomes a significant sociological and educational issue. Also, since the school curriculum is the result of deliberate selection and organization, the contents and the ways of representation in the textbooks are highly significant issues deserving serious attention. The textbooks, in particular those of History and Social Studies, not only provide political knowledge but also define the normative expectations, appropriate
attitudes, values and behaviour of an ideal citizen. Thus, History and Social Studies textbooks are
the central objects of controversies which are subject to an ideological critique [6].

The uses of textbooks are particularly important in Hong Kong, given the widespread
didactic mode of teaching in which textbooks are heavily utilized. In Hong Kong, there are no
official textbooks provided by the government. Instead, the writing and publishing of textbooks is
produced by commercial publishers following the official syllabus, and which are in turn subject to
the censor by the Education Department (Morris 1992). Taking the monetary returns of their
products into consideration, the textbook publishers and writers usually comply with the
prescriptions and delineation of the official syllabus [7].

Regarding the adoption of textbooks in the six schools concerned, except for On-yan which
adopted school-based curriculum and developed its own teaching materials, the other five schools
solely relied on the textbooks published by commercial publishers for formal lessons, as can be seen
in Table 4.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Royal</th>
<th>On Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk Kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St. Anthony</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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For these social subjects, a typical textbook has around 120 to 200 pages and divided into
several chapters, and each chapter is further split up into some units. Usually each chapter contains
sections such as introduction, main text, questions, suggested learning tasks and activities, summary
(sometimes with Chinese translation and glossary for EPA and Social Studies textbooks which are written in English), and revision section. Also, there are numerous supplementary illustrations of colourful photos, maps, cartoons, diagrams and tables. The textbooks also have accompanying workbooks with exercises or worksheets.

The following sections will analyze the textbooks around the theme of citizenship in the aspects of (1) national identity, (2) the image of Hong Kong society, (3) citizenship, (4) the image of the Hong Kong government, and (5) democratic orientation and the conception of citizen. As can be seen below, most of the textbooks reflect a rather passive and parochial conception of citizenship through misrepresentation, idealization, distortion, and omission [8].

_Citizenship without National and State Identities: China as our neighbour and absence of political identity_

First, regarding the nation-state dimension of citizenship, these textbooks fail to provide our students with a strong national identity and state identity. As mentioned above, given a wide scope of the lower Chinese History syllabus, at S3 level, the parts of contemporary China, especially the history of the People’s Republic of China, occupy only a moderate part along with the topics in Qing Dynasty, Republican China and the topics in intellectual history and religion. Following the syllabus, the portion of contemporary China, especially the People’s Republic of China’s history, in Modern Educational Research Society’s textbook _Chinese History 3_, is rather small.

The textbook devotes two sections of a chapter to post-World War II history of China. There is a description of civil war between the Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Communist Party (CCP), the rise of power of the CCP and the establishment of PRC, and the internal affairs and diplomacy across the Taiwan Straits since 1949. Because the evaluation of the Republic of China’s and the PRC’s performance is a sensitive political issue; thus, to avoid taking side with any
governments, the textbook adopts the way of parallelism by respectively describing the domestic and
foreign policies of the People's Republic of China and Republic of China.

With respect to the development of the PRC, the textbook briefly describes a sequence of
social-political movements like Land Reform, the 'Three-antis' and 'Five-antis' campaigns, the
'Three Red Flags', the 'Cultural Revolution' as well as the 'Four Modernizations'[9]. In describing
these political movements, the textbook also mentions the 'failure' of the Three Red Flags, and the
'turmoil' of the Cultural Revolution. Apart from internal affairs, the textbook also covers the
diplomacy of PRC, its foreign relationships with the Soviet Union and the USA, as well as the issue
of Hong Kong's future and the signing of the Sino-British Declaration.

On the aspect of Taiwan, the textbook gives a brief discussion of its political situation,
economic and educational achievements, in particular its status as one of the little Four Dragons[10].
As far as the aspects of economic and industrial development are concerned, the second part of the
textbook devotes several pages to discuss the major industrial achievements, transportation and other
important constructions in Mainland China and Taiwan, with a brief description of the development
of modern industries such as the 'Ten Great Constructions', 'Twelve Great Constructions' and
'Fourteen Great Constructions' in Taiwan (pp. 145-160) [11].

On the other hand, the Chinese History textbook adopted by Yuk-kwan shows a more
favourable attitude towards the Chinese Communist Party and the PRC's government. For instance,
it gives more details about the political and military leaders like Mao, Zhou, Zhu, and Deng. It also
mentions more about the contribution of the Red Army in the war against Japanese aggression. As
for the history of China after 1949, the textbook devotes a larger coverage to the domestic and
foreign policies of the People's Republic of China than that of the Republic of China.

With respect to the development of the PRC, the textbook briefly describes political
movements like Land Reform, the 'Three-antis' and 'Five-antis' campaigns, the 'Three Red Flags',
and so on. The textbook also mentions the catastrophe of the ‘Cultural Revolution’, and the ‘Four Modernizations’ under the guidance of Deng. Unlike the textbook adopted in the other four schools, the textbook especially mentions that ‘the economic reform and Open Door policies in the 1980s have attained considerable results. It testifies the policies of reform and openness as a future direction for China to carry through to the end’ (p.98).

Elsewhere the textbook also stresses the diplomatic achievement of the PRC, in particular the Bandung Conference, the reconciliation with the USA and Japan, and the signing of the Sino-British Declaration on the issue of Hong Kong’s future. In dealing with the Sino-American foreign relationship, the textbook particularly mentions the Shanghai Communiqué in 1972 in which the United States acknowledged that Taiwan is a part of China. In part 2, the textbook also gives a larger coverage to the economic and social achievements in Mainland China, rather than those of Taiwan.

Viewed in this light, both the Chinese History textbooks, in line with the official syllabus, give considerable space to political history. With a heavy emphasis on salient historical events and the deeds of political figures, they pay relatively little attention to the significance of socio-economic forces behind political affairs. Thus, in contrast to an orthodox Marxian interpretation of history as class struggle found in Mainland China textbooks, the Hong Kong textbooks discuss more on the description of political events, in particular the succession of dynasties and the deeds of ancient political leaders, while little space is devoted to social and economic history. The textbooks narrated historical events, giving much factual information whereas little is about explicit evaluative judgements or historical analysis. Also, there is no social analysis, whether Marxian or non-Marxian, added to the interpretations of historical events. At most the textbooks provide students with merely the most superficial understanding of Chinese History, but not an in-depth comprehension, nor ample analytical techniques and practical skills in historiography training.
Given the above features, it is hard to believe that the textbooks can cultivate the students with analytical ability as stated in the syllabus.

The textbooks also echo the curricular objective of encouraging the students to develop their appreciation of Chinese culture and traditions, but less with cultivating a sense of state identity, nationalism or patriotism. The textbooks display a basic tone of moral education and serve to induce in the students an understanding of traditional Chinese culture and features of the nation, or to cultivate their good characters through the learning of the ancient sages. Unlike other textbooks in Taiwan and Mainland China (Roberta 1975; Ferro 1984; Kalupa 1984), there is no advocacy of patriotism or promotion of loyalty to the national government of the PRC or of the ROC. Also, an explicit identification with either the Beijing or the Taipei government is avoided and omitted. The textbooks are further depoliticized by avoiding the mention of any national doctrines, and direct appraisal of the prominent political leaders of ROC and PRC, especially the merits and faults of Chiang, Mao, Zhou and Deng.

As for the EPA textbooks, there is no direct coverage of topics about China except for mentioning the link between China and Hong Kong. They describe the geographic proximity of Mainland China to Hong Kong, the early history of Hong Kong, the ethnic origins of Hong Kong Chinese residents, Hong Kong’s historical connection with China, as well as the influences of events in China on the Hong Kong’s population and economic development. On some occasions the textbooks also briefly discuss the food and water and power supply from China, the economic ties and transport links with China, and about the Sino-British Joint Declaration, Hong Kong’s future status as a Special Administrative Region of the PRC in 1997, the concept of ‘One Country, Two Systems’, and the general principles and main points of ‘Basic Law’. But after describing the link with China and the influences of China on Hong Kong, the EPA textbooks go on to describe China
as ‘our closest neighbour’, but not the mother country. The image of China as a motherland becomes blurred.

Compared with the EPA textbooks, the textbooks *Social Studies Today* are wider in their coverage of China by giving a more detailed discussion on the Chinese People, the climate and landscape of China, and the culture and customs of the Chinese people. Also, they cover political and economic development in Mainland China, including the national flag of PRC, the growth of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the bibliographies of the communist leaders like Mao, Zhou and Deng, and the structure of the Chinese Government. Similar treatment is also found in *Adolescence and Society 3*.

In this regard, the elements of nationalism or patriotism are almost absent in the EPA and Social Studies textbooks. In sharp contrast to common textbooks in other countries, those textbooks do not advocate national pride or national loyalty like urging the youth to sacrifice for China or to contribute to the nation’s development. Also, they do not promote China’s interest or about Hong Kong’s contribution to China. China is treated much more like a neighbouring country, even the closest and the most important, than the motherland of Hong Kong students, in these textbooks. Also, the coverage of the knowledge of China politics and recognition of national symbols is rather limited. Nor can we find a treatment of the national rituals and symbols of the state like national flag, national song and historic figures, let alone a respectable and favourable one.

*Citizens in a cosmopolitan city*

In addition to national and state identities, the image of local history presented in the textbooks is also very obscure. Particularly in the Chinese History textbooks, there is no detailed treatment of Hong Kong history. Regarding the relationship between China and Hong Kong, the Chinese History textbooks briefly mention the loss of Hong Kong from China to Britain resulting
from unequal treaties after the defeats in the Opium War and other wars, the role of Hong Kong as a revolutionary base and the settlement of the Hong Kong question, while they say nothing about the general strike of Canton and Hong Kong workers, the Japanese's occupation during the Second World War, and the riot in 1967.

In On-yan, special emphasis was put on the part of Hong Kong. The school particularly issued a book of Hong Kong history for lower form Chinese History classes which focuses on the role of Hong Kong in Chinese history: the impact of unequal treaties on Hong Kong history, Hong Kong as a revolutionary base in late Qing Dynasty, as well as the deeds of Dr Sun Yat-sen[12].

However, even the EPA and Social Studies textbooks provide only a simple description of the geographical location of Hong Kong, the different areas of Hong Kong, the local climate, the size and composition of population, and a brief history of the growth of Hong Kong and the like.

The development and growth of Hong Kong is cast in an evolutionary perspective whereas not much attention is given to the factors of conflicts like the 1967 riots and so forth, nor an analysis of the social structure. Instead, a strong emphasis in the textbooks is on Hong Kong as an international and cosmopolitan city. Hence Hong Kong is depicted as a successful economic metropolis changing from an entrepot to a major industrial centre, and recently, to an international financial centre with strong economic links with many other countries.

Associated with the image of an international city and a depiction of a cosmopolitan city is a promotion of positive attitudes toward foreign countries and people. The textbooks give a favourable treatment of foreign countries and people. For example, a passage mentioning inter-racial relationship and against anti-foreignism is found in *Introducing EPA 2*:

> People of different races live in Hong Kong. They have different lifestyles and religions. Although most people in Hong Kong are Chinese, many of them do not lead a traditional Chinese lifestyle. [...] We must be tolerant of one another if we wish to live together peacefully. We must accept that other people are different from ourselves. [...] We should not be critical of somebody just because he is different from us. His lifestyle, food and religion are as good as our own. We should also try to treat people equally. [...] Generally speaking, Hong Kong is a
peaceful place. This is because most people are tolerant of other people. (p. 46 my emphasis underlined)

Likewise, similar treatment is found in *Adolescents and Society* 3 (pp. 128-136). As can be seen, an emphasis on a cosmopolitan city is going hand in hand with a disregard of national identity. Meanwhile, nationalism is replaced by favourable attitudes toward foreigners.

*The Story of the Growth of Hong Kong: progress in an open society and laissez faire economy*

As to the discussion of economic affairs in the EPA and Social Studies textbooks, the story of the growth of Hong Kong is mainly narrated as a smooth and evolutionary process of economic development without tensions and struggles[13]. In the unit about the development of Hong Kong as a trading and financial centre, *Introducing EPA* 3 attributes the causes of Hong Kong's growth into one of the world's important financial centres to its geographical position, excellent communications, the role of the government's non-intervention in the economy, and time zones. Likewise, *Social Studies Today 3A* highlights the positive contribution of the government policy to Hong Kong's success as an international trade and financial centre (p. 105). Then it is followed by the work of promoting trade development made by the Hong Kong Trade Development Council, the Hong Kong Productivity Council and the Trade Department.

Along with the celebration of Hong Kong's successful economic development is ideological support for the existing economic system, and praise of the efficacy of the free enterprise system, the principle of free trade and the ethos of capitalism. As for the role of laissez faire policy to economic development, the textbooks mention the benefits of import from other countries for food and other necessity while accusing the imposition of trade restrictions as a major barrier to Hong Kong economic development[14].

Another feature of the textbooks is an appreciation of private property by regarding it as essential and good for economic progress and freedom, and preferable to public ownership. Thus, a
Citizenship as Civil Rights and Duties: good citizens in a city-state

Regarding the rights and duties of citizenship, the EPA and Social Studies textbooks provide a rather narrow conception of citizenship. 'Hong Kong citizen' is mainly treated as a geographic-related identity imputed with a moralistic orientation. Thus what is taught is how to be a 'good' citizen, rather than a 'competent' citizen. In addition, there is only a formalistic treatment of citizenship, without any discussion of its de facto state in Hong Kong such as social inequalities.

For example, with regard to the definition of citizenship:

A citizen is a person who has the legal right to live in a place. Therefore a citizen of Hong Kong is a person who has the right to live here. As a citizen you are part of Hong Kong's community. It means Hong Kong is your home. A citizen has rights and responsibilities. (Introducing EPA 1, p.60)

Then it is followed by a discussion on various forms of identity documents and a list of the rights and duties of a citizen:

The responsibilities of a citizen are as follow: to obey the law, to pay taxes, and to cooperate with the Government.[...] A good citizen should be considerate of other people, respectful for other people's views and co-operative. He should also protect the environment and serve the community.[...] A citizen has the following rights: protection by law, right to a fair trial, freedom of speech, right to share in the government of the place, freedom of religion and right of free association. (Ibid. p.75)

While in Social Studies Today 3A, it also discusses the rights and duties of a government and a citizen, basic human rights, and the rights under the Basic Law. Rather than affirming the principle of popular sovereignty, it views the government as equal to the people and for the people rather than of the people and by the people. Then it goes on to list the rights and duties of a citizen and includes moral prescriptions for a good citizen to behave such as 'being considerate', 'respect other people's views', 'cooperate with other people', and 'help other people' (Ibid p.52). Interesting
enough, along with the discussion of rights and responsibilities, the section on citizenship even covers the aspects of time-management among work, rest and leisure, choice of leisure activities, and proper use of money.

For another textbook Adolescents and Society 3, it enumerates the rights of citizen such as legal protection, fair trial, personal freedom, freedom to take part in economic activity, freedom of association and assembly, right of taking part in politics, and social welfare and social security. As to the duties of the citizen, they include obeying the law, co-operating with the police and implementation of government policy, paying taxes on time, registering as a voter, taking part in public services, being moral and respecting other people, and receiving education (pp.56-58).

As such, the textbooks tell the student about their rights as a citizen but do not discuss their actual situations in Hong Kong. Nor are the students taught how to realize their rights such as legal protection, fair trial, freedom of association and assembly, taking part in politics, and social welfare and social security. Instead, the textbooks persuade the students to be good citizens by obeying the law, cooperating with the government policy, paying taxes, registering as a voter, taking part in public services, and being moral and polite to other people.

Citizens and a Consultative and Benevolent Government

The EPA and Social Studies textbooks investigated basically adopt a legal-institutional approach to political affairs. Politics is reduced to the study of formal government structure and institutions and their functions. Thus, with regard to the organization and components of Hong Kong's political structure, the textbooks give a detailed description of the composition and functions of central and local governments (Introducing EPA 2, pp.5-20, 29-33, 47-49 and Social Studies Today 3A, pp.35-38). With an emphasis on describing formal government structure and institutions, the textbooks offer a formalistic and unrealistic interpretation of the government while largely
ignoring the topics of political behaviour, political process, and social conflicts. Nor do they mention
the socioeconomic factors that affect political decision-making. For example, in the discussion on
voting, students are told that councillors are elected by the people through voting; however, little is
said about the Government's response to the powerful regarding vested interest, nor the operation of
party politics. Also, students are not told about how pressure groups and other political processes
work. An examination of informal factors such as social class, education and gender is neglected
too.

Although *Social Studies Today 3A* mentions the *White Paper on The Development of
Representative Government* published in 1988 and the direct election of some members to the
Legislative Council in 1991, it does not go into detail about the political controversies aroused by the
political reform.

*Adolescents and Society 3*, another textbook, also briefly discusses the development of
representative Government in Hong Kong and explains the concept of representative government, its
features, and the meaning and significance of direct and indirect election (pp.40-44). More
importantly, the representative political system is described as a form of democratic political
system[15].

As mentioned before, an appreciation of government efforts is stated as a major curricular
objective, which is authentically reflected in the textbooks. The textbooks assert that the Hong Kong
Government plays a beneficial role in maintaining order and our way of living and foster a positive
image of government with a functional justification of the Government [16]. For example, in
explaining the necessity of government, *Social Studies Today 3A* writes:

[... As communities became bigger and bigger, some rules or regulations were
necessary. People who were more capable became leaders. They decided what
rules were needed and how they should be enforced. This was the beginning of
government. Every community has to have some sort of government to protect the
people and to safeguard their rights and privileges. Then followed by an analogy
of a village government] [...] the Government decides the rules of our community.
It makes sure that the rules are obeyed. It decides the best ways that our
community can earn a living in the world. The Government considers the opinions of the people before making these decisions. (pp:24-25, my emphasis underlined)

While in the section 'why is communication important?', *Introducing EPA 2* tells the students that:

A government should only make laws and provide services which the people need. This is what the saying 'rule of the people, by the people, for the people' means. It is therefore very important that a government knows what the people want it to do. In many countries, this is done through representative democracy. This means that all the people who make the laws are elected by those old enough to vote. If the people do not agree with what the government does, they can elect another government. [...] Even though the system in Hong Kong is not democratic, it is not dictatorial, the Government does try to find out the opinions of the people. Decisions are usually made only after careful discussion with a wide range of people. This is government by consultation and consent. [Then come after a list of channels of communication] (pp.27-28 my emphasis underlined)

Likewise, in the unit titled 'communication with the government' in *Social Studies Today* 3A, it portrays an image of a consultative and representative government which is willing to listen to all different views of the people (p.56). Then it is followed by a description of various governmental agencies through which public opinions are collected. Nevertheless, radical actions are disfavoured, as the textbook says:

Government officials are in fact people who serve and help us. If we are treated unfairly by government officials or we have some grievances, there are ways for us to tell the government about our grievances. We often hear people say that there is a gap between government and the people. But there are many ways for us to voice our opinions. [Then followed by a discussion of eleven communication channels between the Government and the people] Remember, it is always right for us to make a complaint and to give our grievances. But we should never use violence or illegal ways to redress our grievances. (Tbid pp.58-59 my emphasis underlined)

On the same topic of communication with the government, another textbook writes in the section 'the necessity and importance of communication':

*Hong Kong Government is a consultative democratic government.* When the Government proposes a policy, it will collect the opinions and then put it to debate in the Executive Council or the Legislative Council, then legislate and enforce it. Also, the Government always encourages the citizens to air their voices through official and non-official channels. The Government also tries to disclose information and encourage the public to take part in studying government affairs in
the hope to eliminate the errors in policy and gain the support from the public. [...] But how can the Government satisfy the needs and requests of different social sectors? Hence the Government and the public need communication. The Government can understand the needs of the public, then make a decision of the priority of different policies. Also it can explain to the public that under the considerations of finance and fairness, the Government can not satisfy all the needs of the public at the same time. [...] through different channels the public can actively express their opinion before the Government making decision, only through this that the Government officials understand different opinions and make policy only after both parties achieving understanding. The result is that to make sure a smooth enforcement of government policy and to maintain a stable and prosperous society. (Adolescents and Society 3 pp.61-62 original in Chinese, my emphasis underlined).

Then the textbook mentions several channels of communication and includes the ways of expressing opinions and redressing grievances such as letters, complaints to non-official representatives in the councils or District Boards, mass media, pressure group, and direct action like protest and strike (ibid. p.67).

As can be seen from the above quotations, the textbooks largely portray a benevolent, consultative, open and even democratic image of the government. It is a government by consultation and consent. Expressing opinions and redressing grievances through the conventional channels are welcome whereas radical actions are disregarded or disfavoured. Political participation is confined to voting, expressing opinions, or redressing grievances, but not a further pursuit for democracy. Also, there is no discussion of the pros and cons of direct and indirect elections. Although the textbooks also mention that there are many various types of government, they do not explain the differences further.

Besides a consultative image of government, the textbooks also promote a harmonious relationship between the government and the people. Communication and cooperation become the key words in the textbooks whereas the importance of monitoring the government appears insignificant. With a list of formal and informal channels of communication, the textbooks repeatedly mention the importance of cooperation or communication between the government and the
people. The salient message conveyed is the government cares and serves the public, willing to listen to the public, and the public can cooperate with the government in preventing juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, and fighting against corruption.

Also along with a justification of the existence of government is a highly administrative and positive conception of the functions of government and an idealization of government policy-making. Thus, in addressing topics about education, social welfare, housing, public health, pollution and conservation, industrial problem, economic development, or social evils like juvenile delinquency, drug abuse or corruption, the textbooks devote many paragraphs to deal with the government's efforts in promotion of citizens' welfare. With a lengthy discussion of the work of different governmental departments, the textbooks stress on how the Hong Kong Government protects and serves the people, which is in line with the curricular aim of fostering amongst students an appreciation of the government's efforts in solving social and economic problems.

Therefore, in the topics dealing with social problems or public affairs, we find the depiction of social problems and the role of the government following the formula as such: first, an introduction to the social issues or problems in Hong Kong; then it is followed by solutions to the problems at stake, especially the government's efforts to improve the quality of our lives and our community through its provision of services, with favourable treatment of the work of Hong Kong Government [17]. Nevertheless, when discussing these social problems, the textbooks do not offer any social analysis or structural explanations of them. Nor can we find any analysis of significant social problems like social and gender inequalities.

Likewise, albeit with a lesser degree, the Social Studies textbooks also describe the work of various government departments in a positive light. In a number of sections, the textbook describes the government's efforts and responsibilities in environmental protection (Social Studies Today 3A pp.84-89), and the government's concern with social welfare (Social Studies Today 2B pp.46-47).
As to the role of a laissez faire government and limited intervention, it is noted that the Social Studies textbooks endorse both the principle of laissez faire and an intervention role of a limited government in economic affairs (Social Studies Today 2A pp. 110-112). In other topics on economic affairs, it details the contribution of the Government to trade development (ibid. pp. 107-110), the Government’s encouragement of the diversification of industry and assistance to manufacturing industries (Social Studies Today 2A pp. 114-115, 139-140). A laissez-faire economic policy and government’s intervention is juxtaposed as compatible.

As can be seen above, government departments are described in the EPA and Social Studies textbooks as helpful and beneficial to the community, and almost omnipotent, without recognition of the cost, mistakes or errors of the Government. Also, a favourable treatment is accorded to governmental officials and civil servants, particularly in the case of the police force. The pro-government stance is particularly strong in the EPA textbooks. They generally present an ideal and beneficial image of smooth operation of the Government and convey a strong message that the Government works hard to serve you. They also present an unrealistic picture of Hong Kong society in which social problems are reduced to administrative and technical questions which are solvable. The causes of social problems are attributed to non-structural factors and the social dimensions of politics are being obfuscated without in-depth explanation. Also, none of the textbooks discuss major social tension and conflicts, and value incompatibilities happening in the community. Controversial social issues or topics such as social inequalities are ignored or not dealt with in a sociological or political way. When discussing social problems, the textbooks do not indicate significant internal conflicts. Instead, the textbooks devalue dissent, confrontation and radical activities.
As mentioned above, the design of the EPA and Social Studies syllabuses are mainly about social and economic affairs, while political topics are reduced to merely a descriptive account of government structure. Although the textbooks give a wide coverage of political knowledge dealing with the structure and working of the Government, they say little about informal politics. Moreover, except for a brief discussion on the ideas like freedom of the press, rule of law, innocent until proven guilty, equality, fair trial, and tolerance of diversity (Introducing EPA 2 pp.39-40; Social Studies Today 2B p.4), the textbooks discuss little about political principles like democratic orientation, principles of equality, and doctrines of civic liberties. For instance, the Social Studies textbooks only briefly mention the influence of political thoughts in Ancient Greece and Rome on the modern world concerning the ideas of democracy, citizenship and fair laws (Social Studies Today 2B pp.153,156-157,165-165). With regard to mass media, the textbooks particularly highlight the important functions of mass media, advocate a critical stance toward mass media and their proper use, and cherish the importance of freedom of the press and speech (Introducing EPA 3 pp.136-143).

More importantly, even when legal and political principles are discussed, the textbooks merely provide a formalistic and idealistic conception of them, without recognizing these principles are undermined by socio-economic factors. Hence the textbooks tell the students about formal legal equality but keep silent on substantive inequality.

Although voting is playing an increasing part in recent political development, and in particular in the progress of representative democracy in Hong Kong, the textbooks devote little space to discuss its significance and the principles behind voting and the rationale of related political concepts and principles, (Introducing EPA 2 p.30). Still further, the view on voting is compatible with a consultative and representative conception of government. Except for a general statement urging support for representative democracy through becoming well-informed and voting, the
textbooks generally offer no guidance for effective political action in the community. As such, at most the textbooks only bring the students the most superficial support for some abstract democratic values and some shallow information of voting, but not an in-depth comprehension of them, let alone the practical skills necessary for active political participation.

The textbooks tend to advance a normative and non-reflective notion of citizenship, while neglecting a cultivation of political skills and participatory political behaviour directed toward change. Thus the textbooks are inadequate not only in imparting political ideas but also in helping the students to acquire analytical skills and reasoning abilities.

Although the Guidelines and the syllabuses claim to help students acquire the skills to gather, interpret and evaluate information, as well as the ability to identify problems and offer solutions through logical thinking, there is a paucity of treatment about high-level cognitive and inquiry skills and participation skills directly associated with civic education in the textbooks concerned, particularly in Chinese History. For instance, there are only very limited sections dealing with skill-training (Social Studies 2A, topic on myself-decision making). Instead, a greater emphasis is put on low-level cognition in the forms of questions and activities which deal with memorizing myriad details about government and public affairs.

In addition, though the textbooks, together with the accompanying workbooks, provide various forms of exercises questions, tasks and activities, most of them conform to the mode of didactic practice and cover little about cognitive and participation skills. Questions and revision exercises emphasize the recall of what is taught but do not give students sufficient practices in reasoning, developing hypotheses, collecting and sifting data, making analysis, and participation in debate and discussion.
A Recapitulation: the composite image of citizenship reflected in the textbooks

After examining the lower forms textbooks in Chinese History, EPA, and Social Studies in terms of topics, contents, and ways of description, we find that most of them point to a rather partial, passive and parochial conception of citizenship. The textbooks detach the students from identifying their mother country; concern with description of historical events, economic and public affairs rather than political education; legitimize the existing political system and socio-economic arrangements; entail a moralistic conception of citizenship and foster the students with favourable and positive attitude towards the government and social order; give a highly administrative, functional, and beneficial image of government and depict a harmonic, communicative and cooperative relationship between the government and the people; stress upon the administrative output of the government without adequate treatment of political processes and citizens as political actors; and fail to cultivate democratic dispositions and skills. As can be seen, the messages transmitted in the textbooks not only fail citizenship education, but also depart from some of the objectives of the Guidelines and syllabuses, let alone providing the students with a critique of existing social and political order and suggestion of the possibility of social transformation.

Finally, we can witness how the particular ideological and political background of Yuk-kwan middle school determined the teaching materials it use in teaching Chinese History by adopting the Chinese History textbooks which showed a more favourable attitude towards the Chinese Communist Party and the PRC government.

So far I have discussed the under and unequal provision of the social subjects related to civic education in the formal curriculum, the ideological bearing of the curricular objectives, the scope and design of each subject, as well as the composite image of citizenship to be transmitted in the textbooks. As can be seen from the above, the formal curriculum largely conforms to a citizenship transmission approach to political education, conveying a conformist view of citizenship.
As there are other components of the formal curriculum, the next chapter will continue my inquiry into the instructional methods and teaching activities, the contents and format of assessment, and students' experience with the formal curriculum.
5.1 Pedagogy: conception and significance

In the previous chapter I have discussed the ideological bearings of the curricular objectives and the contents of the textbooks in three major lower form social subjects. Transmission of knowledge is not solely by the textbooks and curricular documents, but also through the day-to-day classroom interactions between teachers and students (Thornton 1991; Clandinin and Connelly 1992; Doyle 1992; Fullan 1992) [1]. The curriculum is mediated, implemented and actualized by the teachers. Teachers decide the teaching schedule, select the curricular materials, interpret and explain the curriculum contents and textbooks to the students, and shape the classroom climate. Thus, a study of pedagogy, or 'the ways of teaching' is significant because teachers and their teaching practices are the keys to curriculum implementation. Furthermore, the curricular documents state only the objectives and prescriptions whereas the ways the teachers enact the official curriculum may be different from the curricular objectives. So it is naive to assume that all the teachers will faithfully replicate the plan of the official curriculum. Instead, a discrepancy between the intentions of the curriculum planners and the actual teaching practices often appears (Fullan 1992; Snyder 1992).

Also, different methods of teaching are appropriate for developing different knowledge, attitudes and skills (Morris 1995). As for political education, pedagogy plays an important role in determining the particular orientation of political education. While a citizenship transmission approach is closely tied with a teacher-centred instructional practice, a reflective-inquiry or a critical approach requires a more activity-oriented learning approach and a wide variety of teaching methods.
(Armento 1986; Yu 1992; Leung and Lau 1993). However, the implementation of civic education in Hong Kong was undermined by the prevalence of 'mug and jug approach' to teaching and learning in classrooms, the poor implementation of the integrated social studies syllabus, and poor responses to the Guidelines amongst most social subjects teachers in secondary schools (Tse 1997a). Being aware of the widespread conventional pedagogical practices, the Education Department especially recommended non-traditional forms of teaching strategies and learning activities for secondary level civic education (Guidelines p.84). In subsequent official instructional documents (Tam 1989:48), the Education Department further suggested a diversity of media, mode of teaching, content, and learning activities to involve the students actively in learning and to give them ample opportunities to apply the knowledge to real life situations and problems. Meanwhile, the syllabuses of these lower form social subjects also prescribed a more active approach to teaching and learning (CDC 1982:7-9; CDC 1984:26-28,44-48).

5.2 Pedagogy at Work in the Six Schools: an extension of the citizenship transmission approach

With regard to the pedagogy at work in the six schools, as it is shown below, most teachers failed to fulfill the curricular objectives, and, in turn, transmitting civic education to the students. In the following sections, I shall discuss the teachers themselves and their pedagogical practices in terms of teaching objectives, reception of civic education, coverage and progress of teaching, ways of instruction, uses of teaching materials, and classroom climate. Finally, I shall analyze the constraints over their pedagogical practices and explain the discrepancy between the prescriptions and the reality.
Teachers’ Reception of Civic Education: insufficient knowledge, and lack of enthusiasm and special training

Given that there was little coordination among the panels of subject and within the panels of individual social subjects, the teaching of citizenship largely relied on the initiatives of individual teachers. But as a matter of fact, the subject teachers were not enthusiastic or well-prepared to conduct civic education and showed limited reception of the idea of civic education. With very few exceptions, the social subjects teachers, in particular those of Chinese History, were not well aware of or did not refer to the school policy or curriculum document about civic education, though they may recognize the relevance of the subjects taught to civic education. But even they identified their teaching as civic education, they seldom explicitly or deliberately incorporated civic education in their subject teaching. Among the ten social subject teachers interviewed, only four of them read the Guidelines before and two teachers visited the resources centre for civic education or attended seminars concerning civic education. Indeed, even the teachers considered the teaching of democratic and nationalistic education very specialized and their knowledge inadequate. So even there were some elements related to civic education in the syllabus, they would still think that they could only teach them in a superficial way.

The problems of implementation stemmed from organizational structure. First, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, most civic education groups within schools possessed limited capacity and exercised no control over the formal curriculum, except for providing advice and guidelines. Since there was no inter-subject articulation within the whole formal curriculum, nor existed a close collaboration of the civic education group with other subject panels, so the panels did not incorporate civic education as teaching objectives and seldom were the cases teachers incorporated civic education in their classrooms-teaching.
Second, allocation of staff to teaching lower form social subjects was another problem. In Hong Kong where the level of teacher's professionalism is still low (Chincotta 1992), many teachers need to take up two to three subjects to teach. At present, lower form social subjects are regarded as minor subjects and even teachers without special training in those subjects are drafted in to fill up their residual teaching allotment, or 'subject-matching' namely. Since these subjects are considered as residual subjects for matching teaching workload, teachers allocated to teach social subjects are mainly based upon administrative considerations, rather than the person's expertise and interests. Indeed, many lower form social subject teachers are not majors in these subjects in their undergraduate studies or teacher training, and even fewer of them have received training in civic education. For example, among the teachers investigated, only two of the five Chinese History teachers were majors in History and only one out of the six Social Studies/EPA teachers received training in social sciences. For the Chinese History teachers, they were usually Chinese Language teachers; while for the Social Studies/EPA teachers, they were also responsible for teaching languages, Science, or Economics. Since not many of them have received special training before, they were not familiar with the curriculum, let alone the Guidelines. Nor did they recognize the relevance of social subjects to civic education. Also, because teaching lower form social subjects was not a major subject but just an auxiliary duty, the teachers also spent less time on it, when compared with senior form subjects, in particular Chinese, English, and Mathematics at 'public examination classes'.

In addition, the school teachers have been educated in a depoliticized educational environment and society. So most teachers themselves are politically-apathetic and not enthusiastic towards civic education (Leung, S.W. 1994).
Given that teachers might not have sufficient training, knowledge, or even dispositions for teaching these social subjects, they were insensitive to the civic education potential of their subjects taught and they did not explicitly incorporate civic education in their teaching.

Teaching Objectives of Social Subjects: negligence of political education

The Chinese History teachers interviewed commonly accepted the goals of teaching Chinese History as cultivation of students' understanding of Chinese culture and history, in particular the history of modern China. In some cases, some teachers also treated it as an opportunity for value education by teaching the perspective of living, and the meaning of success and failure, fostering their love for China's people and culture and a sense of national consciousness, or for the new generation to understand the historical roots of one's nation and country. Some also hoped that students could learn the moral lessons from history.

But the teachers did not deliberately incorporate the objectives of the Guidelines in their teaching of history. The teachers stressed more the cultural and national heritage, but not state identity as their teaching objectives, even though they agreed on the needs of enhancing national-state identities. Although some teachers also thought that the teaching of Chinese History was relevant to civic education as some topics could enhance the students' social awareness and a respect to one's culture, a nurture of identity with the PRC was not mentioned at all. Also, not much stress was devoted to cultivation of learning skills.

As for EPA and Social Studies, the teaching aims were primarily concerned with the syllabus, rather than with the Guidelines. Most of the teachers aimed to foster the students with a greater civic awareness, interests, and a better understanding of the society and their surrounding affairs and some basic knowledge of their families and immediate environment, one's roles and status, rights and duties, social issues like AIDS, understanding oneself and the world. Teachers also
wanted to teach their students proper beliefs and values of a good student and a good citizen, assimilating with one’s society in where they were living, adapting to the needs of society, particularly an understanding of their duties and the changes in society. Some also wished their students to become more open-minded as Social Studies was not purely factual knowledge but also required a more open attitude towards some new phenomena and different opinions and an observation of different values. Finally, a less frequently mentioned aspect is to cultivate their thinking skills and abilities such as skills of problem analysis, making judgements, and data-analysis.

As can be seen, there was a certain cognitive dissonance between teacher’s thinking and the curricular objectives in the official syllabuses and Guidelines. The teachers’ priority and negligence in their teaching deviated much with an explicit political education approach, in particular in their deliberate cultivation of conformist attitudes and values, rather than toward higher level analysis or skills.

Coverage and Progress of Teaching: political topics at margin and the further depoliticization of the curriculum

Since the topics, contents and coverage of teaching are deliberately selected and organized by the teachers, the issues of coverage, selection and omission of topics, and uses of teaching materials are as equally important as the issue of curricular design. As for political education, it is in competition not only with other subjects in the formal curriculum, as mentioned in Chapter 4, but also with other topics within individual social subjects.

For the subject Chinese History at S3, the lengthy syllabus made most teachers not likely to cover all topics. Commonly most teachers under study finished mainly the part of political history from the Qing Dynasty to contemporary China until 1984, and the topics about money, economy and the intellectual thoughts of the Spring and Autumn Period and the period of Warring States, while
omitting most of other topics about intellectual thoughts, industry and commerce, and religion. Also because of the lengthy coverage of the syllabus and time constraint, many topics could only be covered in a superficial way with a brief account of the causes and outcomes of individual historical events, but never be able to conduct in-depth discussion. Due to the omission of the teaching of political topics, there was a further depoliticization of the curriculum.

While for the subjects of EPA and Social Studies, the teachers were also unable to cover all topics. Also, except for Yuk-kwan, the emphasis of teaching was put on the part concerning economic affairs, and to a lesser degree, social topics but not the political ones. Because the schools like Royal College and On-yan offered Economics at S4, so even for EPA at S3, the teaching emphasis was put on economics rather than public affairs. Indeed, much of S3 teaching served to provide students with the fundamentals of economic knowledge in preparation for their study of economics at S4 and S5. The curricular design of On-yan reflected this pattern. At S3, most topics of public affairs but pollution were cut down because of an emphasis on convergence with the syllabus of S4 Economics. Among the topics such as Hong Kong industries, Hong Kong as a trade and financial centre, pollution and conservation, juvenile delinquency, mass media and consumer education, Royal College and On-yan covered a lot about economic affairs, particularly in Hong Kong industries and business and the basic concepts of Economics.

As for the teaching of Social Studies, except for the Yuk-kwan's teacher, other teachers spent relatively little time dealing with topics like China's politics, Basic Law, and the political development and future of Hong Kong. In Yuk-kwan, Mr Yam detailed more about the political development of Hong Kong, the structure of Hong Kong government, and the rights and duties of citizens. He also emphasized teaching the regional administrative structure of the Chinese government, such as the seat of the government of each province.
As far as the coverage and progress of teaching was concerned, the selection of topics was mainly based upon the considerations of teaching time available, the interests and perceived relevance of the topics to the students. Since the teachers tended to emphasize more the topics other than political topics, the result of reducing and omitting political topics was that the place of citizenship studies within subjects-teaching was further marginalized and students' exposure to political education was further reduced accordingly.

Ways of Instruction: pouring-like teaching

Based upon the questionnaire survey, Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show that the pedagogical practices in EPA and Social Studies were more frequently characterized by direct methods such as instruction by teachers, and sometimes with discussion among teachers and students, and Education TV programmes or slide shows; nevertheless, more active learning activities such as small group work, analysis of current affairs, case-study, group discussion and presentation, and extra-curricular reading were not frequently utilized [2]. In terms of inter-school differences, we should note that St Anthony's students had the least exposure to indirect and more active learning activities, while Royal College's students had the most.

Table 5.1: Pedagogical Practices in S3 EPA/Social Studies (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's instruction</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers-students discussion</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETV/Side shows</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group discussion/ projects</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other activities</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Pedagogical Practices in S3 EPA/Social Studies by School (means)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Royal College</th>
<th>On-Yan</th>
<th>Yuk-Kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
<th>Total (n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's instruction</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>4.07 (216)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers-students discussion</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.35 (215)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETV/Side shows</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>2.90 (213)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group discussion/ projects</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>2.52 (214)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other activities</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>2.33 (212)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dominance of direct methods or teacher-centred approach to teaching was even more salient in the Chinese History classrooms, as can be seen in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. Chinese History teachers heavily relied on teacher-centred activities in which students passively received information.

Instructional strategies were mainly confined to the direct methods such as sole instruction and recitation, while a wide variety of more active and interactive learning activities practising skills or generating information like discussion among teachers and students, oral reading, small group work, and field visit were rarely used. Even audio-visual materials were not much used. During the Chinese History lessons, to attract students and make the presentation more interesting and lively, some teachers like Ms Tsang (Royal College) and Mr Cheung (Bishop Brown) performed themselves as story-tellers. Teachers mainly followed the textbook and explained the contents to the students in a story-telling way. Although it was not purely a didactic model of teaching, story telling could be considered as a viable alternative left for teaching history to draw students' attention and arouse their interest. In terms of inter-school difference, except for Bishop Brown which utilized more active methods of teaching, the incidents in other schools were very rare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's instruction</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers-students discussion</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETV/Slide shows</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group discussion/ projects</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other activities</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Royal College</th>
<th>On-Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-Kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>Total (n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's instruction</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>4.41 (191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers-students discussion</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>2.85 (192)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETV/Slide shows</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.80 (191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group discussion/ projects</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.59 (191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other activities</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.66 (182)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from above, instruction in the social subjects was characterized by teacher-centred instruction, while alternative forms of teaching methods were infrequently used by teachers. The teachers did not adopt value analysis treatment, and training of political skills such as data analysis was almost absent in their learning. In addition, even when questions were raised, they were usually characterized by an emphasis on recall of facts rather than performing analytical abilities. Students seldom took the initiative to ask questions. Thus, the students were deprived of the opportunities of free and critical discussion of contemporary and controversial issues and developing their political knowledge and social skills through active group discussions, simulation games, case studies and projects. Even though some suggested teaching activities such as visits to the administrative office and other places outside school might be useful and lively to the students, they were omitted for practical considerations. Obviously, these ways of instruction were incompatible with the approach of political literacy. On the other hand, a mug and jug approach to teaching fostered a closed classroom climate and a citizenship transmission approach to political education.

*Uses of Teaching Materials: restriction of teaching and legitimisation of official knowledge*

With regard to the choice of teaching materials, closely allied with the chalk-and-talk approach to teaching was a heavy reliance on textbooks and workbooks, while on a few occasions supplemented with other materials like worksheets, notes, newspaper, magazines, videotapes, and maps. The situations were especially salient in Chinese History lessons where textbooks were extensively used. Teachers usually equated the curriculum with the content of the textbook and organized learning activities accordingly. They used the textbooks as the major references and prepared materials or derivatives of the content of the textbooks. Also, the assignments for lessons were almost solely around the textbooks' accompanied workbooks. On the other hand, most teachers did not use much new materials as they were comfortable with the familiar "text-and-workbook"
sources and avoided the risks such as time and content loss and the additional burden of workload with designing and collecting teacher materials.

Apart from the textbooks and workbooks, some teachers additionally prepared notes, supplementary exercises or worksheets with reference to the textbook or other workbooks. In highlighting the main points of the textbooks, these materials mainly served to facilitate the students' learning and as a kit for students' revision and preparation for tests and examinations. EPA or Social Studies lessons were less monotonous as occasionally the teachers would make use of newspaper clippings in their teaching.

As can be seen, the citizenship transmission approach to political education was further reinforced by the nearly exclusive adoption of textbooks as teaching materials. As a result of equating social knowledge with the textbooks, it not only restricted the scope of social knowledge, but also served to legitimate the official knowledge as the only valid knowledge (Giroux 1983a: 178-184).

Classroom Climate: de-controversialization and depoliticization

A salient aspect of pedagogy is classroom climate (Ehman 1980a; Harwood 1992). According to Ehman (1980a: 108), classroom climate is 'the intersection of teacher behaviour and classroom curriculum' involving the quality and nature of teacher-student interaction as well as students' perception of their environments. It is a 'distinctive socio-political atmosphere that consists in decision-making procedures, patterns of student participation, treatment of controversial issues, responses to student opinions, and other interaction patterns in the classroom' (Angell 1991: 242). Viewed in this regard, the teacher is a climate-maker conducive to reflective inquiry or closed classroom climate. For a long time, a democratic learning environment, characterized by peer interaction in a cooperative environment, frequent free and open issue discussion and free-flowing
exchanges, teachers' encouragement of student expression in class, respect for diverse viewpoints, and students' participation in democratic deliberations and decision-making, has been viewed as a sine qua non for democratic education (Dewey 1922; Angell 1991). A vast number of studies of instruction in Civics and Social Studies (Ehman 1969; Torney et al. 1975; Harwood 1992:78-79) also highlight the importance of the classroom climate properties like neutrality, discussion of controversial issues, and freedom of expression in discussion in shaping students' political attitudes.

In fact, in all schools under study, commonly the teachers did not talk much about politics and current affairs in their lessons because of the subject matter. Even when they talked about current issues and politics, they were regarded as sideline issues and as a way to while away the time and divert the students from boredom. So the political messages explicitly transmitted to students were very few and social subjects lessons became almost the sole source of political information. But even so, most social subjects teachers discussed only a little about current affairs, and even less was about politics or China. Only in Yuk-kwan, the Social Studies teacher talked more about politics and current affairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of controversial issue exposure</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss sensitive issues with a range of viewpoints</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State one's own position</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free to express in lessons</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far as the social subjects classrooms under investigation were concerned, they were still dominated by teacher-oriented behaviour, rather than that of the students. As can be seen
in Tables 5.5, and 5.6 [3], the lessons less frequently discussed controversial and sensitive issues or social problems. Most classrooms were characterized by autocratic teaching in which class-discussion was tightly controlled. Allied with that, teachers seldom adopted an open approach to interact with their students. There were fewer occasions in which teachers discussed sensitive issues or social problems with a range of viewpoints, presented both sides of the questions, and allowed the students to give their own views on social issues or problems.

Teachers felt reluctant toward free and open classroom discussion and disfavoured group discussion and peer interaction. Instead of getting students to speak freely and openly in class, teachers only allowed the students to discuss in lessons under their guidance. Under these situations, open discussion, student participation, peer interaction was rare if not absent and there was little opportunity for the students to express their own views, let alone to engage in discussion on their own.

Although most teachers pointed out that their schools did not interfere in their teaching and there was no political prohibition, instead they were granted with a high degree of autonomy. And because of the autonomy of the classroom, it solely depended on the particular orientation and teaching style of individual teachers, that is, whether the teacher himself or herself was willing to discuss and evaluate politics. When political issues were not discussed, it was mainly due to self-constraint, and inadequate teaching time rather than political pressure.

As for the subjects EPA and Social Studies, the frequency of discussing controversial issues and social problems was slightly higher and students also had more opportunities of free expression in lessons, when compared with Chinese History. Because of the subject matter's greater relevance to students' daily lives and the available opportunities of discussion in light of some activities such as newspaper-cuttings, ETV programmes, and doing projects, teachers also allowed students to speak
more on the topics about their surrounding affairs such as marriage, one's future careers and prospects.

As mentioned before, among the topics in the syllabus, many teachers elaborated more on the ones more relevant and interesting to the students, such as ways of future, marriage and mate-selection, or economic affairs but taught less about Hong Kong political development and China because the students regarded these issues as remote and uninteresting. Thus even when current affairs were talked about, it was mainly about non-political topics rather than the political ones. As a result, the teaching of EPA and Social Studies merely provided a superficial and narrow coverage of political topics, if any, let alone going deep into the political issues and the tougher and less pleasant aspects of social problems. Because teachers seldom dealt with political topics, current social problems and social conflicts in the political world, or the issues concerned with community and citizenship, students' exposure to controversial issues was still rather limited, in particular the political ones. A lack of open classroom climate not only inhibited students' active learning, but also suffocated an inquiry or critical approach to political education. As instruction dominated over discussion and teaching still stuck to a fact-transmission approach without exploring controversies and disputes over political problems and interpretation and explanation of historical and social phenomena, official knowledge was taken for granted and which fostered a positivistic, objective, absolute, static, and undisputed image of social knowledge among the students. This approach also favoured an acceptance of the status quo and supported the official definition of social reality, but underplayed the role of critical thinking and reflection, as well as the possibilities of change and transformation of society. Neither was training of value analysis, examination of underlying assumptions, concept clarification, decision-making, research skills and discovery learning was conducted. Together, the existing spoon-feeding pedagogical practices fostered passive and defensive learning, loss of interests, poor self-study habit, and lack of self-motivation among the students.
Constraints on Teaching and Learning Activities

As can be seen from the above sections, most social subjects classrooms under investigation were still characterized by a didactic approach with little involvement of students. Why was there such a great difference between the actual pedagogical practices and the official suggestions? As mentioned elsewhere (Biggs 1992; Morris 1992b; Leung and Lau 1993)[4], there were several constraints over the implementation of civic education which resulted in a heavy use of traditional pedagogy and the infrequent adoption of active and interactive approaches: lack of skill, expertise and experience on the part of teachers; heavy work load on teachers; examination pressure; lack of time due to the constraint of syllabus; large class size; layout of classroom, the arrangement of timetable, shortage of appropriate teaching materials; and concern with order-maintenance[5].

After examining the pedagogical practices of the formal curriculum, the next section will turn to the aspect of assessment, another important component of the formal curriculum.

5.3 Assessment: conception and significance

As the processes of appraising and judging students' learning potential and gains through the monitoring of their performance on cognitive, affective and behavioral indicators (Stradling 1987:22-23; Lynch 1992:94-95), assessment is another major component of the formal curriculum fulfilling purposes of motivation, diagnosis, certification and selection (Broadfoot 1990, 1996).

For individual students, assessment can perform both supportive and inhibitive functions on learning. On the one hand, assessment is used to measure and record the performance and progress of students, and in such a way the results can be used to motivate students' learning and reinforce their learning goals (Lynch 1992). On the other hand, it can also alienate the students from the process and enjoyment of learning and reduce their self-esteem in case of failure.
As far as its social functions are concerned, school assessment par excellence is the most prominent form of regulation since its procedures and contents define and legitimize the relevance and worthiness of knowledge (Bernstein 1971). From the perspectives of Neo-Marxism and New Sociology of Education, the forms and content of assessment are biased toward particular dominant groups, and hence the selection of assessment itself is a political problem (Williams 1961; Young 1973; Apple 1990). Also, as a selection and certification system distributing reward and sanction, assessment exercises salient control over the processes of learning and teaching. The influence and impact of assessment, particularly tests and examinations, on teachers, curriculum, instruction practices, student motivation and learning, is potentially great. At the extreme, the tyranny of public examinations would produce the adverse effects of test-domination in school curricular and instructional practices, learning and student achievement (Madaus 1988; Schwab 1989; Kurfman 1991; Gipps and Stobart 1994; Broadfoot 1996).

Furthermore, assessment is a major legitimisation mechanism in the social reproduction process by preparing suitably trained and socialized youngsters for various roles in society and fostering them to accept their status and the status quo in the pretext of an ideology of meritocracy (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1981a).

Given the significance of assessment, its rationale and objectives, contents and substantial topics, formats, and the uses of the results become key questions to ponder. Similar to pedagogy, different assessment practices represent different emphasis in curricular and pedagogical objectives and training of skills, and, in turn, result in different performance (Giroux 1989; Kurfman 1991). The contents of assessment reflect what are valued by the assessor and the formats of assessment constrain what could be tested. For social subjects, assessment can take a variety of forms such as formal assessment like tests and examinations; homework, assignment and worksheets; observation of classroom performance; projects; self-assessment; and peer evaluation. Also, the learning
outcomes for assessment are various in the domains of knowledge, values and skills (Stradling 1987; Lynch 1992). While recall of factual knowledge corresponds to formal assessment like tests and examinations; higher level political skills require different forms of assessments such as observation of classroom performance and project work (Harber 1983).

5.4 Assessment in the Six Schools: depoliticization of contents and testing of recall of factual knowledge

In view of the importance of assessment and the weaknesses of the current practices in Hong Kong schools, the Education Department also prescribes a variety of ways of assessment (CDC 1982:13-15; CDC 1984:29-30)[6]. Nevertheless, the most common actual assessment practices in schools still differed from the intended goals and objectives as many teachers still utilized the traditional types of assessment such as tests, examinations, worksheets and workbooks, rather than the non-conventional and informal ones such as classroom performance, doing projects, self-assessment, or peer evaluation as recommended in the Guidelines and the syllabuses. In Chinese History, EPA and Social Studies across the six schools, because of the common allocation of two to three periods in each cycle, the demand for students, in terms of workload, was also reduced accordingly. Assessment of these social subjects largely relied on tests, examinations, workbooks and worksheets, and to a lesser degree, doing one or two projects. More importantly, the final grade on the student's report was solely determined by the student's performance in tests and examinations.

On the other hand, observation of classroom performance, self-assessment, and peer evaluation were hardly used. Given the prevalent uses of workbooks and examination, I examine the workbooks first, and hereafter the examination papers.
Workbooks were the most conventional and popular form of assessment for social subjects. In terms of formats, most social subjects workbooks under study comprised a large proportion of various conventional exercises such as true-false questions, multiple-choice, filling in the blanks, matching, short and long questions, and in a lesser proportion, with some stimulating exercises like map work, chart study, newspaper, poster or picture study, comparison and contrast, data analysis, finding out tasks like newspaper collection and design activities. Albeit with such a wide variety of appearance, upon close examination, conventional exercises like true/false, multiple-choice, blanks-filling, matching still dominated over a half the content of workbooks.

In terms of content, these exercises were mainly designed for vocabulary learning and recall of facts contained in the textbooks. Even for long questions, they were largely drawn from the textbooks after some rewording of the original questions. The design of workbooks mainly referred to the textbook, asking for straightforward answers rather than 'creative work', analysis or integration. What was usually required was just transcribing the answers from the textbooks.

For example, in the Chinese History workbooks, the formats of questions were mainly around conventional exercises like multiple-choice, blanks-filling, matching, short and long questions, and map work, while not much was devoted to the stimulating exercises like reading comprehension, data analysis, and newspaper collection. As to the contents of the questions, the emphasis was put on revising the content of the textbook, in particular the causes of historical events, the chronological order of historical facts, and identification of names of places. Thus, an emphasis was put on revising factual knowledge, rather than learning a way of doing history. Even the stimulating exercises like reading comprehension, data analysis, and newspaper collection served more as supplementary work only.
While for the Social Studies and EPA workbooks, as mentioned before, On-yan has designed its school-based curriculum. Although it also adopted a textbook, it specially designed its own workbook for the students with a greater emphasis on the learning the skills of analysis and reasoning. The workbook contained a total of nine exercises dealing with the topics such as Hong Kong's industries, production, industrial problems, international trade, problems of trade, Hong Kong as a financial centre, pollution and conservation, advertising and consumer education, and opportunity costs. These exercises contained the forms of questions such as blanks-filling, short questions, matching, data analysis, multiple-choice, chart and table work, and reading comprehension. Compared with the workbooks analyzed above, On-yan's contained a more active approach to learning and put an emphasis on data analysis and daily life examples which were more interesting and relevant to daily lives.

By contrast, the exercises in the textbooks published by the commercial publishers were mainly designed in the form of worksheets with a majority of traditional exercises like blanks-filling, multiple-choice and matching to measure factual knowledge, especially those mentioned in the textbooks. Therefore, these workbooks did not require too much elaboration or development of ones' ideas by students, what the students needed to do was just following the questions, finding out the answers from the textbooks and putting them to the proper places in the workbooks accordingly, and at most, rephrasing the answers.

Even for non-conventional exercises like cross-word puzzles, map work, chart study, newspaper, poster or picture study, comparison and contrast, and long questions, a large amount of them were in fact questions asking for recall of factual knowledge but in the pretext of 'stimulating exercises' to attract the students. Thus the chart study was actually a variant of matching exercise while picture study was little more than a re-identification of pictures contained in textbooks. These workbooks best served as measurement of memory, but were poor to advance students' decision-
making. By contrast, only a small portion of exercises related to training of skills like data analysis, and finding out tasks such as newspaper collection and design activities.

The use of the workbook was as problematic as its design. The stimulating exercises, when properly used, might serve to enhance students' skills in collecting and analyzing information and data. However, this was not well-received by the teachers and was poorly put into practice. Even with these activity exercises, they were merely auxiliary and supplementary to the most traditional ones. In using these workbooks, many teachers tended to cover the most conventional exercises first but cut down or left out those exercises because the teachers regarded the students as not capable of doing things such as writing a letter for a job application. Also, the teachers faced the problem of marking and grading the situational questions such as 'what is one's ideal mate?', how to plan one's life after marriage, and the division of household labour.

Sometimes, for the sake of other reasons, the teachers even saved the students' own efforts. For instance, in doing the Chinese History workbooks, Royal College's students were required to finish the whole chapter of exercises except the long questions. When checking the answers during the lessons, the Chinese History teacher distributed the model answers of long questions copied from the teacher's handbook to the students and let them transcribe the model answers to their workbooks. The teacher explained to the students that because correcting long question answers would be quite untidy, and for the sake of a consistent assessment and the students' benefits, it was also better for the students to prepare for examinations by revising the standard model answers.

The situation of doing workbooks was even worse in Virtues College and St Anthony. In the poor classes in these schools, the students needed the teacher's guidance to work on the worksheets. But even so, many still failed to complete their tasks on their own. To guarantee students finish their workbooks, the teachers even put down the handbook's answers on the blackboard and allowed the students to copy them during lessons.
Examinations in Question

Compared with workbooks, tests and examinations were more important as they counted most in students' academic results. Commonly each school there were about one to two tests and two to three examinations held for each social subject for the school year. For the sake of simplicity and its relative importance, I have selected the final examination paper as the object of analysis.

First, the format and content of examination papers were remarkably similar to that of workbooks as the content was mainly drawn from textbooks and workbooks. The examination papers were asking for what students learnt from the textbooks, and to a greater extent, those from the workbooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.7: Format of Questions in S.3 Chinese History</th>
<th>Final Examination Papers (Share of Marks in Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Format</td>
<td>Royal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True/false</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple-choice</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanks-filling/ crossword puzzle</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matching/historical chronological order</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map work</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart/newspaper/poster/picture study</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q &amp; A questions</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in %</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* another 8 marks was given to student's projects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.8: Format of Questions in S.3 EPA/Social Studies</th>
<th>Final Examination Papers (Share of Marks in Percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Format</td>
<td>Royal (EPA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True/false</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple-choice</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanks-filling</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matching</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map work</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart/newspaper/poster/picture study</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q &amp; A short question, terms definitions/ essay questions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in %</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** the average of examination papers I & II.
As can be seen in Table 5.7, for the Chinese History final examination, the formats of questions like multiple-choice, blanks-filling, crossword puzzle, matching, historical chronological order, and map work shared as much as 50% to 70% of the total marks, while the weight of question and answer (Q & A) type did not exceed 30%. Of them, even a smaller proportion was about comprehension or dealing with historical data analysis. In other words, there was not much room for testing the students' analytical abilities. As for the subjects EPA and Social Studies, the questions of true/false, multiple choices, blank-filling, and matching still shared 35% to 64% of the total marks, while the residual were data-response questions and other types of questions (see Table 5.8).

As to the contents of the examination papers, the major emphasis was put on revising the contents of textbooks, workbooks, teachers' notes or worksheets. Some teachers would even set the questions from the secluded and unusual topics of the textbook to test whether the students had conducted through revision. For Chinese History, the format of examination was rather conventional and the examination questions were about the contents of the textbooks with few novel questions. Also, similar to the workbooks, the examination papers seldom incorporated data-based questions or free essay questions, and not much about knowledge extra to textbooks or workbooks. It was not testing the students' development of ideas, but rather about testing whether the students make efforts in revision. The emphasis in teaching particular topics was also reflected in the examination papers. Most questions from the Chinese History examination papers were asking students to describe the background, causes, major contents, process or effects of particular historical events. Instead, data-analysis questions were quite few, only two cases were newspaper cutting of Xi-an Incident (6 marks, On-yan); and identification of photographs of a meeting of struggle in the Cultural Revolution and the meeting of Chiang, Churchill, and Roosevelt in Cairo in 1943 (15%, Bishop Brown).
As for the EPA and Social Studies examinations, a few more inquiry-oriented questions were set. In Royal College, there was a small section of data response questions concerned with identifying the nature of advertisement, and a case study of protection of consumer’s right. On-yan also incorporated ten multiple-choice questions of current issues in; calculation of trade information with data provided; and comprehension questions of newspaper cuttings about basic economic concepts. Students were also required to estimate the opportunity cost of building up a nuclear power plant and to answer whether they agreed to have one in Hong Kong. St Anthony’s examination paper included situational questions about whether they would allow a classmate infected with HIV go to school, and five multiple-choice questions about current affairs.

In terms of content and substantial topics examined, except for Yuk-kwan, questions of non-political topics were far more numerous than political ones. Among the six schools, only Yuk-kwan placed a strong emphasis on politics. Among the questions of examination papers, nearly 80% was about Hong Kong and China’s political knowledge such as the composition of the government, Sino-British Declaration, the articles of Basic Laws, and the concepts of political terms.

As can be seen from above, albeit the official advocacy of multi-forms of assessment, but the most common form was still dominated by true/false, multiple-choice, blanks-filling, crossword puzzle, matching. The ideas of multi-forms of assessment was considered to be good by the teachers but hardly practised due to the pedagogical emphasis on transmission of factual knowledge; the constraint of the syllabus; a concern with the progress and pacing of teaching and students’ abilities to answer the questions; a favour of standardization, objectiveness, economy in terms of marking and grading; the shortage of teaching materials for assessment; and other practical considerations.

In sum, tests and examinations were still the most widely-adopted assessment tools, while other forms of assessment were not frequently used. Assessment was narrowly equated with tests and examinations without systematic class observation. Course evaluation was also rare. Also,
assessment in workbooks and examinations was largely used for measuring very narrow intellectual performance about factual knowledge, rather than demonstration of problem-solving skills, transfer and application of knowledge, learning abilities, high-order skills or thinking process. Because the examination questions were largely drawn from the worksheets and workbooks, examination mainly served the function of revising the content of the textbook and workbooks, rather than to demonstrate the students' higher level cognitive skills or decision-making abilities. Even more, the non-cognitive aspects such as attitudes and values were not covered in the examinations and other internal assessment. In other words, the assessment of curricular objectives was confined to lower level skills and abilities. Their nature was summative rather than formative. Instead of modifying and improving classroom practises, they served more for recording and selection. Also, in terms of the content of assessment, a strong emphasis was not put on political education.

In short, despite the kind intention of the syllabus, but in practice most assessment still stuck with traditional, narrow forms of testing which actually inhibit the learning process and students' intellectual development. Indeed, the conventional form of assessment drove out many other important abilities untested. They were testing recall and recognition of factual knowledge rather than transfer and application, and facilitating a surface approach to learning rather than deep learning strategies. The learning function of assessment was limited as what was assessed was more about knowledge than values and skills. It stressed transmission of contents, rather than encouraging reflective and critical inquiry; and again served as reinforcement of the citizenship transmission approach.

5.5 Students' Experience with the Formal Curriculum

The significance of students' curricular experience was recognized quite early (Dewey 1994); nevertheless, a systematic study of students' experience of the curriculum has not received
much attention from educators and social scientists until recent years (Shaughnessy and Haladyna 1985; Nespor 1986; Erickson and Scultz 1992). In the past, the emphasis of most research on learning in general, and on political education in particular, was based upon a behaviourist view of learning behaviour which assumed the curriculum as a strong stimuli on the individual’s cognition and attitude, causing them to respond in a determined way. With such a very simplistic view of learning, this type of research improperly conceptualized socialization as an one-way transmission between the agent and a rather passive recipient and ignored the social context where learning takes place as well as the student's subjective experience of learning. The neglect of students' learning experience also resulted in an improper determinism and masked the true operation of the socialization and learning process. Indeed, students' experience and their diversities are very significant as it is the 'experienced curriculum' rather than the stated one that is relevant to their learning, as highlighted by the sociological studies of pupil culture and schooling life (Willis 1977; Woods 1979).

5.6 Students' Disaffection with Social Subjects: surface approach to learning and defensive learning[7]

Indeed, students' interests and perception was another major problem with the teaching and learning of social subjects as many students felt unenthusiastic or negative toward the social subjects, especially EPA or Social Studies[8]. As can be seen in Table 5.9, only 48.5% and 35.1% of S3 students in the survey respectively like the subjects Chinese History and EPA or Social Studies[9].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Strongly Degree</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I like F3 Chinese History</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like F3 Social Studies/EPA</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to learn in English</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9: S3 Students' Views on Learning (%)
As mentioned above, competition in public examinations in Hong Kong was keen and most schools in Hong Kong paid much attention to academic affairs and preparing their students for examinations. At S3, the students' workload and study pressure were very heavy as commonly they had to take around twelve or more subjects simultaneously. The academic concern also reflected in students' attitudes towards their subjects. Given most students' major concern was their S.4 studies, the social subjects like Chinese history, EPA and Social Studies, compared with other major subjects like Chinese, English and Mathematics with greater academic and pragmatic values, were usually considered as ancillary or minor ones and accorded less importance by the students. Some students did not take their studies seriously except for examinations, while others considered the subjects as easy ones and even looked down upon them. In particular for those students aiming at the science stream, they would not bother too much with these social subjects. Alternatively, studying these subjects was mainly based upon instrumental considerations of gaining higher marks to enhance one's competitiveness in admission to the science stream, rather than for some intrinsic values or genuine interests.

Some students' responses towards the subject of Chinese History were quite negative. Chinese History was considered as a subject of massive brutal factual knowledge of the past events and heavy recitation-oriented. The past was so remote to them, so they showed little interests in history and felt it was boring. Some disliked Chinese History simply because of the troubles with heavy memorizing or recitation.

Students did not see any practical value in Chinese History and regarded it as purely dead and useless knowledge, at most just interesting stories. The study of Chinese History was largely
based upon instrumental consideration or extrinsic reward, rather than genuine interests. Students’
responses were further reinforced by its particular school climate. In Royal College which was
mainly a boys school with a tradition of producing brilliant science students, the school championed
the science curriculum. At S4 and S5 levels, there were five science classes but only one arts class.
Most students showed respect toward science subjects, while being in the arts class was viewed as a
stigma. Thus, the students were keen on admission to the science classes, in particular the best class,
rather than the Arts class. For those students aiming for the science stream, the students would not
bother too much to study these social subjects, apart from utilitarian considerations. Chinese History
was counted because the uses of the results for their further studies, and higher marks would
improve their chance of getting admitted to the science stream.

Students’ acceptance of the ‘mug and jug approach’ to teaching/learning further reinforced
their ‘positivistic’ conception of historical knowledge. Many students were weak at national
consciousness and idea of country and showed little affection with China. For example, they showed
little interest and indifference toward the invasion of foreign powers into China’s territory and the
massacre in Nanking during WWII. Nor did they show interest in the Joint Declaration, and
international relations. Their interests toward the Opium War, and the relation between the
Nationalist Party and the Communist Party was just modest. Instead, they had some sense of
regional identity and were more concerned with Hong Kong. They also showed some interest in
unofficial history such as the stories of the Emperor Guang-xu and Empress Dowager Ci-xi, the
mystical Boxing movement, and student-driven Cultural Revolution.

Most students treated Chinese History as merely a minor subject and accorded less effort to
studying it. During the lessons, their responses were passive and aloof. Students seldom took the
initiate to ask questions. Therefore, to some Chinese History teachers interviewed, the biggest
difficulty with teaching was not the treatment of the text itself but instead arousing the students’
interests, because the students did not see the relevance of Chinese history and did not bother to
know it.

Passive learning was also evident in their ways to handle tests and examinations. Because
what was tested was from the texts, so actually it was testing whether the students had a ‘through
revision’ of the textbook and workbooks. In general, they thought that Chinese History examinations
were easy because most of the questions were drawn from the textbooks and workbooks and the only
and simple way of coping with the examinations was rote-learning. To pass the examinations, one
only had to revise the textbooks thoroughly, memorize the questions in the workbook, and have a
look at the textbook. It was also easy to get high marks and good grades in the academic report card,
provided that one was willing to recite the textbooks and workbooks. The result was a cultivation of
mechanical rote-learning as an effective way of learning and handling examinations. So studying
history was just a way of coping with the examination, but not for intrinsic interests. The ways of
teaching, the teaching materials, and assessment practice together reinforced this kind of learning
pattern. On the other hand, some students were fed up with this way of learning. Here we could
detect the differential effects of the mug and jug approach. For the motivated students, they would
memorize for the sake of getting high marks; while for the low-motivated students, they just gave up
their study, either because they found it difficult to memorize the long answers or felt that the subject
was useless.

No doubt that the learning results were poor under this mode of learning. Some lowly-
motivated students did not pay attention to Chinese History teaching and even did nor remember
what topics have been taught so far, and gave up their study. Even for better students, at most they
only recited what was taught before the tests and examinations. For some students interviewed, they
revealed that what they had learnt in the lessons was just a collection of piecemeal, fragmentary
historical facts, the names of historical figures and events. However, Chinese history did not leave a
depth impression in their mind after the examinations.

As far as their learning of EPA and Social Studies was concerned, an uninteresting
curriculum with the learning of facts of political affairs, the use of English as medium of learning,
and a teacher-centred teaching practice as a whole resulted in students' disaffection with the
curriculum and difficulties with study.

First, most students thought that Social Studies was a more important subject, when
compared with Chinese History, either because they could learn some social knowledge or for
utilitarian mentality toward learning. Albeit with a greater perceived importance, the 'dry and dull'
and formalistic treatment of political affairs of the teaching materials suffocated students' interests
and became the main source of their disaffection. Most political topics in EPA and Social Studies
were perceived by the students as remote, irrelevant, useless and detached to which they showed no
involvement. Even teachers deliberately detailed more about the relevant political topics, students
still poorly responded to these topics. The students showed little interest and involvement in the
topics of Hong Kong government structure, public administration and political development. The
topic about the structure of Chinese government was also a demanding topic to students and teachers
because the students knew little and easily confused with the National People's Congress, the Chinese
People's Political Consultative Conference, and other institutions. The students were particularly
uninterested in the topics which were out of their touch, such as China's political structure and
development, Chinese history and land use pattern, the rights and duties of citizens, and Basic Law.
Most students were disgusted with the clauses of Basic Laws and the long lists of the institutions and
government departments. They also showed little concern for social services and thought that it was
troublesome and complicated. They cared little about politics but concerned more about other
studies, playing or amusement.
On the other hand, the students were more interested in the topics of greater relevance to their livelihood or the topics with perceived importance such as occupation, vocational training, new airport construction, transportation, the Consumer Council and the topics about social affairs and events such as mass media, pollution, and some hot topics such as AIDS because the students could talk about their experience. They also showed some interests in the hot issues or topics of city like the District Board election, probably because it was a hot topic on television and news and they had some exposure. As 1994 to 1995 was the year of election, the students also showed more concern and involvement in their lessons.

Students' performance and reaction during classrooms also reflected this point. Students' performance in lessons depended on the particular topic taught. Some topics they would show interests and responses to but as for the topics they find rather boring or purely factual, their responses would be poor and some students even dozed off. Students would show good responses when being asked about situational questions and current issues. They were able to answer and give their opinion on these questions. However, for the questions requiring more thoughts, their responses were generally poor.

Second, the use of English, a foreign language, as a medium of instruction was a crucial factor leading to students' alienation from learning EPA or Social Studies. English was a major barrier to their learning as it adversely affected their classroom performances and participation, as well as performances in examinations and tests. The problem was salient particularly in EPA and Social Studies which require better language ability and in the schools adopting English as the medium of instruction. In brief, English seriously hampered the effects of teaching and learning in the following ways:

1. English was already a heavy burden for local students to learn, not to mention using it as a medium of learning, as we find that 51.8% of S3 students in the survey encountered difficulties to
study in English (see Table 5.9). The case was particularly serious in schools with poorer intakes where students reported greater difficulties with studying in English, as can be seen in Table 5.10. Because of using English, the teacher spent a lot of time and effort on teaching English spelling, pronunciation, vocabulary, translation, and explaining the text to the students from English to Cantonese, rather than give a full elaboration of the topics taught. In short, learning English overrode the learning of the subject matter itself.

(2) The textbooks, teaching materials and pedagogical and learning practices were also adjusted in light of the student’s level of English and the result was ‘reduction of teaching’. In terms of teaching quality, use of the students’ mother tongue would be more efficient and effective, as civic education lays emphasis on training and cultivation of critical thinking. By contrast, the use of English suffocated the students’ interests and their comprehension of teaching materials, distanced the students from participation in classroom, discouraged deeper thoughts and discussion on the subject matter, and reduced the learning of the subject to vocabulary learning, frequent consultation of a dictionary and memorizing of English words.

Even for better able students, language was still a problem. For example, using English in discussion would not be as lively as that of their mother tongue and thus inhibited their involvement.

In this situation, many opportunities were open to the students who were better at English. The students also felt that teaching in English was more difficult to comprehend and understand. The use of English also suppressed the students’ thinking, expression and involvement.

(3) Assessment also has been adjusted to the student’s language ability. So learning was easily reduced to minimal level—rote-learning and reinforced the pattern of mechanical recitation of English vocabulary and main points on textbooks and workbooks for tests and examinations. The students found difficulty in coping with examinations in English as they often failed to understand the meaning of the questions and what answers were asked for. As a result, it adversely affected
their performances in examinations and tests. The case was even worse in low-banding school students such as Virtues College. The use of English merely worsened the situation and enhanced the students' learning difficulties. Since many students disliked reading textbooks, and even more, they did not like the texts written in English. As a result, some would give up their studies very quickly.

Third, although many teachers recognized the inadequacy of the traditional teacher-centred approach; they still stuck to the chalk-and-talk approach because of a number of constraints as mentioned in the above section. Furthermore, the chalk-and-talk approach and conventional form of assessment also reduced the students' interest in the subject and their involvement in learning, and reinforced the students' passive learning. Corresponding to the didactic mode of teaching were students' conforming to a passive role of listener because not much time was left for the students to discuss. In most social subject classrooms investigated, students were rather passive during the lessons. Students' involvement in studying was low as they seldom took the initiative to ask questions. They spoke something only upon teacher's direct questioning. When there were no activities, the lessons were dominated by the teachers' talking which made the students feel bored.

Although the way of teaching might be rather active on some occasions, such as watching Education TV programmes, students' responses were not particularly favourable or positive because the programmes were outdated and old-fashioned. They easily became bored, lost interests and did not show much attention to the programmes. Instead, they took the opportunity to chat with each other. Also, many students did not care for the programmes because much of the content was perceived irrelevant or trivial.

Also, not all students favoured doing projects as they viewed finding information as troublesome and time-consuming. To handle the group project, students would find the relevant information from the government department and the organization concerned, as well as collected
some leaflets and newspaper-cuttings relevant. They usually transcribed the information from these materials to the sketch-pad without much in-depth analysis or their own opinion. Some projects were over-occupied with presentation such as drawing pictures at the expense of the content.

Finally, to a large extent, the learning of EPA and Social Studies was commonly reduced to the tasks of filling in the workbooks full of factual knowledge exercises. Because almost all the content of workbooks and worksheets were drawn from the textbooks, what they had to do was finding 'the right answer'. Learning becomes an examination-driven task, rather than genuine pleasurable experience. At best the students could only acquire a bulk of fragmentated and trivial factual knowledge, at worst the practice of doing workbooks became a ritual in which students duplicated the answers from textbooks or from teachers' hand books' model answers.

Students' studied mainly for instrumental considerations. Students showed minimal involvement in studying social subjects, nor self-study or making discovery on their own. The students seldom took the initiatives to revise the textbooks. Instead, students merely studied and revised EPA/Social Studies for tests and examinations. The way of coping with the tests and examinations was more or less similar to Chinese History —mechanical recitation or rote-learning of the textbook, workbook, worksheets and even the tips given by the teachers. Again they thought that tests and examinations were not difficult provided that one revised the texts and recited the worksheets and workbooks which contained most of the answers. On the other hand, even the data-based questions were disfavoured by the students for their 'open-endedness' and 'ambiguity' and instead they preferred the ones of mechanical memorizing.

5.7 The Limitations and Constraints of the Formal Curriculum

In the light of the curricular documents, the questionnaire data and interviews with the teachers and students, I have demonstrated in detail that the practices of Chinese History, EPA, and
Social Studies at S3 level across the six schools were problematic in achieving an education for citizenship. Political education was hampered by inadequate learning opportunities in provision of subjects and lessons; discontinuity of political education programme in the formal curriculum mainly due to subject-specialization; incomplete contents and orientations of curricular objectives and topics in political education; misrepresentation of citizenship in terms of national and state identity and democratic conception reflected in the textbooks; and the still widespread practices of traditional forms of pedagogy and assessment.

In short, the most common formal curriculum practices in most schools concerned, against Giroux's framework (Giroux 1983a:168-204), still belonged to the mode of citizenship transmission, where 'civics' was presented as value-free, deprived of normative and political awareness and lacking a reflective inquiry approach to citizenship education. Nor did they provide the students with a critique of the existing social and political order and suggestion of the possibility of social transformation. Also, more was done with knowledge transmission, rather than with a cultivation of affection and skills related to political literacy.

As can be seen, the constraints over political education in the formal curriculum originate from the school as a scholastic institution with an overriding concern with academic performance. Particularly in Hong Kong, most schools pay efforts to academic affairs in preparation of their students for public examinations. Civic education and social subjects, unlike other well-established academic subjects, are accorded with lower academic and practical values and thus particularly disadvantageous in competition with other major academic subjects and activities for resources of staffing and teaching time. The school also does not bother with or play down political education, which is costly, risky and also difficult to achieve. As a result, civic education is 'crowded out' by other subjects in the formal curriculum. As can be seen in the case of On-yan which prepared the students for form 4 Economics at the expenses of civic education. Also, the lower form social
subjects like Chinese History, EPA and Social Studies were considered as sidelines for teachers to
fulfil their allotment of teaching load. In allocating teachers, schools viewed it as supplement to
major subjects and teachers viewed it as taking up a minor subject.

Still further, the imminent pressure of public examinations and keen competition for
academic performance among schools is so rampant that results in numerous and frequent internal
assessments, early and increasing subject-specialization which denying students the opportunities of
political learning.

More importantly, such practices of formal curriculum produced negative curricular
experience among the students. The a-political syllabuses, ideology-embedded curricular materials,
pouring-like pedagogical and assessment practices mutually reinforced one another in fostering a
citizenship transmission mode of political education. Social subjects were not only residual subjects
to the teachers, but also to the students. Students viewed them as accessory and assigned low
priority in academic values to social subjects and civic education. And accordingly, they lessened
their learning, and involvement in studies in preparation for other academic concern and workload.
Even more, the textbooks, didactic teaching and assessment practices alienated the students from
studying these social subjects and reinforced their mode of defensive and disaffected learning, as
evident by their minimal involvement and passive responses during the lessons; and instrumental,
meaningless, and unproductive emulation and replication of the dead and fragmented knowledge on
workbooks for tests and examinations.

After reviewing the defects of the formal curriculum in political education, I shall scrutinize
the practices of informal curriculum in the succeeding chapters.
Chapter 6 The Informal Curriculum at Work (I):
School Climate and Classroom Climate

6.1 The Significance and Conception of Informal Curriculum

Chapters 6 and 7 continue our discussion of the situations of civic education in the six schools with special emphasis given to informal curriculum in the aspects of school climate, classroom climate, and students' participation in school governance and extra-curricular activities. Taken together, these chapters attempt to depict the schooling experience shaping students' socio-political orientations.

Schooling process is whole experience. Students learn not only civic education from the formal programmes, but also the values embodied in school organization and school climate in the realm of informal curriculum, or the so-called hidden curriculum [1]. Informal curriculum, as an inclusive concept, refers to those school practices that influence students without being stated as explicit goals of instruction. They are generally referred to the relationships among individuals in schools, as well as the rules, norms, and modes of authority that govern these relationships. Apart from the formal curriculum, students' experience with the informal curriculum is also recognized as an important source of political learning (Dawson, et al. 1977). In fact, the teaching of textbooks might even be less effective than are the more subtle learning experiences manifested by interactions between teacher and students and the norms of school organization. Students could learn politics by imitating their teachers; as well as apprenticeship such as mock election and class meetings where they experience politics (Dawson et al. 1977).

As many have argued before (Ehman and Gillespie 1974), the school is also a bureaucracy and political institution. The school could be viewed as a political arena and students and staff as potential political actors. Political phenomena like political influence, resources distribution,
ideology, decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication also happen in schools. Also, the quest for democratic schools or democracy of schools is justified on both educational and philosophical grounds (Wringe 1984), as well as empirical evidence of the benefits of democratic school (Trafford 1993). Different types of school could make a significant difference in the attitudes of students toward political participation and their political environment (Levin 1961; Almond and Verba 1963:332-333; Langton 1969; Torney et al. 1975; Siegel 1977; Metzger and Barr 1978; Ehman 1980a; Hepburn 1984; John and Osborn 1992). Students with positive attitudes are found in participant schools, showing that students need to share in the responsibilities and activities of an institution in order to establish important political attitudes which will support active citizenship.

However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the studies of informal curriculum cast doubt on the role of school in democratic education (Levenson 1972; Wittes 1972; Hawley 1973; Siegel 1977; Palonsky 1978; Klaassen 1992). According to Hess and Torney (1967), compliance to rules and authorities is the major focus of civic education in elementary school. Much of the so-called ‘citizenship training’ in the public schools does not teach students about the city, state or national government, but teaches them regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school.

Though in a different line of thought, the Neo-Marxists also highlight the importance of the hidden curriculum and criticize undemocratic school practices and school climate for reinforcing dominant ideologies and the status-quo (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Giroux and Penna 1979; Anyon 1981a). Schools acts in the ways such as undemocratic classroom climate, the practice of tracking, the existence of rigid and hierarchical roles and rules, grading practices, the daily routine of classrooms encounters, the patterns of school authority and unequal power structure, and coercion of work [2].

The Neo-Marxists' account of schooling is echoed by other writers (Zeigler and Peak 1970; Shipman 1971; Hawley 1973; Ehman 1980a; Merelman 1980a; Harber 1992, 1995) who argue that the school as an authoritarian organization is incompatible with democratic political education.
Teachers, in keeping with the general norms of education, are overly concerned with authority. With a heavy emphasis on the authority of the teacher, this style of teaching is in conflict to what a democratic classroom is supposed to be.

Informal curriculum is an ambiguous and even contested concept with various components; nevertheless, we may still find some common elements. According to Ehman (1980a), it usually refers to school-level attributes, or the school climate and ethos like the ways of management and organization, and other school contextual variables including methods for grouping students, reward systems, extra-curricular activities, as well as other organizational features including discipline and prefects system, mode of dress, written school rules for students, assessment practices, hierarchical control and restrictions imposed on students autonomy such as choice granted to students regarding attendance at religious services, and subject choices at senior level. It also refers to the degree of students' participation in school governance and extracurricular activities and the organization of students' council.

The term informal curriculum also refers to classroom-level attributes like teacher influences, classroom climate, mode of classroom instruction and classroom climate. In other words, parts of the informal or hidden curriculum have been discussed in the former chapters concerning school background, learning climate, pedagogy and assessment practices. Thus, to avoid repetition, this chapter first discusses the school climate and organization in the aspects of student body and learning climate, nationalistic education, school management, discipline, and classroom climate, while Chapter 7 will examine the functions and composition of varied student organizations, students' participation in school activities and their experience of participation.

6.2 The Significance and Conception of School Climate

School climate is an essential component of informal curriculum. Just like the informal curriculum, school climate is also a holistic and composite concept which has been studied with a
multitude of variables, methodologies, theories and models (Anderson 1982). According to Anderson (1982), school climate involves ecological, milieu, social and cultural dimensions and denotes a wide range of properties from temporal and physical properties to social composition and characteristics, and from social norms, social relationship to the value and belief of the participants.

School climate is vital to political education in both the aspects of nationalistic and democratic education. First, schools reinforce the students’ attachment to the nation, national loyalty and patriotism in a number of rituals and ceremonies like displaying the flag, pictures of historical figures and national symbols, repeating the pledge of allegiance and singing patriotic songs in the schools (Hess and Tomey 1967; Nelson 1978).

Second, school and classroom, supposed to be miniature democracies, are accorded a vital importance to democratic education (Entwistle 1971; Wringe 1984; Chamberlin 1989). Democratic education is not possible without democratic schooling. Students must experience democratic politics and learn the languages and practices such as meeting, discussion and debate, minute and agenda, representative, voting and decision-making in their daily schooling lives. It is argued that greater democracy and participation in schools would facilitate a better political education for democracy (Gordon 1986; Fletcher 1989:140-142; Jensen and Walker 1989; Starkey 1991; Harber 1992,1995; Trafford 1993; Davies 1994). Among the attributes of democratic school structure are non-authoritarian and non-bureaucratic leadership on the part of head teachers; a commitment to open and full circulation of information; rules made by staff and students; improved communications in the school; a sense of responsibility where staff and students have more control over their own school; democratic decision-making by staff and students in important school matters; and power sharing and participatory democracy instead of concentration of power in the hands of a few. Also, all parties, including parents, teachers, students, and politicians, have their own elected representatives in the governing body and there is a balance of interests so that no single group holds an effective majority. In staff meetings, teachers can determine the agenda and participate in staff
Parents are regarded as partners and have the right of open access; students could elect their representatives to a school council; and the school council could complain, criticize and propose, set the students' standard of dress and appearance. An emphasis is put on direct participation and not just representation, and an encouragement of all students involved in decision-making. School council, elections, grievance procedures, student newspaper and channels of expression are also present. Still further, there would be a democratic culture characterized by a recognition of human rights and children's rights, equal opportunities policy, and measures combating gender and racial inequalities. Human rights education is systematically taught in the school curriculum, and there is explicit school policy promoting equality. Also, there would be more curriculum choice for both staff and students; the use of first names; informal dress; and more warm, relaxed and friendly social relationships. Corporal punishment and custodial approach to discipline is replaced by negotiation. Finally, there is a promotion of student-centred approaches to teaching/learning and democratic learning environment in which the students take responsibility for their own learning and an emphasis on cooperation and mutual support, as well as frequent exchange of ideas.

The Education Department also recognizes the significance of informal and hidden curriculums to civic education. Hence the Guidelines particularly stress the importance of good school ethos (p.72) and the importance of the management style of the school, of teachers as well as pupil participation for discussion to civic education. Allied with that is a recognition of the significance of leadership to the school climate and a call for building a warm and co-operative atmosphere and maintaining a communicative relationships between the head and the staff (pp.72-76)[3]

Meanwhile, the Guidelines especially advise the school authorities to strike a reasonable balance between authoritarianism and permissiveness in maintaining good discipline (p.73). When keeping classroom order and a proper training and maintenance of discipline, the Guidelines remind
teachers that disciplinary measures should not be negative forces of restraints, but should be in the
development of a self-disciplined citizen capable of independence thought and action (p. 75).

6.3 The Six Schools in Focus

Among the varied organizational properties of school relevant to political education, basic to
them were student body characteristics and learning climate; patriotic rituals and nationalistic
education; school management style and students' participation in decision-making; discipline and
control; maintenance of classroom order and management style of teachers, the following sections
will discuss them one by one.

Student Body Characteristics and Learning Climate

As far as the student body characteristics were concerned, Royal College showed
remarkable differences from the other five schools.

For a prestigious school with a long history and good reputation in the local community like
Royal College, it recruited the most capable students and they were also from families of higher
socio-economic status. On the other hand, On-yan and Bishop Brown were relatively new schools in
the New Territories and accommodated over half of the students from the public estates. Also, a
majority of the students' parents had primary or lower secondary education and most of them were
working class. As for the schools like Virtues and St Anthony, they were either private schools or
prevocational schools and accommodated a significant number of less able students. Most of the
students were from the low socio-economic strata and living in the public estates in the same district.

On the other hand, the majority of Yuk-kwan's students were born in Mainland China and
emigrated to Hong Kong in less than five years. Yuk-kwan's parents were also characterized by a
higher educational level, when compared with On-yan, Bishop Brown, Virtues and St Anthony,
albeit most of them received education in mainland China which was not officially-recognized in Hong Kong. In terms of family socio-economics status, most of them belonged to the lower stratum.

As much previous research indicated the important influence of social composition on schooling process and effects (Coleman 1990), these differences in student body characteristics in terms of their family background and academic ability also led to significant differences in educational and occupational expectations, and, in turn, the learning climate. These differences in educational and occupational expectations were further enhanced by school's streaming policies. Among the six schools under investigation, all except Yuk-kwan practised streaming by allocating students into classes according to their academic performance at S3 level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S5</th>
<th>S7</th>
<th>Certificate</th>
<th>Diploma</th>
<th>University degree</th>
<th>Graduate school</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-Yan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Brown</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuk-kwan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Anthony</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 6.1, the most common expected educational level for the S3 students under investigation was secondary 5 (35.8%), followed by university degree course and above (23.6%), secondary 3 (21.5%), and secondary 7 (11.8%). There was a strong thrust for tertiary education among the S6 students under investigation. Their higher educational expectation was more prominent as the largest proportion of them expected to attain university degree course (53.5%), followed by secondary 7 (23.5%) and diploma or certificate of tertiary institutes (15.2%).
As far as the inter-school difference was concerned, at the S3 level, Royal College's students in the survey showed the highest educational expectation than their other schools' counterparts. 77.5% of students in Royal College expected to attain university degrees or above, whereas the corresponding figures for On-yan, Bishop Brown, Yuk-kwan, Virtues and St Anthony were only 13.5%, 9.1%, 23.3%, 7.9% and 10.9% respectively. At the S6 level, students in Bishop Brown, Yuk-kwan, and On-yan in the survey showed higher education expectation for degree courses than their counterparts in Virtues (44.8%) and St Anthony (40.7%).

As far as the students' occupational expectation was concerned, a great majority of students in the survey were optimistic about their own prospects, a majority of them (34.5% of S3 and 57.9% of S6) expected to be professionals or managers (see Table 6.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Manager/professional</th>
<th>Service worker/manual worker</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-yan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Brown</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuk-kwan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Anthony</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of inter-school difference, far more S3 students in Royal College in the survey (71.8%) expected to be professionals or managers than their counterparts in the other five schools. On the contrary, the other five schools' students tended to choose service or manual work. The differences among the five schools were less obvious in the S6 classes.

As a result of 'double streaming', that is, placement of different banding students in the first place (inter-school placement) and then followed by streaming within individual schools (intra-
school inter-class placement), there was a creation of a group of lowly-motivated students via peers' influences, teacher expectation, and student's alienation from learning. Especially for the students in prevocational schools and other low-banding schools, they were particularly weak at language abilities, particularly English. As English was difficult to learn, they did not understand what was taught and could not catch up with the teaching schedule.

Generally speaking, S3 students were facing greater academic pressure with their promotion from S2 to S3, in particular at the beginning. The curriculum was more difficult and demanding at S3. Also, because the subject integrated science was divided into physics, chemistry, and biology, they had to study three more subjects instead of one and they had more tests, homework and workload correspondingly.

Royal College has maintained a high academic standard, as evident in the students' excellent performance in the public examinations. For the elites in Royal College, their educational expectations were high, resulting in greater efforts in study. Generally they had the habit of revising the books at home and there was also a better learning climate among the class of students, a phenomenon peculiar to the high track students. On-yan and Yuk-kwan has also paid greater efforts to boost the students' academic performance. Yuk-kwan school has strived for a high standard in the students' academic performance, especially in public examinations by holding remedial tutorials after school and weekly uniform tests during the middle period of the school term. On the other hand, in other classes in the other four schools, the learning climate was generally not very strong. Students did not have the habit of constant revision and in most cases, they revised only before tests and examinations.

The schools and teachers also lowered the academic requirements and lessened the academic pressure in view of the students' quality. In Virtues and St Anthony, commonly the junior students had very little homework and tests over the whole school year. Most exercises were completed during lessons as classwork.
The students were aware of their educational opportunities and acted in light of their perceived chances of success. Quite a number of students in the ‘poor classes’ were worried about their chances of promotion to S4 at the same school. They showed low expectation of further study and wanted a job after graduation or going to technical institutes. The students were generally not keen on study and the learning climate was weak within these poor classes. They did not work hard for study but liked playing instead.

By contrast, the S6 students could be viewed as the survivors of public examinations and belonged to the group of better-able students and many of them aimed at going to colleges. Compared with their S3 counterparts, S6 students faced more pressures, particularly with their busy study life and involvement in students’ activities. For most S6 students, their primary concern was public examinations. Generally speaking, most S6 students found more difficulties with study, in particular with regard to the A-level curriculum. They had to take five to six subjects, albeit with fewer subjects than before and there was less homework and tests; however, the subjects were more specialized, difficult, deep and demanding than before. The S6 students also faced much more academic pressure and had to pay greater efforts to their study. Many students would spend some time in the self-study centre after school and at the weekend. Unlike their previous years where they were pushed by the teachers for study, now they were more free toward their study and depended on their self-initiative to study. The academic requirement at S6 also differed from lower forms. While in the past it was expected to study by mechanic memorizing, at present more was expected on presentation, organization, collecting information on one’s own, as well as more analytical thinking. In terms of learning activities in classrooms, the students also had more opportunities in discussion, presentation, and taking part in other active and interactive ways of learning. So generally the S6 classes had a very good learning atmosphere.
As many sixth formers were officers in student organizations, they gave some time and effort in these extra-curricular activities. It cost them quite a lot of time and they also faced quite a number of difficulties when organizing activities.

Patriotic Rituals and Nationalistic Education

National symbols like the flag and emblem are vital unifying forces in the process of political socialization and development of nation attachment (Weinstein 1957; Jahoda 1963, 1964; Easton and Dennis 1969; Connell 1971). Thus school is crucial in playing a part in the process of orienting young children toward a symbol or ritual through patriotic acts. But in Hong Kong, most schools did not practise patriotic rituals because of the legislative control over political education for many years. Commonly, only the Government schools fly the Union Jack and the partisan schools fly the national flags of People’s Republic of China or Republic of China. Students have the school holidays such as the birth of Queen Elizabeth II, Commonwealth Day, and the birth of Dr Sun Yat-sen, but seldom do the ordinary schools make use of these chances to conduct political education. Nor do the ordinary schools celebrate the national days of People’s Republic of China or Republic of China in October. In our six schools under study, except for Yuk-kwan which explicitly identified with the PRC government and kept a close contact with mainland China, the other five schools basically did not do much in this respect.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, patriotic education has been a long-standing educational goal of Yuk-kwan Middle school since its founding in the 1940s. To maintain an identity with Chinese government and the Chinese educational system, the school insists on using Chinese, instead of English as the medium of instruction. In the early years, many Yuk-kwan graduates also furthered their studies in mainland China, instead of in Hong Kong. Another important characteristic of Yuk-kwan was that most of its students were new immigrants from mainland China. Possibly due to their
political socialization received in China, they showed a greater identification with the PRC and positive attitudes towards the Chinese Government than their counterparts in the other five schools.

In Yuk-kwan, patriotic education was conducted through a number of measures such as morning assembly, weekly assembly, newspaper-reading period, and extra-curricular activities. 'Festival education' was a major part of civic education in which the celebration of national day was the most magnificent event to the whole school. The PRC's National Day on the first day of October was warmly celebrated and the five-stars flag was raised in Yuk-kwan, an unusual practice among Hong Kong secondary schools. A number of functions were held for the National Day celebration. Each class of students also prepared their board-display on national celebration. Other festivals highlighted for civic education included the celebration of the May-Fourth Movement Memorial Day and the Founders' Day. In the summer of 1995, a visit was organized for about forty students to attend a celebration ceremony of the fiftieth anniversary of the victory against the Japanese's invasion in Sai-Kung. The school also held activities promoting Basic Law with the aid by the Committee on the Promotion of Basic Law. In addition, Yuk-kwan organized field visits and interflow programmes with organizations in Mainland China, which included fund raising activities for China and a visit to Zhui Hai of Guangdong Province. For the school year 1994-95, there was a large-scale fund-raising programme for sponsoring a primary school in Mainland China. Also, there was a strong favour of Chinese culture in the provision of extra-curricular activities. In addition, the Students' Union held activities for countdown of days of return to China for the school year 1994-95. Also, there were fund-raising activities, including Carnival, auction, Karaoke, and selling of breakfast and card, which finally collected $10,000 to sponsor the primary school in China. The Union's representatives also paid a visit to the funded school in December, and entertained some students from Beijing.

Apart from Yuk-kwan which practised patriotic rituals and introduced the PRC on many occasions, similar activities were almost absent in the other five schools. Indeed, even the activities
of understanding Chinese culture and Chinese societies were rare in the other schools except for On-yen.

In On-yen, the objective of enhancing the students' understanding of China was through exchange trips in China. Also, to provide the students with firsthand experience of the ways of life in China and to enhance a better understanding of China, over the last several years the school has organized trips to Guangdong Province or interflow programmes with organizations in China during the Christmas and summer holidays. Thus, in recent years the school has held some activities such as the Week of Chinese Culture, study tours to mainland China, fund-raising activities for people in mainland, and sister school programme in China. During Easter, On-yen's teachers visited a sister secondary school in Guangdong and later proposed to sponsor a primary school in China. The Chinese Culture Society held the Week of Chinese Culture to introduce Chinese culture to the school students. Also, some teachers with a strong sense of national feeling expressed their personal feelings toward China during the weekly assembly. During the assembly, a teacher also talked about the problem of human rights in China to draw the students' attention to this issue.

**School Management Style: paternalism contra democracy**

Since the school is not merely a socialization agency but also a political institution, thus democratic education requires not only a curriculum of democracy, but also a democratic school. However, Merelman (1980a) claims that the school as a whole fails in developing students' democratic values owing to the basic authoritarian shape of schooling. Democratic education through an undemocratic school is self-defeating as there is an inherent strain between a primarily authoritarian educational context and the principles of democracy and egalitarianism. In fact, a more open or democratic school climate and management style advocated by the Guidelines has long been almost absent in Hong Kong (Tse 1997) [4]. Against the criterion of democratic school (Swidler 1979; Barth 1980; Gordon 1986; Fletcher 1989; Trafford 1993; Davis 1994), Hong Kong
secondary schools drastically differ from the free schools and open schools in Western societies. Contrary to the ideal of a democratic school, Hong Kong schools might be characterized as paternalistic, bureaucratic, hierarchical, and even autocratic towards the students.

'Paternalism', as a basic feature of school organization, refers to both the practices of school management and disciplinary measures with respect to the students, as well as an ideology held by the administrators and teachers toward the students.

As an ideology or a perspective, paternalism is composed of 'ageism', 'professionalism', and the doctrine of 'discipline' (or Guan-Jiao, in Chinese) emphasizing conformity, obedience and respect for seniority, superiority and authority. At the core of paternalism is a notion of differential status between adult and child, teacher and student, or specialist and the ill-informed. The teacher, as both an adult and expert, is assumed to play a role of guardian/instructor with respect to the student, the follower and learner. Secondly, students are viewed and treated by the teachers as 'small kids' or 'lads' rather than adults and they are said to be child-like, ignorant, immature, inexperienced, and too young to look after their own affairs, therefore the staff must act for the children in the place of their parents. Thus, school, as a custodial agent, is also authorized by the public and parents as a guardian to exercise authority, control and discipline over its individual young members for the sake of their benefits, care, protection and supervision. Finally, teacher's beliefs in professionalism also warrant the exclusion of parents' and students' involvement in school management.

As for school governance and management, paternalism in schools is characterized by hierarchy, concentration of power, and a strong emphasis on control, discipline and supervision. Also, similar to the model of authoritarian family relationships, the staff largely adopt directive but benevolent manners dealing with the students who have little responsibility or freedom of choice.

Hierarchy in school is characterized by a stratified status system of headteacher, teacher, prefect, senior student, and junior student. Instead of an egalitarian relationship, the formal social
relationships between teachers and students in Hong Kong secondary schools, in both lessons and out-of-class activities, and in terms of learning activities and behavioral control, are characterized by an authoritarian approach with teachers as the superordinates and students as the subordinates (Tse 1992). As Waller (1932:195-196) argues:

The teacher-pupil relationship is a form of institutionalized dominance and subordination. Teacher and pupil confront each other in the school with an original conflict of desires, and however much that conflict may be reduced in amount, or however much it may be hidden, it still remains. The teacher represents the adult group, ever the enemy of the spontaneous life of groups of children. The teacher represents the formal curriculum, and his interest is in imposing that curriculum upon the children in the form of tasks; pupils are much more interested in life in their own world than in the desiccated bits of adult life which teachers have to offer. The teacher represents the established social order in the school, and his interest is in maintaining that order, whereas pupils have only a negative interest in that feudal superstructure. Teacher and pupil confront each other with attitudes from which the underlying hostility can never be altogether removed. Pupils are the material in which teachers are supposed to produce results. Pupils are human beings striving to realize themselves in their own spontaneous manner, striving to produce their own results in their own way. Each of these hostile parties stands in the way of the other; in so far as the aims of either are realized, it is at the sacrifice of the aims of the other.

Especially in the realm of classroom management, teachers always play the role of authority figure and take control of students' behaviour. The domination-subordination relationship between teachers and students is manifested in the segregation of facilities between teachers and students. Also, teachers enjoy privilege such as using the lift and jumping the line for buying food and drinks from the tuck shop, special entrance to the school grounds for teachers, or exclusive access to part of school buildings. School rules also maintain showing respect to teachers as the students have to address their teachers as 'Sir' or 'Ms'. The principle of seniority, the status system and authority structure are also symbolically reflected in the arrangement and processions of school assemblies, ceremonies, and other social functions.

Also, schools are age-stratified in which senior students are given higher status and autonomy than their junior counterparts (King 1971, 1973). For example, senior students are allowed to decide seating plans and destination of class trips. They also enjoy the privileges of using
lockers, staying in form rooms at break times, leaving schools in lunch hour, relaxed control over
dress and uniform, and the special favour of being recruited as prefects and other office-bearers. In
Royal College Student Union election, the weight of senior form votes was equal to two junior votes
on the ground that the junior students were not familiar with the school.

Still further, the prefect system is difficult to reconcile with a democratic school
organization. Senior students are usually appointed as prefects and involved in disciplinary
management. School prefects, as a separate group, also exercise power over ordinary students, and
enjoy some privileges such as the use of a special prefect room and receiving leadership training.

Rested with the legal, professional, pastoral and parental authority, power concerning
school matters is monopolized by staff while parents and students have shared little power.

In Hong Kong schools, although there is a sign of departure from the authoritarian
management in the past, in particular in terms of openness and accountability, and a greater sharing
of teachers in school management and decision-making, it is not extended to the parents and
students[5]. Centralization of power is in the hands of teachers and staff in the most important
aspects like curriculum, pedagogy, organization, personnel, and discipline. As far as school
management style was concerned, a more open and democratic school climate and management style
was evident in Royal College and On-yan which participated in the SMI in 1992. St Anthony would
also join the School Management Initiatives (SMI) in 1996. Under the SMI scheme, Royal College
and On-yan developed a new school management framework, school plan, staff appraisal, school
policies and procedures, making more flexible funding arrangements and introducing innovations in
the teaching, class discipline, and in staff appraisal and development over the last few years. To
decentralize decision-making, most schools have set up various committees or working parties in
charge of school management and organizational matters. On the other hand, the schools like Bishop
Brown, Yuk-kwan, and Virtues did not officially implement the SMI due to different reasons, though
they might have already adopted some of its recommended procedures.
Albeit with some reforms in management and administration and larger participation of teachers and parents, the operation of school was not upon the principle of democracy. School was still a bureaucratic hierarchy where final decisions were made by the school principal or of a higher level. Even within the school governing bodies or school council with parents, teachers, and alumni representatives, the administrators and representatives of the organization-in-charge still held an effective majority and made the major decisions such as staff selection, administrative practice, instructional programme, criteria and methods for grouping students. Most parents and students were uninformed of school policies and the actual processes of policy-making such as personnel and curriculum. Apart from general meetings, school governors seldom got involved in these subcommittees and working parties. School governors just attended general meetings for approval rather than discussion and concrete decision-making. Because of the immaturity of school governing bodies, in practice the administrators, often the principals and some senior school staff, still dominated the school's administration and management.

Among the six schools, there was a much higher level of participation among parents and alumni in school affairs in Royal College. The Parents and Teachers Association and Old Boys' Association kept close contact with the school by taking part in school events and providing constant support to the school and students such as donations to the school and sponsorship of scholarships, sports and musical activities, school publications, study tours, and leadership training camp for students. On-yan, Yuk-kwan, St Anthony also had their own alumni associations and parent-teacher associations. By contrast, parent-teacher association and alumni association have not been established in Bishop Brown and Virtues so far.

Although communication and liaison between parents and teachers was strengthened in recent years, the parents' participation in school affairs was still limited. Contact with parents was centred around collecting student reports, programmes of parent education, or seeking parents' support concerning donations to the school for improvement of facilities or sponsoring students'
activities, but less as a channel of consultation or decision-making. At best, parents were better informed about their children and some school policies, but were still not involved in actual decision-making. The involvement of parents in school management stopped at the level of 'passive partner', and parent's access to school's information was still limited. Even for the schools with PTAs or similar bodies, many of their activities revolved around social events, parent education and fund-raising, while forums for discussing school policies or practices were still rare.

In addition, even parents, teachers, and alumni had their own elected representatives in the school council, but the door was still closed to the students. Students had little or did not share any real power in their schools. Except for limited decision-making of student union, students were excluded from any major internal school organizations such as the governing body, school management committee, advisory council, general staff meetings, and committees of discipline, counselling or students affairs. Students' participation and influence on major school policies such as school administration, teaching and assessment practices was still minimal. Teaching evaluation was rare and seldom were the cases of consultations with students about school policies. The decisions which involved students were at minimal level, concerned with very minor issues such as determining the destination of school trips. School rules such as the standard of dress and appearance were solely set by the school, instead of upon discussion and consent on the side of students. The channels of students to complain, to criticize, and to propose were limited and their rights were not respected as there was an absence of grievance procedures. Even though students with so much dissatisfaction with the over-strictness, harshness and unreasonableness of school rules and disciplinary measures, students' opinions were not consulted or considered by the school because of either a lack of communication channels or school teachers' tough and unyielding stand. Consultation of student's opinion was still uncommon. Other ways such as questionnaire survey, suggestion box, opinion-board, consultation forum and the like were also seldom used. In Bishop
Brown and Virtues, there were no formal channels of communication between the teachers and students, the only ways would be through the school newspapers or talk with the teachers in private.

Even students' newspaper, magazine or bulletins did not appear in all schools. And even with the presence of students newspaper or bulletin, it was subject to teacher’s guidance and even censorship. For instance, clubs posters and news concerning student activities must be subject to the approval of the school and some students viewed this as a restriction on their freedom of speech. In Virtues, each issue of the school newspaper was examined by school teachers twice before printing. There was censorship on reporting news about school, such as banning the report on inadequacy of school facilities. For the sake of preserving the school’s reputation, articles were also polished by the teachers prior to publishing.

Students' involvement in school policies and affairs was low. The subordinate role of student in school was not only limited to the previous aspects, but also extended to other realms of school life. Student organizations were patronised, kept away from significant issues and limited to planning and organizing social events and recreational activities, which will be discussed in some length in Chapter 7. On the other hand, major decisions were out of discussion or consultation among students. In some schools, students could decide their destination of class trip (Royal On-yan, St Anthony) or the destination of lower forms were set by the school while upper forms classes could decide on their own. But in Bishop Brown, even the place of school trip was determined by the school and the students could not make their own choices. On sports day every student was required to take part in at least one event.

Even on the matters concerning the class-associations, of which the responsibility was assumed to be taken by the students, many form-teachers still played a dominant role in making decisions for their classes, particularly in lower form classes. As displayed in Table 6.3, 36.4% of S3 and 12.4% of S6 students in the survey reported that the matters of classroom were frequently
decided by the form-teachers, while 29.2% of S3 and 63.4% of S6 students reported that their 'class activities were decided by students'.

Table 6.3: Students’ Views on Classroom Climate (in percent)[6]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Many times</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers ask for students’ opinion.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers accept students’ opinion.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom matters decided by the teachers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom matters decided by the students.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raise opinion to school authority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, the occasions of teachers consulting students and accepting students’ opinion differed in grade level as 31.7% of S3 and 60.8% of S6 students in the survey said that their teachers recurrently asked for their opinion. Also, another 26.5% of S3 and 47.6% of S6 students reported that their teachers frequently accepted their opinion (Table 6.3). Nevertheless, 74.7% of S3 and 8.3% of S6 students rarely or never raise opinion to the school authority.

On most matters concerning the students, the schools acted in a directive but benevolent manner dealing with the students with little responsibility or freedom of choice given to them. In terms of the matters such as subject choice, placement of class and teacher, teaching and learning materials, genuine choices granted to students was limited. For example, there was compulsory attendance at religious services, speech days, sport days, and other school functions. A unitary common curriculum also disregarded individual needs and choices of subjects were limited and subject to restrictions imposed by the schools. Junior students had to study a unitary curriculum predesignate by the centralized curriculum development bodies, using prescribed textbooks chosen by the school. Schools practised tracking from S4 to S7 and students were provided choices only within the same track and the subject choices at senior level were usually limited owing to school
limited resources. Dressing in uniform was a must and there was a code of behaviour for the students.

Table 6.4 indicates students' views on school climate[7]. Facing the objective condition, 51.4% of S3 and 55.7% of S6 students in the survey thought that 'the relationships between teachers and students are unequal in the school' and 41.6% of S3 and 43.8% of S6 students felt constrained in school. 44.5% of S3 and 51.4% of S6 students contested that 'school is a democratic place'. Also, a significant proportion of students (33.6% of S3 and 36.5% of S6 students) disagreed that 'school respects students' opinion'. More importantly, most students felt that they were powerless with regard to school policies, as 62.6% of S3 and 78.7% of S6 students disagreed that 'I am able to influence school policy'. The authoritarian style of school management also led some students to remain silent even when they had complaints, as 33.3% of S3 and 32.7% of S6 students agreed that they would not express dissatisfaction with schools, while 36.2% of S3 and 37.0% of S6 students disagreed with the same statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inequality between teachers and students</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School is a democratic place</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel constrained in school</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School respects students' opinion</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am able to influence school policy</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not express even dissatisfaction with schools</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sum, although these schools were departing from authoritarianism, they were still far from democratic. This point would become clearer when we consider disciplinary measures in the six schools, the most salient features of the dominate-subordinate relationship in school, in next section.
Discipline and Control contra Human Rights and Freedom

School discipline was maintained mainly through school rules, supervision, sanctions, rewards and punishment, conduct assessment and the prefect system (Nash 1966; Pring 1975; Docking 1980; Wolpe 1985, 1988; Jones 1989; Slee 1995). Disciplinary measures in school are wide-ranging including strategies and actions such as architecture, timetable, lining up, assembly, school registers and monitoring truancy, uniform, ranking and grading students, examinations, parent-school link, and a variety of ways to marginalize and ridicule the deviant students.

Although with different background and features, the disciplinary measures and school rules were strikingly similar across the six schools. The student handbook, distributed at the beginning of every school year, delineated rules, regulations, and guidelines regarding academic and behavioral aspects of student life. Written school rules and disciplinary matters covered a number of aspects concerning proper attitudes and behaviour towards teachers and learning: for example, raising hand for asking questions during lessons; truancies and tardiness; preservation of public properties; rules of assembly; rules of examinations; rules against physical violence, gambling, smoking, fighting, and bringing comics, walkman, and indecent magazines back to school; modes of dressing and school uniform; hairstyle and demeanour; and codes of proper conduct in classrooms.

For the sake of management and reducing the opportunities of misbehaviour, some schools also prohibited students using school facilities such as staying in classrooms during recess and lunch hour at the expense of students' freedom and welfare.

Most schools paid particular attention to students' dress, hairstyle and demeanour. There were special rules on hair style (for example, the length of hair, girls with longhair must tie it as ponytail or in braids, no colouring or permanent wave for the hair, and even the specific colour of the ribbon ring), the length of the skirt, special rules governing the standard of socks (specification of the length and colour of sock, socks not allowed with logo or brand names), and even the size of the belt.

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buckle. The boys should not wear a vest with a pattern. No make up was allowed for girls, nor were students allowed to wear a necklace, earrings, or bracelet.

Apart from that, there were other special rules such as students must wear school uniform and show student cards when going to the school at weekends; and prohibitions against lending books to others, retaining their school books in classrooms, playing football dressed in school uniform outside the school, and even unauthorized gathering.

In addition to the school-wide rules, some schools also introduced a classroom code as a way to set out clearly the expectations of classroom behaviour and some classroom teachers also set rules for desirable student behaviour in their classrooms.

Punishment for violation of school rules included deduction of conduct marks, award of offence and demerits, detention, interview with parents, suspension, and expulsion. As far as conduct assessment was concerned, Royal College, Bishop Brown, and St Anthony adopted the conduct mark system. Under the conduct mark system, students were awarded certain points as their basic marks at the beginning of each term, with deduction and addition of points depending on their performance. Also, club advisers and form-masters could award points to students whom they thought had performed their duties responsibly throughout the term. The final points then converted into conduct grades and classified as excellent, good, satisfactory, fair and poor. On the other hand, in On-yen, Yuk-kwan, and Virtues, the student's grade of conduct was assigned by subject teachers with the form teacher making the final judgement.

Also, interpretation of school rules was in the hands of teachers. Because of heavy workload and limited resources of control, school staff tended to rely on preventive measures, reward of heavy punishment as deference, and arbitrary rule-making, jurisdiction and rule-enforcement in handling discipline problems, which were in the interests of administrative convenience but in violation of human rights.
Finally, senior students were appointed by the staff as prefects to perform the daily duties like checking school uniform, lateness, looking after students' proper conduct, as would be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. The school teachers also checked the students regularly during morning assemblies or entrance into school. On some occasions, teachers also searched the students' school bags to see whether the students brought forbidden items like comics, walkman, indecent magazines, or Gameboys to school or when there was loss of belongings reported.

School rules, measures of discipline and control over students, and the prefect system were not made with the consent of students but by the imposition of school authority. So when the school rules are used for control, what are controlled? And more importantly, why do schools impose so strict rules towards students without concession?

Discipline and control is essential to every organization, and it is particularly salient in schools because of discipline as one of the aims of education and the imperative of management of pupil behaviour. First, schools have multiple goals which are pragmatically contradictory (Metz 1978a, 1978b). Out of these educational goals, discipline receives the most attention as school is charged with the mission of teaching a moral code where students are placed to learn proper attitudes, values and behaviour (Wolpe 1985, 1988). As a custodial institution for moral training, generally the school places discipline high on list of priorities and maintain standards of dress, appearance and behaviour. Teachers link discipline to morality also because of religious background and Chinese culture. Schools intend to teach traditional values such as self-control, achievement, respect for authority, obedience, efforts, neatness, honesty, cleanliness, persistence, industry, and other appropriate behaviour. Dress is standardized for uniformity (school uniform), as well as inculcation of neatness and ‘simplicity and plainness’ in appearance. To pursue the objectives of moral training, the virtues of discipline, responsibility, compliance to order, collective norms are vital and become the primary task for school's socialisation. Discipline and self-discipline is also seen by the school as educative in itself, an important element in moral education and also a form of
character-training (Docking 1980). Children are expected to develop rule-following and law-abiding virtues so that they could participate in society. That is why the norms for the school community are about respect for teachers, adherence to school rules, obedience, industry, punctuality, regular attendance, and orderly work in large groups. The staff also believe that school rules and discipline are 'good for the kids'.

On the other hand, young students, as a social category, are considered to be immature, ignorant, and inferior, awaiting cultivation, training, instruction, and rectification. So they are defined as the subordinate group in respect to their teachers, the superordinate group. Also because of the alleged immaturity of students and their lack of knowledge of the appropriate ways of behaviour in many circumstances, teachers have to enforce measures of conformity upon a group of young persons brought together in a crowded classroom. That was also the reason for the moralization of school's civic education programme mentioned in Chapter 3.

Second, school staff, rested with the parenting rights and obligations, and the mandates of using school building and facilities, are entitled to exercise control over the students. Also, for the sake of safety, control over their movement and behaviour, and special restrictions and prohibitions are also imposed accordingly. As a guidance for learning and character training, and control for the sake of order and safety, the school imposes restriction on freedom and rights, as manifested in the contents and enforcement of school rules. In terms of scope of control, school rules are wider than formal law. What is allowed in society might not be allowed in the school. Compared with society at large, school is more restricted in control over member's behaviour and appearance such as smoking, make-up, hairstyles, shoes, and jewellery. Also, school rules lack the complete legal procedures as the formal ones.

Compared with the laws, school rules are more specific and rigid in terms of constrains over students' freedom. Also, for the sake of moral training, school rules not only specify the norm of behaviour and serve to set a standard for the student, but also convey educational goals, ideas of an
ideal student, moral virtues, and traditional values, against the profane social climate and popular culture. School rules reflect the transmission of approved behaviour, as well as the expectation of students, role models, ideal and the values praised by the school and the public. Inferred from the school rules, the role model of a student is being punctual, polite and quiet, well-behaved, clean, neat and tidy, honest, with a respect for teachers, public-spirited, simple and unadorned.

For the custodial and disciplinary agent like school, an enforcement of discipline is the behavioral management of students. Schools try to normalize and standardize the students by regulation and uniformity (Wolpe 1985, 1988). Discipline is used to combat 'misbehaviour' and advocate 'role model' or proper behaviours. Apart from schools and teachers, students also receive socialization from their families, peers and mass media. As students are socialized by multiple agents, schools find they are engaged in a tug of war with the larger society, particularly the mass media (Leung, SW 1994). The students also bring popular culture into the school. Teenage subculture, interests, and attitudes, in some aspects, are in opposition to their adult counterparts. The students, who are also teenagers, are successful and creative in maintaining their particular subculture, or way of life, manifested in the mode of dress, taste in pop music, attitudes and behaviour, consumerism, fashion, which are usually in opposition to the adults' or the 'official' culture promoted by the school. Teachers and school administrators are fearful of the undesirable effects of popular culture like hedonism, individualism, and consumerism, which are seen as harmful to the students.

Third, in addition to the formal goals of learning and moral training, discipline and order maintenance are also essentially instrumental to insure the functioning and survival of the school, and, in turn, to fulfill the formal goals. Given the vulnerability of the physical and social settings to disruption, as well as the limited and uncertain resources for control available to schools, order is very fragile and subject to students' disruption. It is not easy for the maintenance of order among a large number of young students who are not fully-socialized, energetic, required by law to attend,
and diverse in background, educational and social expectations, and other characteristics. School teachers and administrators are preoccupied with order because order is constantly threatened. These pressures compel schools to use protective measures and structures, and staff make tremendous efforts to maintain order and discipline. The most common patterns of control adopted is a hierarchical organizational structure and the standardization and routinization of activities. Indeed, the formal goals of learning and moral education and the instrumental goal of control coincide together and prompt the schools to emphasise on discipline and authority. Discipline is basic not only to moral education, namely training of conduct and character, but also to the school order and survival. Discipline is vital to school and classroom management as authority must be secured to enable the staff to give commands to the students and the students render obedience to order and instruction, rules and regulations. As the public still see good schools as authoritarian, with good discipline and a rigid uniform code. Thus discipline is also a way to preserve an acceptable public image.

Discipline is also seen as a precondition for learning. The utmost concern over classroom order by teachers could be better understood in the context of a teacher-centred model of teaching prevailing in most subjects in secondary schools. Since teachers are responsible for instruction most of the time during lessons, order becomes the prerequisite of the smooth running of lessons and that is why teachers are so eager to require ‘silence, attention, obedience, and following instruction’ on the part of the students (Denscombe 1985, Tse 1992).

Fourth, school is also a community where discipline, school rituals and symbols in the form of ceremonies, assemblies, emblems, uniforms, badges, pledges, flags and songs are used in school to signify one’s membership of community, and enhance the feeling of belonging. The speech day prize-giving is the ritual of the goals of the school, as well as a celebration of school-approved success in both academic and non-academic aspects (King 1971:38). The uniform serves as a symbol of membership, unity and community, and an acceptance of student role.
Fifth, given the heavy burden of managing students, the fragility of school order, and the limited resources, staffing, and time for control, the school tends to appeal to rigid order, severe disciplinary measures. Especially for the schools which accommodate a large number of poorly-behaved students, the staff is reluctant to relax control because the fear of students' abuse of their freedom and rights, especially for the badly-behaved and irresponsible students. Human rights education would cause more troubles and challenges to the school and staff, lead to loss of authority and disorder, and set a bad example for other students.

Given the above reasons, we could understand the sensitivity of the issue of human rights in schools and why schools tend to eclipse the teaching of human rights education (Lau, S.Y. 1994). With a conviction of students' immaturity and irresponsibility, fear and worries of students' misuse and abuse of their rights and freedom outweigh the harm of their ignorance of their rights and freedom. As Merelman (1980a:326-327) remarks:

Teaching these democratic values causes the school difficulty. The problem which the school confronts is that students were to apply the two values [note: political equality and popular sovereignty] to the school itself, they would conclude that the hidden curriculum is illegitimate, for the hidden curriculum stratifies students according to competence, elevates teachers above students, and ask students to think of subject matter as a series of settled truths, not as a set of conflicting values open to popular choice. In school, students are not equals, the authority of the teacher is assumed to be unquestionable, and the truth is never a "value" which wins the most student votes, but rather a body of ideas which objectively correct by external standards of evidence or agreement in the keeping of teachers. In short, popular sovereignty and political equality challenge the school's demand for order and the teacher's claim to knowledge.

As for education about human rights and democracy, the uneasy, worrying attitudes of teachers was best represented in the following interview with a school principal:

as for the aspects of education about human rights and democracy, the school authority would not devote major efforts or strongly promote this. Because it is related to myself. I myself would advocate, or remind the teachers to pay attention to the rights of the students ... but I don't want to ... I feel that if they believe too much in human rights and democracy could make them misunderstand something, and even... That is, how to say it... it's quite difficult to say, that is, given their quality, if they abuse this [human rights and democracy], the danger would be much greater than they know that. It is my personal view, that is, I would not make the school an undemocratic atmosphere, or a place without human rights...
but I feel that the students themselves would gradually understand how much are their rights. But in the cases of understanding without proper utilization, the problem would be more serious. Hence the school authority did not strongly promote this. Because it might be related to the problem of the quality of students. Also, their ages, at this stage they are still young. It is hoped that the students themselves could understand their responsibility to the society, that is, their duties to family, their role in the school, and that in the society... also, a pursuit of personal growth and quality.

It also explained why the school underplayed human rights education and instead stressed one’s duties and obligation in favour of maintaining school rules and standards of conduct. And even when the school dealt with civic education, the emphasis of orientation was on teaching good citizens, rather than political actors in school.

Although the schools under investigation differed from each other, to different degrees they also operated under the same organizational constraints. Among the six schools, Bishop Brown, Virtues, and St Anthony faced a more serious problem of discipline because they recruited mainly band 4 and band 5 students. The case was particularly acute in Virtues and St Anthony’s which accommodated an overwhelming majority of ‘band 5 students’ (the lowest-achieved primary school leavers), as well as some students with learning and behaviour problems transferred from other schools. As a result, maintenance of student discipline became the utmost problem for these schools and much effort was paid to handle student behaviour problems and to maintain discipline. Meanwhile, these schools showed lower expectations of student academic performance while putting much stress on discipline.

The concern with the problem of discipline and order received attention not only in the troubled school, but also in the less troubled schools. It is particularly significant in Hong Kong that a good school is usually considered by the parents in terms of academic performance and maintenance of discipline. Reputation for poor discipline and disorder lowers the parents’ confidence, ruins the school’s prospect and directly influences its intakes. Thus, apart from gaining good results in the public examinations, maintaining a strict school climate is another central
concern. That is why the schools pay so much consideration to mode of dress, hairstyle and demeanour which are receiving most public attention. Even for the schools admitting better intakes also exercise strict control over students' behaviour, as a way to preserve the school's reputation and maintain or upgrade the quality of students[8]. Strong and rigid disciplinary measures are particularly crucial to the new schools in new communities. The failure of gaining a good reputation and parents' confidence would result in a poorer intake and thus greater problems of teaching and discipline, and get trapped in a vicious cycle.

The Maintenance of Classroom Order

The classroom is the most common place of interaction between teachers and students, and it is also the place where most teachers maintain control over their students. Since order in classroom is essential to the proceeding of teaching, most teachers put classroom order as a high priority (Metz 1978a; Docking 1980; Tse 1992). Based on the consideration of importance and necessity of classroom order, the teachers are anxious to maintain a strict order in classroom. Classroom order as the central concern of school teachers could be understood in the context of a teacher-centred mode of learning prevailing currently at the secondary level. As teachers are responsible for instruction most of the time during lessons, the maintenance of classroom order becomes the prerequisite of the smooth running of lessons, as the maxim 'you have to keep order if you want to teach' states. The dominate-subordinate social relationship in school is linked with the roles of teacher and students. From the viewpoints of teachers, they see their roles as performing both knowledge transmission and discipline maintenance; while on the side of students, they are assumed to be learners and the followers. The instructor-learner and 'discipline-enforcer'-follower forms of relations, the two main axes of teacher-student interaction, manifested in both in-class instruction and teachers' control of students' daily behaviour. That is also why the teachers are not capable of conducting an interaction with a student on an equal basis. The attitudes of teachers
toward authority provide a strong propensity for maintaining a dominant role in classrooms, as has been mentioned in Chapter 5 with regard to pedagogy.

However, the dominate-subordinate relationship between teachers and students should not be over-generalized. In reality, there are both authoritarian and humanistic elements involved in teachers' pupil control ideology and strategies. Basically, teachers are facing a dilemma: on the one hand, they hope to maintain a good relationship with the students, at best in the form of friend-to-friend relationship; on the other hand, they also have to insert control and authority over the students (Grace 1978). Teachers' conception of students is also quite complicated as they hold both positive and negative views on students' character. Most of the teachers thought that students were weak in self-control and should be under close supervision. They worried that the students would abuse the freedom given to them, in particular for the junior students. So generally they tended to hold a disciplinarian stance toward the conduct of junior students (Tse 1992). On the other hand, because of better self discipline among the senior students, the teachers would not care much about classroom discipline and grant the students more freedom. In terms of actual students control strategies, as shown in Table 6.5 based upon the questionnaire survey, there was a great difference between junior and senior students with regard to the situation that teachers frequently maintained strict classroom order (25.7% of S3 and 4.3% of S6)[9]. Moreover, the uses of punishment were more common for junior students than senior students as 31% of S3 and 3% of S6 students respectively said that 'teachers frequently punished classroom rule-breaking behaviour'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Many times</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>( N )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers maintain strict classroom order</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher's punish classroom rule-breaking behaviour</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far I have highlighted the poverty of nationalistic education in most school; as well as how democratic education was countered by the authoritarian school climate and classroom climate.
The next chapter will continue my discussion of the role of informal curriculum in civic education with particular emphasis on student organization and students' participation in these activities. As would be shown below, democratic education was not realized as self-governance of students did not exist or operated merely at low level.
Chapter 7 The Informal Curriculum at Work (II):
Student Organizations and Students' Participation

7.1 Student Organizations: conception and significance

Student organization is an important part of the informal curriculum and students' schooling experiences. To a certain extent, school activities are assumed to be 'shadow politics' and the school is viewed as miniature democracy shaping the students to live in a democratic society (Massialas 1969; Haensly et al. 1986; Fung 1988; Biernat & Klesse 1989). For the progressive educators, student government bodies are set up, by and large, to teach the students the values of self-government and to familiarize them with the forms and procedures of political institutions they will face in their adult lives. Especially for the office-holders, student government bodies could provide them with direct experiences in governmental positions, which are prototypes of the real governmental institutions (Entwistle 1971:50-60; Ungoed-Thomas 1972; King 1973; Jensen & Walker 1989; ACE 1995). Also, schools prepare students for efficient citizenship in the community by their provision of extra-curricular activities. Extra-curricular activities and organizations in schools are regarded as analogues of adult voluntary associations and participation in them would enhance students' civic competence (Almond and Verba 1963; Ziblatt 1965; Fozzard 1967; Massialas 1969; Dawson et al 1977:161-163). Students active in extra-curricular clubs and programmes will develop a greater appreciation of actual political institutions and expect to be politically active in later life (Rafaliedes & Hoy 1971; Levenson 1972; Jones 1974, 1975, 1980; Ehman 1980a; Cuccia 1981; Hanks 1981; Eyler 1982; Dailey 1983; Lindsay 1984; Sybouts & Krepel 1984; Conrad 1991; Ferguson 1991; Berk 1992; Trent & Braddock 1992).

As mentioned in the earlier section about school climate, one of the most important aspects of democratic schools is the establishment of autonomous student organizations. The Education
Department also echoes this view and encourages students in organising school functions and students' activities (Guidelines p.75). Accordingly, the Guidelines identify various forms of student organization like class associations and meetings, year-cohort associations, and house systems as channels for fostering students' participation experience (p.70). In addition, pupil associations or councils are highlighted as an important way to promote active participation and 'an understanding of the processes, rights and responsibilities of freely elected institutions' (p.84). Besides pupil associations, the Education Department also recognizes the contribution of extra-curricular activities to civic education. In emphasizing the socialising experience of extra-curricular activities, the Guidelines state that 'civic education should be promoted through community orientated, interest-based and recreational activities which develop social skills and promote community spirit' (p.84), and encourage students to join school-based organizations with a commitment to community service such as Community Youth Clubs, Scouts and Guides, Red Cross Youth, St John Ambulance, Junior Police Call, Road Safety Patrol, the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme and groups with religious affiliation (p.71) [1].

Regarding the development of students' decision-making and leadership qualities, the Guidelines also stress that students 'should be encouraged to participate freely in the nomination and election processes for class and club office-bearers' (p.70).

Since student self-governance is a significant aspect of democratic schooling, the forms and nature of varied student organizations become foci of the present inquiry, in particular their relations with students and school, and the activities of these organizations. In examining the degree of democracy or self-governance of these student organizations within school, there are a number of dimensions worthy of concern:

1. representativeness, that is, the selection of office-bearers and the population of the students represented.
2. participation and supervision on the part of students.
The following sections will then examine the five types of student organizations in school: (1) student union, (2) house, (3) prefect system, (4) class association, and (5) school clubs and societies respectively in the light of the above five dimensions in the six schools concerned.

7.2 Democracy Unfulfilled and the Peripheral and Patronized Status of Student Organizations in the Six Schools

Student Association/Student Union

The presence of a student association or similar body is a key indicator of a democratic school (Entwistle 1971; Jensen & Walker 1989) The student association could create a sense of belonging among students, serve as a way of communication between teachers and students, and give students some responsibility and experience in managing themselves.

Four out of the six schools under investigation had a student association, student union or Board of Student Representatives: they were Royal College, On-yan, Yuk-kwan, and St Anthony. By contrast, Bishop Brown and Virtues have not established any student union or similar body.

As far as the student union was concerned, the present Principal of Bishop Brown has proposed it for several years and drafted a constitution, but this proposal was rejected by the directors of the School Board because they did not want to concede too much power to the students. They also felt worried about the Student Union would be taken advantages by others. The School Board even disfavoured secret ballots, and required the agenda of meetings subject to the principal’s approval. The Principal and other teachers thought that a student union becomes meaningless if it
does not enjoy autonomy. Since a compromise on the constitution was not achieved, the proposal
was shelved and the establishment of a student union was deferred for several years. Without a
student union, some functions were rested on the prefect body, house system and the school itself.
On the other hand, Bishop Brown did not establish any official consultation channel between the
school and students because the Principal thought that student-teacher relationships were quite close
and did not see any special need to set up a special mechanism of communication.

Although with almost thirty years of history, Virtues did not offer S6 classes until 1992.
Thus, for a long period of time, there were no senior students to take up leadership roles in student
organizations and activities. Despite this, a student union was proposed by students over last several
years, but the school did not accept the proposal. According to the school Principal, the major
problem was about ‘discontinuity’ and ‘convergence’. Because junior students’ passivity and
inadequate ability in organization whereas S6 students were unreliable and unstable as most of them
were students from other schools, so there was a danger that no one could handle the student union
and it would not function at all. Because of students' poor ability and quality, and high mobility, the
school administrators also felt unconfident to give a free hand to the students to organize activities on
their own. In addition, the school was facing other imminent tasks such as how to teach the students
well. Without a no student union, many activities were organized by the houses or the teachers
themselves. Also, there was no formal channel of communication between school and students
except a school magazine published since 1994 where there was an opinion box section receiving
complaints and suggestion by students.

On the other hand, for the remaining four schools, Royal College, Yuk-kwan, and St
Anthony had their own student unions whereas On-yam had a Board of Representatives. Table 7.1
shows their major characteristics, structures and functions.

Student unions were not very common in the past and two schools only established their
student unions or similar bodies in the 1990s. The student unions generally attained a high degree of
representativeness as their production of student representatives or officers was largely through fair and full-scale open elections by the students. Before the election, there were forums, and hustings similar to an official election. Royal College and St Anthony even held a special election day for the students to experience themselves as voters. As can be seen in Table 7.1, the composition of the student union varied school from school. Generally a student union was composed of an executive committee with seven to thirty-nine officers and a supervisory body with student representatives from all classes commonly called Representative Council or Board of Student Representatives.

Schools like Royal College and On-yan gave particular stress to the role of the class representative system and the role of Representative Council or Board of Student Representatives in collecting students opinion, and evaluating and monitoring the work of the student union.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Royal</th>
<th>On-yan</th>
<th>Yuk-kwan</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Student Union</td>
<td>Board of Student Representatives</td>
<td>Student Union</td>
<td>Student Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year founded</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Executive committee &amp; Representative Council</td>
<td>Board of Student Representatives</td>
<td>Executive Committee &amp; Committee of Monitors and Monitors</td>
<td>Executive Committee &amp; Representative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of supervision body</td>
<td>33 class representatives, 3 core members of the Executive Committee, &amp; a secretary</td>
<td>30 class representatives, 2 prefects, 2 house representatives, 2 representatives of clubs and societies &amp; 1 representative of extracurricular activities</td>
<td>24 monitors and monitress</td>
<td>28 chairpersons of class association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of executive committee</td>
<td>election of party composed of 3 core officers and appointment of other 11 officers subject to the approval of Representative Council</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>election of party composed of 39 officers</td>
<td>election of party composed of 7 officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>school's Extra-curricular Activities fund, PTA and OBA's sponsorship, &amp; surplus of Union's activities</td>
<td>surplus of sale of welfare products &amp; school's funding</td>
<td>Union fees from students</td>
<td>union fees &amp; surplus of selling student welfare product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaison with school</td>
<td>teacher advisers &amp; School's Extra-curricular Activities Committee</td>
<td>Teacher-Students Consultation Committee</td>
<td>teacher advisers</td>
<td>teacher advisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functions/activities</td>
<td>academic, cultural, social, sports and recreational extra-curricular activities, student welfare and service, student communication and accept complaints, external linkage, leadership training, civic education</td>
<td>consultation and communication, student welfare and service, and external linkage</td>
<td>cultural, social, sports and recreational activities, student welfare and service, student communication, external linkage, &amp; civic education</td>
<td>sports and recreational extra-curricular activities, student welfare and service, student communication, &amp; external linkage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1: A Profile of Student Governing Bodies in the Four Schools (1994-95)
Apart from the boards or representative councils, there were other ways of seeking the students' opinion. For better communication with the students, Royal College's Student Union held two open forums to collect student opinion about students affairs during the school year and the students could directly question the executive members and answer their queries. The Student Union opened its office this year and the students could raise questions to the office-bearers. The students launched complaints over the issues such as inadequacy of lockers, and problems with clubs and societies in extra-curricular activities. Also, the Union conducted four questionnaire surveys to collect students' opinion on matters such as their feedback on the open day and their preference of destination of study tour, and they also disclosed the results openly afterwards. The Union also enhanced communication with students through frequent announcements during assemblies, coming to the classrooms, and board-displays to inform the students about the Union's activities. In Yuk-kwan, students could air their views through the Union's suggestion box. The St Anthony's Student Union also held a survey to collect the students' opinion on the union's performance and activities.

However, even with the ways of collecting students' opinion and reflecting opinion to school authority, the operation of these supervisory bodies seemed not to be very effective. These boards or councils were loosely-organized and the class-representatives were not active in collecting students' opinion. Commonly students were not enthusiastic in raising opinion and suggestions. As a result, many decisions were still made by the officers of the executive committee. In St Anthony, the Board did not even hold meetings in the second term. In On-yan, the work of the Board was not as smooth as it was supposed to be. Student-representatives' participation was a major problem too. Probably because of their young ages and shallow experiences, junior student-representatives would miss or were late for the meetings or behaved passively during the meetings. Also, because the representatives were not familiar with each other, when organizing activities, communication was also a problem and the major initiatives relied upon the S6 student officers. Even when the meetings were held, the level of discussion was poor, according to the interviews with students. For example,
not all representatives attended the meetings and their responses were not very serious, nor did they actively make suggestions concerning student union.

More importantly, the student union never attained high levels of participatory democracy in terms of operation and functions. Its autonomy was granted by the school authority, and its capacity and power was limited and subject to the school's allowance and control. The school staff was still the authority, controlling the school facilities and financial resources, and had the final say on the work of the student union. The functions of student unions or boards of student representatives, in the eyes of school administrators, were mainly for better communication between students and teachers; provision of welfare and service, or recreational activities to students; and at most consultation on some narrow areas, but the student union was never a decision-making body in school management, planning, or supervision. Thus, most of the union's activities were confined to students' welfare, cultural, sports, recreational and social functions and extra-curricular activities, occasionally with some academic and joint school functions. On the other hand, the union never took part in the business of school administration, academic affairs, school rules and discipline. On these matters, it could only be informed, but not even consulted on many important school policies. Nor was it involved in running the school or handling complaints about particular teachers or school measures. Even in On-yan where the Board was consulted on school rules and discipline, student welfare, and uses of school facilities, but acceptance of students' opinion was still subject to the school's discretion. We may characterize this situation as discussion without decision-making power.

Even for the activities around students' welfare, sports, recreational and social functions, the union still did not enjoy a high degree of autonomy and power. Whatever the degree of its autonomy, many decisions of the union had to be agreed by the school and under the constraints such as financial support and access to facilities. The school teachers still monopolized most power and decision-making. Although the students took the initiative in devising and planning students'
activities, their proposals must be finally subject to the school's approval. Students were encouraged
to participate in organizing school functions and students' activities, but only under the school's
approval and close supervision. When holding these activities, the union had to consult the teacher-
advisers and gained the cooperation of the school. Hence, the union could only make decisions at a
primitive level and within the confinement of the school's administration. Indeed, to a large extent,
the union became an executive apparatus of the school to carry out the functions initiated from
above, such as organizing students for intra-school competitions or providing assistance to school's
activities.

Teachers' concern with and confidence in student's ability and leadership, as well as the
availability of resources also affected the degree of autonomy granted to the student union. Among
the four schools with student unions, Royal College attained the greatest autonomy and capacity in
organizing student activities, followed by Yuk-kwan, On-yan and St Anthony. In Royal College
which had a strong participation atmosphere and students with more experience and better abilities,
and also with the support from parents and alumni, the school showed more confidence in their
students and hence allowed greater capacity and autonomy to the union. On the other hand, in On-
yan and St Anthony, the teachers felt less confident in the students' abilities and did not leave a free
hand to them to organize activities on their own.

Schools exercised control over student organizations and disfavoured students' 'over' or
'undue' participation and requests for several reasons: their opinion might be unrealistic, impractical,
or not feasible (for example, some students hoped that they did not need to wear school uniform to
school on Saturdays), unreasonable and even ridiculous (opening another tuck shop, extending the
school library, changing the time-table, enlarging the playground; increasing the number of toilets,
refurbishment of the school, and addition of a new building). The schools would not agree on these
matters based upon the consideration of security and control, and shortage of resources. Also, some
demands were not easy to satisfy such as installing air-conditioners in classrooms or expanding
choices and options of subjects which involved readjusting the division labour of teachers and administrative arrangements. To meet these requests would require additional resources, a change in the existing school structure of management or governing bodies, and even a change in the whole educational structure such as the school's relation with the Education Department. Another problem was whether the proposal fitted the school's practical and technical constraints. The teachers were also worried about the unfeasibility of their proposals. When the union proposed new activities, it was a test of the school. These opinions and suggestions were out of the question and would be turned down. Other major worries for the schools were about immaturity and ability of the students, as well as existing administrative considerations. The school administrators and teachers feared students' abuse and misuse of their rights and power, the dangers of loss of control and disorder, or being taken advantages by other bodies. Students' unrealistic requests, over-demand, and innovative proposals would also constitute possible challenges to the school, or endanger the school's image and reputation. As a result, the matters could be improved were piece-meal or very minor in nature.

So school authorities did not yield much power to the students, set limits on the autonomy of student unions, and confined their activities to conventional activities. Thus, the orientation of the student union was merely for welfare and communication, but not for participation in school's governance, or advocating any clear political goals. The school also closely monitored the activities of the union.

Given that student organizations were disempowered and patronized under the school's control, even their existence did not provide students with opportunities to practise democracy and self-governance. As very few substantial results were obtained, or concessions were made only on the simplest level or related to trivial matters. Student unions were seen as impotent, and lost their credibility and respect. Meanwhile, students felt disillusioned with resentment and turned to apathy and cynicism, and a lack of enthusiasm to participate increased.
In addition to the student union, the prefect system is also recognized as a way of fostering students' participation[2]. The prefect system is a British product transplanted to Hong Kong by most local secondary schools. Under the prefect system, some senior students, usually appointed by the discipline master on the advice of other teachers, are entrusted to exercise some authority and disciplinary responsibility over their fellow students under the guidance and supervision of the Discipline Masters and other senior staff (Wilkinson 1966). Their usual daily duties are maintaining school order, and enforcing school rules and school discipline policies such as checking school uniform and students' lateness; looking after students in different sites at school during early morning, recess and lunch hour; supervising other students on their way to assembly; regulating students' behaviour in classrooms, corridors and on stairs, in the school hall and assembly, and playground at break and lunch times; taking care of the classes in the absence of teacher; detecting and recording late arrivals; acting as stewards and maintaining order during official functions such as Sports Day, Speech Day and concerts; detecting offenses such as stealing or smoking and referred the suspect to the teachers. Besides the function of disciplinary control, prefects also set a standard of behaviour and serve as role models for other students (King 1971:149-150).

The office of prefect is marked by emblems or badges, and ceremonies at assemblies which symbolize the passing of the principal's authority to the prefects on behalf of the school to manage the ordinary students. In addition, some prefects are selected as headprefects or school captains.

All the six schools adopted the prefect system. The number of prefects differed in schools from thirty to as much as eighty. Except for Royal College where the prefects were elected from students at the fourth or above years by teachers and senior students, in the other five schools they were appointed by teachers without the consent of students. Selection of prefects was almost exclusively in the hands of teachers and other prefects, while other students did not play any part in it. In selecting prefects, age was the most important criterion for eligibility. While the fifth and
upper sixth students were excluded to prepare themselves for public examinations, most prefects were recruited from the fourth and sixth formers. In most cases, those students appointed as prefects were usually the elites who were good at academic performance and conduct who were trusted to be reliable and responsible and could set a good example for other students.

Since prefects were mainly nominated and appointed by the staff without students' involvement, they were not a democratic product. Many students interviewed also disfavoured the production of prefects purely on teachers' appointment without consulting the students. Again we could see the conflicts in definitions between the teachers and students. As a disciplinary apparatus to enforce school rules, prefects were accountable to the teachers, rather than the students. Teachers showed more concern with choosing the right persons who were reliable and good as role models, while students were more concerned with fairness and enforcement and favoured open election of prefects.

Still further, the prefect body created a hierarchy of students by entrusting some students with power to discipline other ordinary students and perform judicial and enforcement functions. Prefects maintained distinction and superior status among their fellow students, in association with a number of rituals and symbolic devices, exclusive use of a prefect room, distinctiveness and some privileges. The prefects were entitled to inspect and keep student ID cards and jot down the names of the mis-behaved students. Being prefects and classmates of their fellow students, the students also experienced role conflicts when performing their duties toward their classmates' misbehaviour. Some students also contested the prefects for abusing their power or being pretentious. There were conflicts occurring between ordinary students and the discipline and order enforcers. The system of prefect also invited dissatisfaction when the prefects performed their duties improperly and discriminatorily such as shielding each other. There were also many cases where the prefects tolerated their classmates' rule-breaking behaviour because of the problem of role conflict.
Originating from the British public schools, the house system is a form of dividing students across years into several large groups mainly for sporting, music contest, and other intra-school competitions. Cups, trophies or prizes are awarded to the winning house accumulating the highest points in inter-house competitions over an academic year. Also, it is an administrative unit acting as a cohesive force upon which other activities can be based (King 1971). But in Hong Kong, unlike the United Kingdom, it is uncommon to use houses as part of the pastoral care and tutor system. Most schools have four houses and students are randomly allocated to different houses. Commonly a secondary school in Hong Kong accommodates about 1,100 students and the average size of a house is around some 250 students. A typical house comprises teacher-advisers in charge (house masters and mistress), other teacher-advisers, student officers in an executive committee with posts like house captain, vice-house-captain, secretary, treasurer, other officers for welfare, sports, and other students' affairs; as well as ordinary students as house members. The house system is widely adopted in Hong Kong secondary schools[3]. On the other hand, the year-cohort association is an American practice not common in Hong Kong.

Without a house system, Yuk-kwan instead established year-cohort associations for S5 students and S6 students with the major purposes for friendship-building and facilitating the mutual understanding among the students of the same year. A total number of eight students from S6 and S7 classes organized these activities. In the S6 classes, the officers in 6A were elected by the students, while the officers in 6S were the monitors appointed by the form teacher. The students conceived and devised the activities on their own and the cohort association held inter-class activities like ball games, debate, chess games, as well as a graduation dinner.

While in the other five schools with a house system, these houses were mainly responsible for inter-house competitive activities which were mostly recreational and sport in nature, for
example, ball games, music and singing contests, drama competition, academic quiz, and some other
social functions. The house officers seldom proposed activities on their own. Most of the inter-
house activities were set by the school in advance and the houses merely carried out these functions,
organizing and recruiting housemates for inter-house competitions and activities. On the other hand,
most houses did not hold many in-house activities.

The representativeness and autonomy of these houses also varied from school to school, and
from house to house even within the same school. Among the six schools, only in St Anthony were
the house officers elected by the students on a House Election Day. The candidates were nominated
by teachers and ex-house officers or by self-recommendation.

On the other hand, the production of house officers in other schools was not by open
nomination and election. The ways of production were mixed: appointment, partial democratic
election, or self-recommendation, but mostly dominated by teacher-advisers. Because house officers
were usually appointed by the teachers but not through open nomination and election and most
students were not involved in the selection process, this practice violated the principle of democracy
and undermined their representativeness and legitimacy. Also, there was a danger that the formation
of an executive committee was subject to teachers' discretion and favouritism. The problem of
selection bias with the appointment system was particularly salient for the schools with many new
students, teachers would assign some students to take up the posts in light of primitive impression or
academic results at the early beginning, rather than based upon their merits and abilities. The
problem also resulted in alleged favouritism and grievance among students. The selection of house
officers was not transparent either as teachers tended to appoint the S6 students and those with
whom they were familiar. The posts became the privileges of sixth formers and the business of a
small circle. In fact, a widespread situation was that most posts were monopolized by the S6
students and their representativeness was called into question.
Apart from selection, involvement of ordinary students in decision-making and supervision of house affairs was low too. Since the house was merely the school’s administrative apparatus of student activities, it was accountable to the school, rather than to the students. Also, while student officers were responsible for undertaking and planning house activities, ordinary students’ involvement was rather limited. Ordinary students were either just being participants, contestants, spectators or members of cheering teams in inter-house competitions and activities to gain credits and honour for their own houses.

There was also a common problem of communication with the house organization. First, there was a lack of communication among the house officers, and some officers were just informed to carry out the tasks afterwards but being excluded from the decision-making process. Second, there was little communication between the ordinary house members and the house officers. Apart from general year meeting, there was no other channel to collect students’ opinion. Nor did the houses report the activities or news to their housemates. Only when activities were held that the house recruited students as participants. As a result, ordinary housemates showed little sense of belonging to their own houses and many even did not know who their house captains were.

Also because of a lack of communication between the house officers and housemates, hence participation in house activities largely depended on personal contact and personal relations, that is, whether individual housemates were familiar with the house officers and being drafted in accordingly. This led to poor mobilization and uneven representation of students in participation. As the house officers tended to find their acquaintances, or the able ones to take part in the competitions, other students were deprived of opportunities of participation, as a result.

The autonomy of the house system was also limited as the initiative was on the side of the school and the houses merely carried out the activities scheduled by the school by organizing the activities and recruiting housemates to take part. Except for general meetings for selecting the officers, the houses did not hold regular meetings until the advent of activities. House meetings were
mainly used for discussing how to prepare the inter-house competitions and matters about division of labour.

Usually the teacher-advisers attended the meetings and provided instruction and suggestions when needed. The democratic atmosphere differed from house to house, depending on the leadership style of the teacher advisers. While some houses were more teacher-dominated, other housemasters would be more open towards student's proposals and allowed the house officers to make their own decisions with regard to the concrete arrangement of activities. Students could discuss on their own while the teachers seldom interfered with their decisions. Only when it was unsettled did teachers make the final decision. In some houses where a high degree of democracy was allowed, decisions were made jointly by the teachers and students through voting. Or the students and teachers negotiated together and the teachers usually accepted the students' opinion.

*Class Association: powerless mini-democracy*

Class association, as a body of each class of students, is the basic unit of student organization prevalent in a majority of secondary schools in Hong Kong[4].

As mentioned in the *Guidelines*, class association is viewed as a building block of democracy. In Royal College, On-yan, Yuk-kwan, and St Anthony, class association and Council of Student Representatives were cast with a special role in cultivating the students with democratic spirits, sense of solidarity, consciousness of participation, and experience of self-governance. Thus these schools advocated full-scale election of class officers by the students and class representatives were responsible for collecting students' opinion during class meetings to the Council or Board of Student Representatives.

With regard to the making of class committee, elections were usually held in early September in the academic year. The form teachers usually kept the nomination and election processes open and allowed the students to participate freely to elect their class office-bearers.
Normally a class association was composed of six to eight persons with the posts like chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, treasurer, recreational officer, general affairs officer, and artist. Apart from these posts, the teachers usually appointed one or two students as monitors to provide assistance to the teachers and maintenance of classroom order. They were responsible for roll-calling, collecting classroom diary and students' assignments, keeping classroom order, distributing notices to students, informing students about school or teacher's instruction, taking care of classmates in needs, booking newspapers and lunch-box for fellow classmates and the like. In the case of Yuk-kwan, the monitors also served as class representatives.

Although democratic class associations were universally established and they enjoyed a high degree of representativeness and autonomy; their functions and capacity were so insignificant and limited to realize the potential of voluntary association and self-governance.

First, as mentioned in Chapter 6, the autonomy of class association was subject to the form teacher's discretion and differed significantly by year level. In fact, in particular at S3 level, the form teachers made most decisions of the classroom affairs. The lower form teachers usually decided the seating plan, the amount of class association fees, the division labour for preparing board-display and so on. On the other hand, the form teachers at upper forms were usually more democratic and open, relaxing their control over the students and allowing them to handle their affairs on their own, or consulting the students before making decisions. The students could choose their own seats in classroom and many class matters were settled by the students and the form teachers seldom interfered. Senior students also had more say about classroom matters and could negotiate with teachers on workload, dates of deadline for homework and tests. However, the degree of democracy of the classroom was still subject to the leadership style of individual form teacher.

Still further, most whole class activities were concerned with daily lessons, while spontaneous activities other than formal lessons were few. The major class activities were mainly about holding a Christmas party, school trip or barbecue, and financial matters like xeroxing notes,
gatherings for school anniversary celebrations, as well as some inter-class functions like board-display competitions, basketball competitions, football matches and English contests. Among the classes investigated, only one S6 class had organized some learning activities of oral English and listening practices for the classmates. Given the nature of these activities, most work rested on the treasurer to collect fees and take care of xeroxing, stationery and other expenses. Albeit with so many posts, many of them were merely nominal or titular.

Students were also unenthusiastic towards class activities and seldom took part in them. For the S6 classes, perhaps because of many new students who were not gregarious and familiar with each other, and also because of study pressure, the classmates' responses were poor and they did not actively take part in class activities. The students also seldom held general class meetings. Class meetings were held only for election of office-bearer and discussing activities. Apart from class association bearers, many students showed little interests in class association activities, so they simply organized nothing for their classmates.

As far as the role of class association in representation and as a bridge between the student union and students was concerned, albeit with the school's intention and advocacy, the functions of communication and supervision were not well received by the students. In reality, many class-representatives were not active in fulfilling their duties as they did not frequently collect student opinions and report to the council, nor did they report the student union matters to their fellow students. On the other hand, students were also not enthusiastic in bringing opinion to the school or student union. The school's responses also failed the students' expectation. They criticised the school for pseudo-democracy and hypocrisy as the final decisions were still in the hands of the school. So the students became frustrated and lost interest, or being not serious to air their opinions. As a result, the class representative system did not function well or just existed in name.
School Clubs and Societies: non-political education oriented

Apart from the student organizations mentioned above, clubs and societies in the extra-curricular activities are also important to facilitate student involvement. Thus, this section will discuss the organization and nature of these groups. The activities of school clubs and societies are usually arranged after school or formal lessons. In principle, their arrangements are left entirely to individual teachers and students involved. The membership is generally on a voluntary base. Teachers pass judgements on students' performance on records and participation brings students conduct marks in reports and a good testimonial would benefit their prospects of study and employment.

Table 7.2: Provision of Extra-curricular Activities in the Six Schools (1994-95)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of activities</th>
<th>Royal College</th>
<th>On-yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPA/ Social Science/ civic society</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest groups</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scout</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl guide</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior Police Call</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Youth Club</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Cross</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St John's ambulance</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Duke of Edinburgh's Awards</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social service Group</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career guidance</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student fellowship</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (number in the table indicates the number of items offered)
** / the item was offered in the academic year
Table 7.2 shows the detailed provision of extra-curricular activities in the six schools and illustrates some salient features. First, on average each school offered some twenty items in a wide variety of extra-curricular activities in academic, services, arts, sports or interest groups. Due to differences in school facilities and staffing, the six schools also differed in the provision of extra-curricular activities. In terms of number, Royal College had the most (46) whereas Virtues had the least (19). The problem of faculties and staffing disfavoured the provision of extra-curricular activities by some schools like Virtues, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

Second, among a wide variety and nature of extra-curricular activities, the sports clubs, academic societies and interest groups were the major ones while there were much fewer societies or clubs directly related to civic education activities and explicit political education. In fact, only half of our schools (Royal, On-yen, and Virtues) offered civics societies or similar bodies (Table 7.2). Most of them mainly serve a recreational function.

With regard to the nature of their activities held by these civics society or similar bodies, most of them were not closely related to 'political education'. For example, Royal College’s Civic Society was established with the chief aim to arouse students’ awareness of their civic rights and responsibilities and to provide them with opportunities to contribute to society. For the school year 1994-95, the society held an Inter-class Board Display Competition for S.1 to S.4 students, and also a series of video-shows on election and the new airport in Hong Kong. Then the society participated in a joint school exhibition organised by the New Airport Projects Co-ordination Office. On the school Open Day, the Society focused on the topic ‘environment’ with the presentation of colourful drawings and a computer game.

In Virtues, the Social Science Society arranged visits to the headquarters of Hang-seng Bank, a fire-station, a prison, and a natural environment protection region. Other activities included lower form waste paper collection competition, flag-selling, and inter-class photographs competition.
Only On-yan's Civics and Current Affairs Society had a direct focus on political education. For the school year 1994-95, it held a mock election of the District Board for the students to experience voting, an inter-class current affairs competition for S2 students, board-exhibition of weekly striking local news, and a two-day educational camp concerning the topic about corrupted election.

As for the Community Youth Clubs and social service groups, in most schools they were organized to provide social services to the community and showing concern with society, rather than for an understanding of political institutions. Their usual activities included visits to the people in need, fund-raising activities, and other voluntary works. For example, in the year 1994-95, Royal College's CYC concentrated on learning and understanding AIDS and showing care and concern for AIDS patients by presenting a board-display entitled 'understanding and preventing AIDS and collecting Christmas cards for the AIDS patients. Students were also mobilized to take part in community services and fund-raising activities like flag selling, walkathons, and tree planting. The Social Service Group paid visits to the disabled children in the John F. Kennedy Centre, a special kindergarten, and an elderly centre, and held special programme for training students to be voluntary workers.

Third, as far as the composition of clubs and societies was concerned, a typical executive committee of a club or society comprised six to eight officers including chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, treasurer, artist, publicity, and the like. The democracy and autonomy of these clubs and societies varied from one to another. Their working and organizations also largely depended on particular teacher-adviser's involvement, orientation and discretion. Generally speaking, teachers were more open in the selection of club office-bearers. However, some teacher-advisers still limited the nomination and election to only the senior students rather than to all students. The officers generally enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and decision-making in organizing and planning activities, but still depended on individual teacher-advisers. Generally speaking, among the
six schools, Royal College's teachers left a free hand to the students in organizing extra-curricular activities because their students were more competent.

Finally, students' involvement in extra-curricular activities also varied with the nature of these activities, and students' interests and engagement with other matters, as would be shown in the next section.

7.3 Students' Participation: disempowerment, disaffection and differentiation

Participation is vital to democracy as democracy could be learnt only by participation. Also, the running of voluntary associations rests upon students' active initiatives and involvement.

As far as the students' involvement and experience with student organizations and extra-curricular activities was concerned, student organizations suffered from students' disaffection and uneven participation. Based upon the questionnaire survey, Tables 7.3 to 7.8 respectively depict the degree of the students' participation in various student organizations in terms of membership and frequency of participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Royal (n)</th>
<th>On-yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
<th>Overall (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officer of class association</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>17.5 (40)</td>
<td>16.3 (37)</td>
<td>9.1 (33)</td>
<td>20.9 (43)</td>
<td>7.7 (39)</td>
<td>22.4 (58)</td>
<td>16.4 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>33.9 (56)</td>
<td>22.4 (58)</td>
<td>38.1 (63)</td>
<td>13.8 (25)</td>
<td>10.7 (28)</td>
<td>26.9 (234)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer of clubs/ societies</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>27.5 (40)</td>
<td>18.9 (37)</td>
<td>9.1 (33)</td>
<td>27.9 (43)</td>
<td>7.7 (39)</td>
<td>32.8 (58)</td>
<td>22.0 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>69.6 (56)</td>
<td>91.4 (38)</td>
<td>50.0 (64)</td>
<td>72.4 (29)</td>
<td>42.9 (28)</td>
<td>66.8 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head prefect</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>7.3 (40)</td>
<td>10.8 (37)</td>
<td>21.3 (33)</td>
<td>7.1 (42)</td>
<td>7.7 (39)</td>
<td>15.3 (58)</td>
<td>11.6 (249)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>41.1 (56)</td>
<td>41.4 (58)</td>
<td>70.3 (64)</td>
<td>37.9 (29)</td>
<td>25.9 (27)</td>
<td>47.0 (234)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form-house representatives</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>15.0 (40)</td>
<td>10.8 (37)</td>
<td>9.1 (33)</td>
<td>9.3 (42)</td>
<td>7.7 (39)</td>
<td>8.6 (58)</td>
<td>10.0 (249)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>66.1 (56)</td>
<td>74.1 (38)</td>
<td>16.1 (62)</td>
<td>37.9 (29)</td>
<td>50.0 (28)</td>
<td>49.4 (233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representatives of student union</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>7.3 (40)</td>
<td>5.4 (37)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>4.7 (43)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>6.9 (58)</td>
<td>3.9 (178)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>10.7 (56)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>25.0 (64)</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>35.7 (28)</td>
<td>21.6 (148)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First, student's participation was remarkably differentiated and highly stratified by year level where S6 students were far more active than their S3 counterparts. Also, S6 students took up most posts in student organizations including officer of class association (26.9%), officer of clubs in extracurricular activities (66.8%), head prefect (47.0%), form-house representative (49.4%), and
representative of student union (21.6%), while the proportion of S3 students was rather low. The percentages of S3 for the same items were merely 16.4%, 22.0%, 11.6%, 10.0%, and 3.9% respectively (Table 7.3). As King (1971,1973) emphasized before, age and ability are two significant determinants of students' values, selection, involvement and participation in school activities. The internal structure is crucial in generating variation in involvement among students, and results in high and low involvement groups. Also, the selection process of office-bearers creates differential opportunities for different years and streams of students and leads to different degrees of participation.

The age differences in involvement may be related to the school arrangement which affects opportunities of involvement for students in different years. In Hong Kong, the schools tend to reserve privileges to the sixth formers while denying them to the younger ones. Because of allowing S5 and S7 students to prepare themselves for public examinations, as well as providing good testimonials for the sixth formers; schools primarily recruit the sixth formers to leadership positions in many students organizations. As a result, the sixth formers also participated more than their junior counterparts. This widespread practice of selection favoured the sixth formers at the expenses of the junior students. Also, as a result of the system of appointment by teachers, some students took up several posts at the deprivation of others. Meanwhile, some students were overloaded while others were detached from the school.

Second, at both S3 and S6 levels, the popularity in terms of frequency of participation, from high to low, was clubs and societies (Table 7.7), class association (Table 7.4), house (Table 7.5) and student union (Table 7.6). Students were particularly poor in their participation in the house and student union activities. Also, when compared with their S6 counterparts, S3 students were also more passive with their participation in class association, house, and student union activities.
Table 7.4: Students' Participation in Activities of Class Association (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Brown</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuk-lwan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Anthony</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5: Students' Participation in House's Activities (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Brown</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Anthony</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.6 Students' Participation in Student Union's Activities (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuk-lwan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Anthony</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.7: Students' Participation in Clubs and Societies (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal College</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-Yan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Brown</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuk-kwan</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtues</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Anthony</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.8: Membership of Society for Extra-curricular Activities (means)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of membership of society or clubs</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Royal College</th>
<th>On-Yan</th>
<th>Bishop Brown</th>
<th>Yuk-kwan</th>
<th>Virtues</th>
<th>St Anthony</th>
<th>Overall (n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.25 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.24 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.14 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.13 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.14 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.46 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interests</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.18 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.23 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.19 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.16 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPA/ Social Studies/ Civics Society</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.06 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.08 (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.94 (250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.43 (235)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third, the popularity of school-based clubs and societies among students was doubtful too. Albeit with ample provision of extra-curricular activities, students' participation in extra-curricular activities was still rather low:

(1) S6 students merely joined an average of 1.43 school clubs or societies while S3 students even less than 1 (Table 7.8). More importantly, 44.7% of the S3 students rarely or never participated in any extra-curricular activities organized by the school for the whole school year 1994-95 (Table 7.7). In other words, a significant number of students, in particular those in S3,
were highly detached from the extra-curricular activities organized by schools as many of them were just sleeping members of their clubs and societies or ‘officers in name’.

(2) Students' interests and preferences also influenced their participation in extra-curricular activities. With regard to the students' orientation to extra-curricular activities, only 57.1% of S3 and 66.7% of S6 students in the survey liked to take part in extra-activities (Table 7.9). In general the students, in particular the junior ones, were not very enthusiastic toward participation in school's extra-curricular activities. Indeed, when organizing extra-curricular activities, many student officers also encountered difficulties in mobilizing their fellows because of passivity and inertia. It was a common problem for many officers to recruit enough students for participation in their activities and they had to press people into service or involve the officers themselves to take part. Also, in organizing house activities, because of relying on personal relations and for fame and honour in competition, there was also a problem of over-involving the familiar students and the sports stars but neglecting other ordinary students.

Table 7.9: Students' Attitudes toward Extra-curricular Activities (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I like to take part in</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extra-activities</td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am uninterested in</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extra-activities</td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Schools' extra-curricular activities and house activities were offered more in line with the teachers' interests and capacity, allocation of manpower and school facilities, rather than students' interests and aptitude[5]. Although there were quite a lot of extra-curricular activities, students showed scant interests in school activities and they were not willing to or did not participate because they regarded school activities as ‘old-fashioned’ ‘over-routine’, ‘dull and boring’, ‘a waste of time’, or monotonous. They would be no longer enthusiastic toward any school's extra-curricular activities after one to two years in school. The students generally favoured outdoor and sports activities but disfavoured the academic ones and showed not much interests in the inter-house activities. Rather
than taking part in school activities, they would rather make use of the time to play elsewhere outside the school and staying at home. Because of lack of consultation and involvement of students in planning activities, so the activities were not favoured by the students. Students' detachment and lack of sense of belonging also decreased their intention and involvement in house activities.

(4) The nature of activities and participation mattered too. Because not all activities and posts are equally conducive to cultivation of social and political skills, so the potential of extra-curricular activities in political socialization depends on the form of organization, the nature of the activity, the particular post and the degree of involvement of the student. Extra-curricular activities related to political education suffered their meagre provision, and the problem of unpopularity to the students. As can be seen in Table 7.8, students' participation mainly centred around non-political education-oriented organizations and activities. Most students favoured sports rather than community or politically-oriented organizations such as social services clubs or civics societies, so their participation was skewed heavily toward athletics, followed by hobbies or leisure-related, academic societies, arts, while participation in social service groups was little. Thus, even with the provision of the service organizations such as Community Youth Clubs, Scouts and Guides, Junior Police Call, and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme which could provide specific training of social skills and foster community spirit; their contribution to political education was doubtful, when considering their poor popularity among students in comparison with other clubs and societies.

Fourth, as far as inter-school differences were concerned, generally speaking, students in Yuk-kwan Middle School and Royal College participated more than their other school's counterparts. Because of school climate and lack of sense of belonging, students in Virtues and St Anthony were more passive.

Finally, as far as students' experience of participation was concerned, although the experiences with organizing extra-curricular activities might not be very pleasant, most of the students still ascertained the benefits and values of involvement. For the officers, they encountered
quite a number of difficulties and problems with organizing extra-curricular activities such as division of labour, implementation, heavy workload, a lot of time spent for planning, recruitment, and undertaking the activities; students poor responses; and psychological stress and fear of not doing well. Nevertheless, the benefits of being an office-bearer and organizing extra-curricular activities were multi-faceted as they could develop knowledge, attitudes, and abilities and learn a lot of things. But given the differences in student participation by year and status, most of the benefits occurred to the small number of office-bearers only, who were usually the sixth formers. On the other hand, a majority of lower form students were still disaffected from their schools' activities and lost the opportunity of acquiring these valuable experiences.

Students' Apathy with Civic Education Activities

Generally speaking, civic education activities were the less popular ones to most students. As mentioned in Chapter 3, each school's civic education group held a wide variety of civic education activities like classroom board display, slogan creation competition, composition, and the like relevant to civic education, cleanliness competitions, mock elections of District Board and Legislative Council, the citizen's knowledge contest, newspaper cuttings on the exhibition boards, but they were usually ignored by the students. For example, St Anthony used to organize civic education for Basic Law, but only resulted in poor responses from students. In the citizen's knowledge contest, the students failed to answer most questions about history. The same also happened in Bishop Brown where few students paid attention to the board display about Basic Law. Another example was the promotion of human rights. Since not many students had encountered this idea before, thus the teacher needed to attract the students by offering prizes or games. Also, exhibition boards of newspaper cuttings were no longer practised because of students' poor response. Students were more interested in other activities rather than the board-display about civic education. In Bishop Brown, even assembly was held only once every week. Because only a few of civic education
activities were held, students’ awareness and perception of them was also low. S3 students knew that there was a group of civic education but did not know what it was doing.

In St Anthony, the choice of news of the year also reflected the interests of students in which non-political interests dominated. They chose the news such as the shark attack incident, the death of the popular singer Theresa Deng, the leakage of poisonous gas in Tokyo. In Bishop Brown, again, the students chose the news with small political content.

In On-yan, the organizers also found that the activities such as debate and public forum about political topics were poorly received by the students. Students were responsive to the topics of immediate relevance but found difficult to understand or got bored with topics about political institution, freedom, and democracy. Also, the mock election no longer excited the upper form students. There were also constraints on interchange programmes as not many students could take part in the interchange in China because of the fees and time. In the students’ eyes, civic education activities were still for the minorities but unpopular to most students. Students’ responses were unenthusiastic and passive. Instead, students favoured the topics which were 'play-like' and more 'activities-oriented' and out-going activities such as visits. The school organizers felt that most students were still apathetic to civic education, and did not find the activities interesting or entertaining. Students' apathy and lack of interest made the organizers hesitant to address these kinds of issues again.

In Yuk-kwan and On-yan, the experience of interchange with China had some impact. Students going to a village in Guandong had some strong feelings of life and felt that one should work hard. On-yan's students' report of their perception and change after visits in Mainland China also testified their changing perception of China[6].

In Yuk-kwan, the social service group held activities such as a survey of public estates about the adequacy of public facilities and security. Another activity was a survey of people's voting behaviour. Some students were also involved in hustings for District Board election. It seemed that
these activities provided the students with a better and realistic understanding of the politics and the operation of voting and election campaign. However, these activities attracted only a minority of students.

7.4 The Limitations of the Informal Curriculum: the poverty of nationalistic and democratic education and the prevalence of paternalism

As can be seen from the contents and orientation of political education in the informal curriculum, they were largely insufficient to cultivate students with democratic orientations and even less about national and state identities. Above all, albeit with the advocacy of the Guidelines, most of the school's activities and procedures still lagged behind the official objectives or the school's policy as school's civic education programme was seriously contradicted and undermined by the informal curriculum.

First, with regard to nationalistic education, a majority of schools largely detached themselves from the political environment and played down the aspect of nationalistic education. Except for Yuk-kwan where school frequently introduced the situation of China and practised patriotic rituals, and On-yan held some activities concerning understanding about China, the other four schools basically did not do much in this aspect.

Second, with regard to democratic education, democracy of school proved to be problematic in practice in the six schools observed on three counts:

(1) Accessory in nature, civic education activities in schools were infrequent, non-politics-orientated, toward community-service rather than political participation.

(2) Students were living in a custodial and undemocratic environment characterized by discipline and the prefect system, school rules for students, practices of conduct assessment, as well as hierarchical control and restrictions over students autonomy. With an emphasis on compliance to rules and authorities, discipline and teaching the students regard for the rules and standards of
conduct of the school, schools underemphasized the rights and power of students in participation in school governance.

(3) The shaping of the political environment within the school also detached the students from the daily operation of school policies and affairs. Among the five types of student organizations, the prefect body was largely an extension of the school discipline system, the house system was a competition unit for organizing students taking part in school's recreational and social functions, and sports events. Their functions were confined to students' welfare and assistance to school discipline or functions like sports, music shows, inter-house competition. As for the class associations, although the class was the basic unit of teaching/learning and organization of schooling activities, its function as a small community was often over-looked and its potential of self-governance was not fully realized, as there were very few class activities and it had little significant decision-making power. Albeit with a high representativeness, the class association enjoyed low capacity and autonomy. Also. students were rather passive with the channel of class representative. Therefore, the class association became ineffective and provided very limited democratic experience for the students. Finally, it was also difficult to promote civic education through extra-curricular activities, given the paucity of direct political education provided to the students.

In short, student organizations in general were weak, loosely-organized, patronized and dependent upon school teachers, kept away from significant issues and limited to recreational social events or the provision of discounted stationeries to students. Student self-governance was undermined by paternalistic management towards students. The channels for students in school governance were rather limited and underachieved. Student organizations were limited in terms of degree and scope of autonomy and power, and involvement in decision-making. Given their constraints and limitations, no student organization could provide students with real and substantial power in shaping their school lives which resulted in depriving the students the opportunity to share in decision-making and self-governance. I have shown the limitations of the informal curriculum are
rooted in an inherent conflict between a primarily authoritarian and paternalistic school context and the democratic content to be transmitted. As Merelman (1981a) argues, the features of schooling are self-defeating with regard to democratic education because of the organizational strain between the school’s demand for order and control on the one hand, and the egalitarian norms and autonomy on the other. School students can not learn freedom and equality when schools enforce constraint, hierarchy and inequality!

Parallel with the limitations of student organizations was students' passive participation and poor involvement in school governance and extra-curricular activities, particularly in house and student union activities. The students experienced authoritarianism, powerlessness and disaffection, instead of democracy. The poverty of participation experience, the failed expectation of the real power, and the experience of impotence prompted students to become politically-disaffected.

Finally, students' experience of participation also differed in grade levels and posts, and only a minority of students could benefit from extra-curricular activities. S3 students were particularly less active than their S6 counterparts. Also, senior students mainly took up most of the posts in students organizations and performed the roles of leadership. So usually only the office-holders, particularly the senior students, could learn leadership skills. So far we have reviewed the practices of the formal and informal curriculum in the six schools and showed the ways in which they were problematic in transmitting political education, in both the aspects of nationalistic and democratic education. The concluding chapter will put the various parts together and discuss the implications and significance of my study.
Chapter 8 The Poverty of Political Education and
The Making of Adolescent Citizens in Hong Kong

8.1 Introduction

Starting with a concern over the programme of civic education in Hong Kong secondary schools, the present study addresses the question of the role of schooling in political education. Drawing upon the theoretical perspectives and findings of political socialization studies, Neo-Marxism, critical studies of colonial education, curriculum research studies, and studies of informal curriculum, the present study conceptualizes school as an agent of political socialization and analyzes the current objectives, contents, organization and implementation of civic education programmes, as well as the formal and informal curriculum at work in six secondary schools in Hong Kong, with particular reference to the very nature of 'citizenship' itself and the notion of 'civic education' concerned. For the remaining sections, first I shall provide a brief summary of the main findings, and then discuss the theoretical significance on the issue and the debate about the role of schooling in political socialization. In addition to a critique and evaluation of civic education programmes in schools, I shall briefly examine their impacts on the socio-political orientations of the students, as well as their implications on the constitution of adolescent political culture and the constitution of political order. Finally, I shall discuss the practical implications and the possibility of political education in Hong Kong.
8.2 An Assessment of the Role of School in Political Education in Hong Kong: the poverty of political education

As has been demonstrated at length in previous chapters, political education in Hong Kong has suffered from problems of objectives, organization, and implementation. Civic education in general, and political education in particular, remain largely marginal in schools and among teachers and students.

Civic education should be an instrument for promoting political education, but political education itself was depoliticized and moralized in the Guidelines. And more importantly, a strong trend of depoliticization and moralization of civic education was further enhanced when being implemented in schools. Civic education, to a great extent, was being defined as education for moral and good citizens conforming to existing order and status-quo, rather than as education for politically competent citizens. As a result, civic education programmes in the schools not only failed to achieve cultivation of political literacy, but also lagged behind most of the objectives of the Guidelines.

Organizationally, without an overall coordinating mechanism in organization and overall planning of all civic education activities, the work of ‘civic education’ was made piecemeal and fragmentary. The assimilation of civic education with moral education programme further enhanced its marginal and dependent status, as well as the tendency of moralization and depoliticization of political education. Political education, particularly in the aspects of nationalistic education and democratic education, was ‘crowded out’ in both the formal and informal curriculums.

First, unlike many countries which advocate national unity, loyalty to the nation and patriotism, nationalistic education has been almost absent in Hong Kong schools. In the formal curriculum, the syllabuses and textbooks in lower form social subjects discarded both the contents of nationalism and state identity, obfuscating the national image and alienating the students from their motherland. In lieu of state identity with any government across the straits, an identification with
China in the textbooks was confined to an ethno-cultural identity or historical heritage. Still further, patriotism was replaced by a certain kind of 'cosmopolitanism'. As for the informal curriculum, except for a small number of instances of practising 'patriotic rituals', and organizing some activities concerning China, most schools also largely detached themselves from the political environment and played down the aspect of nationalistic education.

Second, democratic education was constrained by limited opportunities of curriculum exposure available to students for learning civic education; the distorted, biased, formalistic, and non-critical presentation in the syllabuses and teaching materials in terms of both curricular objectives and topics; and the incomplete, distorted, and parochial composite image of citizenship conveyed. Also, the teaching of citizenship through individual social subjects was further hampered by the old-fashioned instructional activities and teaching methods, and traditional forms of assessments. These practices favoured transmission of factual knowledge, rather than critical inquiry.

In the informal curriculum, democratic education was largely undermined by the undemocratic school organization concerned with order and discipline. The shaping of political environment within the school made the students detached from the daily operation of school policies and affairs. Under a hierarchical bureaucracy, students were 'disabled' and excluded from decision-making in school affairs. School organization, school ethos, the curriculum and students' activities were incongruent with the actual structure of school governance as students experienced it. Indeed, much of the so-called civic education in the schools did not teach the students about the state or national government, but was an attempt to teach regard for the rules and standards of conduct of the school. Schools emphasized compliance to rules and authorities and underemphasized the rights and obligations of a citizen to participate in government. Instead, the nature of civic education activities held in schools was more concerned with moral education, living education, social education, or
community service than showing direct relevance to politics. Also, there was little participation in school governance, extra-curricular activities and political activities on the side of students in terms of voting in school elections, running for office, joining clubs and societies; and participation in service and community groups. In short, students only experienced limited democratic and self-governance experience with schooling, and their participation was either passive or frustrated, as a result.

As a whole, albeit with the changes in socio-political milieu and changing political culture, the recent status of schooling practices of political education in Hong Kong secondary schools has showed striking continuity with the civic education in the past several decades (Wong 1983; Leung, SW 1994), and what was transmitted to the students was a kind of apolitical culture, detached from both 'macro-politics' in the society at large and 'micro-politics' in school. In most schools under investigation, political education, in terms of both nationalistic education and democratic education, was basically absent. Instead, the dominant orientation of civic education programmes in the schools was still the mode of 'citizenship transmission' mainly concerned with developing moral virtues of a good citizen and promoting good and cooperative relationships with the government, rather than a more reflective and critical approach to political literacy.

The schools under study differed in a number of characteristics. Their distinctiveness in history and background significantly affected the running of each school, its provision of civic education programme in terms of objectives and priorities, organization and management, as well as the problems encountered in the process of implementation. For example, school background significantly influenced the ways of teaching and curricular design. Among these differences, I have shown that curriculum, ideological background and student composition were among the most significant factors in determining the provision and effectiveness of civic education programmes.
As I have discussed fully in previous chapters, the provision of civic education was inadequate and problematic because of a number of institutional and organizational constraints, as well as practitioners' limitations. Among the factors contributory to the failure of school civic education, this study particularly highlights the organizational constraints on civic education practice. As has been shown in detail above, the basic problem with civic education originates from the particularistic characteristics of school simultaneously as a custodial organization and teaching institute. Just like other formal organizations, the school processes a number of varied or diffuse goals which are in competition for scarce resources (Metz 1978a, 1978b). Schools are established to educate children, and the educational goals are multiple and pragmatically contradictory. Schools have to fulfil a number of educational objectives in the aspects of academic, intellectual, moral, psychological, social, physical, aesthetics, health, and civic education. Indeed, in addition to the traditional educational objectives, Hong Kong schools in recent years have been overloaded with other educational concern (Education Department 1981, 1986, 1992). Out of a number of objectives for the school, the first priorities are given to management of students, moral training as well as academic instruction. When order and academic concern is placed over other objectives, the school constrains its provision of education in other aspects, which leads to the crowding out or removal of civic education. Civic education loses in the competition for resources and space in terms of time and allocation of staff. As a result, the place of civic education in the formal curriculum is marginalized and trivialized in subordination to other academic subjects; political education is secondary to moral education; and the scope of democratic participation in the informal and hidden curriculum is circumscribed by administrative considerations.
Scholarship vs Citizenship: the concern with scholarship and the tension of academic pursuit

In the first place, school is a scholastic institution with an overriding concern with academic performance. Especially in Hong Kong where academic competitions are keen and a school’s reputation is largely determined by its academic results, most schools pay much attention to academic affairs in preparation of their students for public examinations. Under the constraints of resources and scholastic emphasis, both major and minor subjects as well as other educational activities, are in competition with others for valuable resources. Since academic performance is so urgent and practical, activities other than academic subjects, including civic education, are being ignored, deferred, pushed aside or squeezed out. With the primary concern with students’ academic performance and school reputation, schools tend to neglect or play down political education, which is costly, risky and also difficult to achieve. Civic education or social subjects, unlike other well-established academic subjects (especially concerning the major subjects in public examinations), are accorded less academic and practical values and thus particularly disadvantageous in competition with other subjects and activities for resources. As a result, civic education is ‘crowded out’ by other subjects in the formal curriculum, in terms of staffing, resources, teaching time, and arrangement. Also, the lower form social subjects like Chinese History, EPA and Social Studies are sidelines for teachers to fulfil their allotment of teaching load. Not only do schools and teachers view social subjects as ancillary subjects, students also view them as accessory and assign low priority in academic values to civic education and social subjects. Accordingly they lessen their learning and involvement in studies in preparation for other academic concerns and workload.

Also, under a highly competitive environment in Hong Kong where assessments are heavily used for selection and the secondary school system is structured by the requirements of public examinations, the imminent pressure of public examinations and academic concern, and keen competition for academic performance among schools are so rampant and manifest in numerous and
frequent internal assessments, and early and increasing subject-specialization preparing students for public examinations but deny students' opportunities of political learning.

Discipline vs Democracy: the concern with moral training and discipline and the tension of order management

Besides the mission of transmission of academic knowledge, school is also designated as an agency of moral training to mould students with proper attitudes and behaviour. Parents send their children to schools and expect them to learn to be good. Teachers also need to make students be good and docile on the grounds of management and instruction. Order is a constant problem as teachers have to maintain control and exercise authority over their students to facilitate their teaching in daily lessons and the ongoing smooth operation of the school (Waller 1932; Metz 1978a). Thus for a discipline training and custodial organization like school, order and discipline become an overriding concern or a *sin qua non* for both the purposes of moral training and practical needs of instruction and management. Control is essential to all organizations and the problem is more imminent and crucial to the school because the fragility and vulnerability of order in school, and the inadequacy and uncertainty of resources available to schools for control (Metz 1978a 1978b; Denscombe 1985). Thus, the formal goal of moral training coincides with the instrumental necessity of control and the imperative of management.

More importantly, the basic structure of current school organization is based upon the principles of seniority and hierarchy and maintenance of authority, which is immanently against the principles of democracy and equality. As a result, there are recurring tensions between authority and discipline, on the one hand, and equality and democracy, on the other hand. On a disciplinary and management stance, teachers guard against and feel worried about the abuse or misuse of freedom by students which would lead to out of control, rebellion, or challenges to authority. Consequently,
schools tend to exercise strict control, and even excess constraints, over students at the expense of the principles of democracy and human rights. Also, to avoid disruptions and embarrassment, the school authority is hesitant or reluctant to yield power to the students and feel sceptical and unease with student's participation for worries of control and disorder. The fear of loss of control, the perceived threat of school or classroom disorder, and the undesirable and unpredictable outcome of chaos lead the administrators and teachers to avoid students' participation or promotion of human rights and democracy in school. Power-sharing with the students becomes impossible and most of the students are excluded from school politics and kept away from decision-making. Thus even when implementing civic education, the school stresses more on 'moral and social education' and is more eager to build up students with a respectable attitude towards the school teachers, authority, and school's rules, understanding of their obligations rather than their rights. That is why the usual content and orientation of civic education is about moral education, and social education in which students are taught to be good children, good students and good citizens, rather than critical political actors. On the other hand, political education concerning democracy and human rights is unpopular because it is perceived as sensitive, risky, and leading to tensions between discipline and the degree of freedom allowed to students. Therefore, the tendency of moralization of civic education and reduction of political education is further enhanced by the school's pragmatic concern. The undemocratic and even a-democratic school organization structure limits the space of students' participation and democratic request and offsets the work of democratic education, if any.

Under the considerations of discipline and order, as well as the reservation on students' abilities, school teachers and staff are sceptical and anxious toward students' participation and self-governance, as evident in their conservative and reluctant orientation toward student union and other student's organizations. Instead, student's participation is controlled in a form of extension of administration which confines senior students' participation to providing extra-curricular activities
and ordinary students to participation in recreational activities, rather than related to significant policies-formulation. Hence the schools encourage the students to take part in extra-curricular activities and conventional students' activities but not school internal affairs. Schools expect the students' organizations such as student union and houses to cooperate with the school and assist in enacting school devised activities or organizing activities for students in accordance with the school's expectation. Teachers also prefer their students to be contented with the existing arrangement instead of altering the tradition and organization. Thus, the conflicts in mutual definitions of students' participation become severe when students demand more autonomy and initiatives which is incompatible with school's administrative concern. This usually results in frustration and dissent on the side of the students.

Figure 8.1 Model of Organizational Constraints on Political Education in School

As shown in Figure 8.1, under the pressures of organizational imperatives of academic, disciplinary and management concern, civic education is ignored because it is not the prime concern. With the imperatives of school organization: academic pursuit, discipline and control, and moral training, schools tend to favour teaching academic knowledge and moral training rather than dealing with human rights and democracy. Civic education, with low practical academic values,
troublesome in terms of administration convenience, costly and risky to order and discipline, is assigned with a lower priority in the school. As a result, both the formal and informal curriculum crowd out civic education, particularly political education, and make it unpopular, fragile, marginal and accessory. Or when political education is taught, it is confined to formal treatment of topics like formal government structure rather than application to daily life. So even when civic education is carried out, the tensions and contradictory forces in the formal and informal curriculum often offset the efforts paid by the teachers in civic education, the potential of social subjects, and the promotion of students' participation. The contradictions were saliently witnessed in On-yan. On the one hand, the school promoted civic education; on the other hand, the academic imperative and disciplinary concern set the school in the reverse direction.

Finally, the pressing pressures of instruction and scholastic concern, as well as discipline and control over civic education, are further intensified by the social composition of schools, particularly concerned with the school intake. The problem is more salient in schools admitting academically less able students or students with more behavioural problems. The problem of disciplinary concern directly influences the ways of classroom management, pedagogy, classroom climate, time for teaching and the like. As can be seen in the schools such as Virtues and St Anthony where the imperative of control became more intense and pressing. For these schools, maintaining classroom order and exercising authority and discipline over the students was far more important than normal teaching, let alone promoting their democratic participation.

8.4 Rethinking the Debate on Political Socialization and Political Learning in School

Sociologists of education differ in their views on the role of schools in transmitting political values, skills and knowledge. Is school a seedbed of democracy or an apparatus of political control? The present study readdresses the theoretical debate and assesses the role of school as an agent of
political socialization through a subtle and substantial analysis of the practice of schooling and lived experience of students.

Concerning the role of school in shaping the students' consciousness, positive and negative findings on liberals, Neo-Marxists, and critics of colonial education are simultaneously found. The thesis of school as a seedbed of democracy proved to be problematic in view of the actual schooling practices in the schools observed. As could be seen from above, civic education in Hong Kong largely serves as a means of conservative political socialization, reinforcing the status quo rather than promoting reflective and critical citizenship. Hence the present study challenges the liberals' view on education as a means of promoting democracy, citizenship, and political literacy. Nor do the schools foster national and state identities, the most basic beliefs children to be acquired in early years as assumed by many others (Easton and Dennis 1965; Epstein 1978). Instead, the present study sheds support on the view of Neo-Marxists and critics of colonialism that school is a socializing agency for the maintenance of the status quo and the legitimacy of the colonial state, albeit with some qualifications (Prewitt 1973; Massialas 1975; Travers 1982; Harber 1989, 1990).

In addressing the debate at stake, the present study reaffirms the significance of contextual sensitivity, and the issues of 'mediation' and 'multiplicity' at organizational level. More importantly, political education is not simply an imposition of ideology and domination as argued by the Neo-Marxists and critics of colonial imperialism. The present study attempts to move beyond them, modify and expand their accounts by supplying analysis at meso and micro levels.

First and foremost is the significance of context specificity. Political socialization happens in a specific socio-political context. Hong Kong society, as both a colony and capitalist society, has its own path of development and characteristics. As can be seen in Chapter 1, Hong Kong schools' political education could be viewed as a special case of 'political education for political estrangement', i.e. political education serves to produce political alienation and apathy among the
students. Thus schools fail not only in democratic education, but also in nationalistic education. Unlike independent nation states, the lack of nationalist education could be attributed to the colonial legacy to which Hong Kong adheres. The critical view of colonial education is substantiated by this empirical study as schools in Hong Kong serve to reinforce the status quo. The colonial polity and society give Hong Kong its particular characteristics which have strong bearings on the nature of political culture and political education in which it occurs.

Second, as far as the relationship between curriculum and control is concerned, the present study uncovers the ideological dimensions of schooling and reaffirms the significance of an ideological critique of the curriculum. But unlike a mechanical interpretation of school reproduction, the present study extends, refines, and substantiates the original Neo-Marxist theory by focusing on the organizational aspects of political education in schools as well as students' lived experience with political learning. Rejecting a reductionist and teleological explanation of schooling processes such as the correspondence principle, my study demonstrates the site of logic or organizational properties at work, the significance of mediation at organizational and individual levels, and illuminates the contradictions and tensions within and among the formal and informal curriculums:

(1) The political socialization process is not completely in accordance with what was previously assumed. For example, the affective elements involved in teacher-students relationship, and the working and processes of the formal and informal curriculum.

(2) Against a monolithic conception of socialisation, I have also underlined the multiplicity of practices in school as an agent of political socialization. It implies the significance of organizational tensions, contradictions and differential learning experience. To correct reproductionist's neglect of the interaction of the social relationships in shaping one's consciousness and an oversimplified picture of students' schooling experience. We have shown that the formation
of consciousness is not solely determined by any single factor in the formal or informal curriculum and there are multiple causes and effects interwoven in the schooling and socialization process.

(3) Closely related to the nature of multiplicity are contradictions or conflicts among these mechanisms of socialization happening in school. My study shows the conflicts and contradictions within and between the practices of formal and informal curriculum. Contradictory schooling processes co-exist and result in complicated interactions and contradictory effects on the formation of students' consciousness and are the underlying causes of ineffective socialization. As shown in the previous section, organizational tensions and institutional constraints lead to conflicts and contradictions in goals, goal displacement, and the abortion of civic education programmes. Merelman's (1980a, 1980b) analysis merely points to one aspect of overall shaping of organization, that is, the issue of order and discipline, my analysis extends his explanation and points to another, equally important aspect of basic character of school—school as a place for academic and moral training. The imperative of instruction further heightens and intensifies the imperative of order and control, and crowds out the work of civic education as a result.

Third, as far as mediation at the individual level is concerned, I have also highlighted the processes of enacted curriculum and experienced curriculum, the roles of teachers as curriculum makers and the significance of student curriculum experience. The uses and interpretation of syllabus and textbooks are in the hands of teachers which run in opposition to the designed objectives. The processes of formation of consciousness are more complicated than previous presupposition, in particular concerning the students' experience with classroom learning and participation in school activities. Students' experience and interpretation is an important factor defying any simple formula of the causes and effects of reproduction.

Fourth and finally, the present study also yields support for the thesis of differential political socialization (Litt 1965; Abrahamson 1967; Meyer and Robinson 1975; Alexander and McDill
The selection and allocation mechanisms within and among schools foster students with differential political socialization experience, and, in turn, differential socialization effects. Different placement of students by school or curriculum, track or stream, and grade level results in difference in opportunities and experience of teaching and learning, patterns of interpersonal relations, classroom climate, degree and nature of participation and involvement, and the like. At school level, the differentiation thesis is valid for schools of different intake. Placement of students by banding segregates students of different motivation, efforts and abilities into different schools. The social composition of students brings differences in management and teaching problems and learning climate, and accordingly affects the teacher's expectation, teaching and assessment practices, and results in different learning effects. For similar reasons, streaming by ability and tracking (arts vs science tracks) within school also segregates students into different classes and results in different socialization outcomes. Generally, schools or classes of better students could learn more and better than their counterparts in poor schools or classes. On the other hand, less able students, with greater difficulties in learning with English and lower academic motivation, also tend to resort to defensive learning, or give up their studies, and end with poorer academic performance in social subjects. At different grade levels, senior students are the ones with better motivation and abilities, and they are also provided with more opportunities in participation and taking the role of leadership, and have more experience of decision-making than their junior counterparts or ordinary students. With less management and teaching problems, teachers would also allow a higher degree of freedom to them, favour a more open classroom climate, and enhance their learning effects and democratic experience. As a result, they would also show a higher level of political competency. Of course, these hypotheses stated above remain to be testified with more studies in future.
8.5 Double Seclusion from Politics and the Making of Apathetic and Incompetent Adolescent Citizens

Do Hong Kong secondary schools prepare students for citizenship? The present study, among many others (Ho 1989, Cheung and Leung 1994; The Educational Group of Christians For Hong Kong Society 1994; The Faculty of Education at the Chinese University of Hong Kong 1995; CDC 1995), provides a negative answer to this question. However, it does not mean that the role of school in political education is insignificant or negligible. Paradoxically, the school still plays an important role in shaping the adolescents' political outlook and creating a special adolescent political culture.

For a majority of students, particularly the ones in junior years, science streams, or in the schools with poor intakes, they experience 'double seclusion' or estrangement from micro and macro politics, in both the formal and informal curriculum. As for macro-politics, the students are studying in a 'politics-apartheid' learning environment where little politics is taught or discussed. The contents and orientation of political education in the formal curriculum fail to cultivate students with democratic orientations and even less about national and state identities. In the informal curriculum, the legacies of colonial education also keep politics away from the schools. Given this situation, it is not surprising to find that most students report that the mass media is the most important source of their knowledge of politics and public affairs, instead of school education (Yu 1988; HKCC 1995). Because most students lack a formal education in politics, legal and China knowledge, the mass media have become the major source of information to them. In other words, the potential of schooling in political education is not yet realized.

As for micro-politics, the paternalistic, authoritarian, bureaucratic, and undemocratic schooling environment also keeps most students away from school politics and decision-making. Even with the existence of student organizations, they are auxiliary and subordinate to school
authority's pressure and constraints. Power is not shared among the teachers and students, and students are deprived of a democratic community life. Except for a minority of student officers, most students are characterized by low involvement and participation in school students activities.

The result of crowding out of political education in schools, in both formal and informal curriculums, is distorted and limited political experience for the students, and, in turn, a further reinforcement of the passive, parochial and subject political culture, as shown in Figure 8.1. The paradox is that the less the students touch upon political topics, the less they know about them, and the more they feel uninterested, remote and resistant to political topics, and less interested in political education activities. Meanwhile, the teachers also avoid teaching political topics in view of students' resistance. So the vicious cycle of political learning carries on. Furthermore, instead of empowerment, the undemocratic school disables the students from participation. Without fostering our students with active citizenship, the school operates in the creation of a conservative, parochial-subject, and non-reflective political culture. As politics is out of reach of students, they keep passive, apathetic, aloof, superficial about politics, without changing their feeling of remoteness, irrelevance, and even rejection toward politics. They consider politics uninteresting, troublesome, too serious and remote to them, beyond their control, and they are powerless or it is useless to do anything. The students also hold a utilitarian mentality and put politics out of their central concern. Instead of caring with politics, students are concerned more with their study, enjoyment, or their immediate surroundings interesting to them.

Therefore, schools could teach only the students some political knowledge, but fail to teach them the cognitive skills connected with participation, and the underlying political principles of democracy. Schools fail to empower the students and cultivate a sense of democracy, instead they 'disable' the students and reinforce their sense of political detachment. Also, the schools seem to be more effective in instilling in the students a sense of trust and confidence in the government, but are
inadequate in the creation of critical and reflective citizens. In this sense, most schools' civic education functioned as a politically socializing force for promoting conformity, responsibility, and stability, rather than preparing the students for political change after 1997.

So what will be our future citizen? It is very likely that after leaving schools, without further impact of other political socialization, most students would maintain their subject and spectator political culture and become sideline citizens. Except for a minority, most students' schooling lives are detached from politics and this divorce from politics would foster political apathy, political retreatism and utilitarian individualism (Leung, SW 1995). At worst, it is towards a more alienated political culture (Lam 1992). Although the public expect the school to help students become more informed of public affairs and encourage them to take part in politics, our schools fail the public expectations to facilitate adolescence's political involvement. The failure of socialization of diffuse support (Dennis and Easton 1969) also damages the prospects of 'Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong' and national reunification with mainland China, as many (Lee 1988, Yeung and Leung 1993) have cried for the crisis in political participation among youngsters in Hong Kong and the identity crisis for the next generation 'China Hong Kongese'!

8.6 Whither Hong Kong Political Education?

Albeit with the introduction of political reform in Hong Kong community toward a more representative democracy, along with the process of decolonization and on the way of return to Mainland China during the period of transition, civic education in schools failed to provide our future citizens with the necessary political orientation and competence in democracy and national identity in preparation for the change in political system. As can be seen, Hong Kong secondary schools have not developed their full potential in democratic and nationalistic education; while they are much more effectively used as a way to consolidate the status quo. My study, together with
many others, shows that the practices and implementation of civic education in secondary schools, including formal classroom learning and informal curriculum, and their effects on students' political orientations are problematic. More importantly, the introduction of civic education in school did not achieve many objectives as stated in the Guidelines. Schools fail to instil the students with an understanding of the nature and workings of government and concern for its development, the fundamental principles and values of a democratic community, a commitment to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, nor arm the students with social and political skills, let alone understanding of China and political identity with the People's Republic of China, the future state of sovereignty. Instead, the schools merely reinforce political apathy.

Provided that the objectives were not met by the practices, what can be done? Given the limitations of schooling and the constraints on schooling discussed above, the issue is how to remove barriers to civic education and enhance schooling processes.

Civic education, like other social phenomena, is circumscribed by the wider social context, and social and political atmosphere. The parameters of 'decolonisation without independence, integration with limited autonomy' determine a special condition of Hong Kong's political future and thus the possibility of political education. Unlike the majority of other colonies, the termination of Hong Kong's colonial rule will not lead to independence but to an incorporation in another sovereign state – the People's Republic of China. Although political education has entered the school curriculum through civic education and some curricular changes. Many barriers to a genuine democratic education still remain, including the legacy of depoliticization which Hong Kong inherited, and the legacy of politics-phobia still pervasive among the Hong Kong Chinese (Bray and Lee 1993:558). The general social-political milieu also undermined the possibility of political education in Hong Kong.
Although the structural determinants might not be easy to remove or alter, they are still subject to alleviation upon reflective responses. As I have shown above, the poverty of political education in Hong Kong schools is attributed to both the colonial legacy and the constraints at organizational level. Given the limitations of formal and informal curriculums, the imminent problem faced by the policy-makers and educational practitioners today is how to remove these barriers to political education and enhance the effectiveness of schooling processes for the post-colonial educational system. Among a number of factors leading to the failure of school's political education programme, improvement has to be made concerning the predicament of coordination between planning and implementation; the problems of moralization and depoliticization of political education at school level; the need of infra-structural support for political education programmes; the limitations of a cross-curricular approach to civic education; as well as a transmission approach fostered by the formal and informal curriculums, to name a few.

The present study ends with a gloomy picture of political education in Hong Kong schools at the dawn of 1997 handover, and a new chapter remains to be written for post-97 Hong Kong government and practitioners of education.
NOTES

Chapter 1


[2] For the definitions of political socialisation and other related concepts, see Massialas (1969), Greenberg (1970:3), Torney-Purta (1985,1990), Braungrant and Braungrant (1994), Ichilov (1994), and Langeveld (1994). See also Greenstein (1970) for the ambiguity and various meanings of the term political socialisation. As can be seen, political socialisation refers to both several related but distinguishable phenomena worthy of specific inquiry.


[7] To Dewey, democracy is more than a form of government and political ideology, it is primarily a way of life as well as a way of education. To him, the school is a crucible of democracy where students experience self-government (Dewey 1922/1944; Mosher 1994). For the views advocating teaching democratic citizenship through political education or Social Studies, see Massialas (1977), Engle and Ochoa (1988), Franzosa et al. (1988), Harber (1990; 1993), Ichilov (ed) (1990), and Jones and Jones (1992).

[8] For the details of the research findings of political socialization studies, see Merelman (1972) and Massialas (1969).

[9] A paradox is that much previous research has demonstrated that educational attainment, usually measured in terms of years of schooling or grade level, is a major predictor of an individual's political attitudes and behaviour (Ichilov 1988). Prewitt et al. (1975) point out the problem with this is that in treating education as an homogeneous and incremental experience, research fails to specify the critically determining elements and patterns of educational experience, or the conditions under which these elements influence the development of socio-political orientations for a particular class of individuals. Also, it does not attend to the differential patterns of political socialisation received by different children. But schooling factors such as the basic properties of the education system, the size, selection itself, quality, curriculum, social composition and the like may serve to determine their relative effects on political learning.

[10] Although the existing literature indicates that there is correlation between the variables, it fails to substantially demonstrate a causal sequence between participation, experience or process and the outcomes attributes because of research limitations like self-selection, lack of longitudinal data, nature of extra activity, personal participation experiences, and social context variables. Brown (1988) notes that we should
focus more on the processes of influence than on differences in outcomes between participants and non-
participants, and to study extracurricular influences within the broader context of high school students' lives.
It should be noted that in examining the role of extracurricular activities, the degree of involvement and the
extent of participation are important mediator of the relationships, and the breath and depth of participation,
the organization, format and scale of extra-activities are crucial questions to be addressed. See Holland and
Andre's (1987) remarks on study on extra-curricular activities. See also Eyler (1982) for a different
interpretation of the relationship between political attitudes and participation in high school activities.

[11] Ideology is a complicated concept which denotes a number of meanings: 1. as false consciousness,
ilusion, deception, masking of social contradictions; 2. as conceptual framework or system of
representation; and 3. as social practice in form of material practices and rituals (Apple and Weis 1983).

[12] For a critique of the state-conspiracy model or the view of hegemonic-state, see Erben and Gleeson
(1977), and Homan (1980).

[13] The over-socialized conception of man is the charge put forward by Dennis Wrong (1961:192) that
functionalist theory tends to overstate the internalization of values of the individuals.

[14] For the discussion on the reproduction/resistance debates, see Apple (1982b), Hargreaves (1982),

[15] See Tse (1997a) for a detailed analysis of the socio-historical context of Hong Kong society and the
characteristics of political education in Hong Kong secondary schools.

Chapter 2

[1] Amongst the bulk of empirical studies, quantitative research continues to be the most common type of
research employed by political education researchers. In political education studies, the most common form
of research is the conduct of questionnaire-type survey studies, with correlational studies afterward (Fraenkel
and Wallen 1991:69). Generally speaking, survey is good at gathering a large amount of data about large
samples at minimal expense. It also enables the researchers to analyze the findings with advanced statistical
technique. Although survey is commonly utilized with great success, its abuse and misuses are also worth
attention. Many studies of political socialization are handicapped in making generalization unwarrantedly
from limited populations and cross-sectional surveys, poorly measured and theoretically ambiguous
variables, lack of theory, quasi-longitudinal mis-inference, and unreliable data. As for methodological
criticisms of traditional political socialisation studies, see Greenberg (1970), Schonfeld (1971), Merelman

psychology and a critique of the 'oversychological' orientation. The use of psychological models is not
without problems, especially concerning the validity of research findings in general cognitive psychology
and information-processing transferable to the domain of political learning. Besides that, cognitive theories
seem to overlook the influence of social and contextual factors. It is obvious that learning does not happen
in a vacuum. By contrast, education process operates within an environment and cultural contexts which
are heavily influenced by both personal, group and institutional factors.

[3] For several decades social research has been underlined by a dichotomy between quantitative and
qualitative research methods and the disputes resulted. Recently, there has been a sign of growing
reconciliation and integration (Bryman 1988, Brenman 1991, Creswell 1994). It is true that every research
method has its own strengths and weaknesses. Different research methods are corresponding to different
levels of enquiry and different aspects of the phenomenon under investigation. So they should be adopted in
the light of the relevance and appropriateness to research problem at hand. Thus, a combination of research
methods, whether data collection or analysis strategies, can achieve a better understanding the
phenomenon. A central task for the researcher is to choose the appropriate method of investigation in a way
which best suits the particular research questions concerned, as well as to adopt a strategy in which different methods play their appropriate roles and maximize the strengths of each method.

[4] See Yin (1994:44-48) for the distinction between replication logic (for case study) and sampling logic (for survey). The use of multiple case as replication design, i.e. employing same theoretical framework and research design and perform replication on each case one by one and serve the purposes of contrast and comparison. Each school serves as individual case study while they together as a whole could serve as a multiple-case design (comparative study). Multiple cases are sufficient replications to find out generality as well as variation, enable the researcher to draw cross-case conclusions.

[5] It should be noted that because of failure to distribute questionnaires to S6 classes in Royal Colleges, so there were missing cases at S6 level not subject to full cross-school comparison.

[6] In Royal College, the elite class was chosen for study, while the students in the classes under study in On-yan, Bishop Brown, Virtues, and St Anthony belonged to the middle-ability groups. At S6 level, usually all classes of students would take part in the survey.


Chapter 3

[1] For those who are not familiar with local educational system, please also refer to Bray (1994) and Hong Kong Annual Report 1995.

[2] In Hong Kong, not every secondary school has the same number of classes from S1 to S5. Some schools have a symmetrical structure of classes from S1 to S5 while other have an asymmetrical structure of classes, that is, usually with larger numbers of junior secondary classes but smaller numbers of senior classes. Many symmetrical schools were the well-established schools where students get better results in open examinations. On the other hand, the asymmetrical structure of classes is very common in many private schools and newly-opened schools where many students cannot successfully complete in the open examinations. In other words, the structure of school classes can be used as an indicator of the school's academic quality.

[3] The SMI scheme was introduced by the Education Department in 1991 to give schools more decision-making power in return for more formal procedures for planning, implementing and evaluating their activities. Schools joining the SMI can develop a new school management framework, school plan, staff appraisal, school policies and procedures, and make more flexible funding arrangements. For details of SMI, please refer to Education Department (1991).

Chapter 4


[2] The Principal of Bishop Brown wanted to offer EPA or Social Studies, but did not succeed. The major problem was because the timetable was already very crowded, adding a new subject would increase the teachers' and students' burden. Meanwhile, it was not possible to cancel other subjects such as History, Geography, Home Economics, and Design and Technology with the consideration of the willingness of teachers and the interests of students.

In Virtues, the reason for replacing the integrated subject Social Studies by EPA, History and Geography was academic consideration demanded by the teachers. Many teachers felt uneasy with teaching this integrated subject. Since many teachers received special training in either one subject in geography, history, EPA, so it was quite difficult for them to handle this general comprehensive subject. In teaching Social Studies, teachers would also lay particular stress on a special area which they were familiar at the
expense other less familiar topics. Also, senior form teachers often complained that students did not learn much in either area in history, geography, or economics and ill-prepared for their studies at S4.

[3] See also CDC (1993b) for a critique and recent reform dealing with the matriculation syllabus. The S6 curriculum is mainly for preparation of the matriculation examination. Driven by examination, the curriculum is specialist and difficult without inhabiting political education.

[4] Because most secondary schools practise tracking after the third form and these subjects are electives provided for certain group of students, only a minority of upper forms secondary school students have the opportunity to study the subjects closely related to civic education like Social Studies, GPA, or Sociology. A bulk of science students in the senior forms do not choose these subjects at all. For details, see Tse (1997a).

[5] Social Studies was first introduced to the junior secondary curriculum in 1975 as a common-core curriculum aiming to reorganize the curriculum at the junior secondary level (Nicholson 1988; P.M. Wong 1992). It was designed to integrate the traditional social subjects like Geography, World History and EPA and cater for less able students. Nevertheless, a majority of the schools were reluctant to give up the traditional social subjects and the result was that social studies was taken as a new subject and schools were given the choice of either adopting it or not. At present, the lower form Social Studies offers two models of syllabus. Model I is a syllabus for schools wishing to allocate 2-3 periods per week or cycle for social studies and this syllabus has included the major elements and basic information for the main theme 'the adolescence and his world'. Model II is a more comprehensive course of Social Studies for schools wishing to allocate 5-6 periods per week or cycle for the subject.


[7] In recent years, the Education Department has relaxed its control over the school curriculum and encouraged the school to develop its own school curriculum in meeting the special needs of the school students concerned.

The structure of the curriculum of On-yan independent subject At Secondary 1 (year 92-93), they are my school, school rules, involvement in school, adaptation to secondary school life, way of thinking, my personal growth, my emotions, civic-mindedness and rule of Law, is money so important?, my family and me, the history of the new town, District Board and elections, history of Hong Kong, Hong Kong population, economic development, education, housing problems, China geography. At Secondary 2 (year 93-94), the topics include Hong Kong central government, local government, housing problems, social welfare, Basic Law, democracy, rule of Law, rights and freedom, development. At Secondary 3 (year 94-95), the topics include Hong Kong's industries, production, industrial problems, international trade, problems faced by trade, Hong Kong as a financial centre, pollution and conservation, advertising and consumer education, and opportunities costs.


[9] 'Three-antis' and 'Five-antis' campaigns were political struggles against communist rivalries in the 1950s. 'the Three Red Flags' refers to 'Great Leap Forward' and for mobilization of people taking part in social and economic transformation, the Cultural Revolution refers to the social and political movement of Red Guards initiated by Mao between 1966 and 1976. 'Four Modernizations' was the programme of reform in agriculture, industry, science and technology and military.

[10] The little Four Dragons refer to Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan as four successful new industrial economies in East Asia.

[12] A Chinese revolutionary leading to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911 and became the temporary president of the Republic of China.

[13] Among the factors conducive to Hong Kong's economic growth, the textbooks pinpoint the role of the government’s laissez faire economic policy. For example, This is Hong Kong EPA 3 (pp.3,37,75) and Introducing EPA 3 (p.33).

[14] On the promotion of free trade, see This is Hong Kong EPA 3 pp.61,71-73) and (Introducing EPA 3 p.64). Then it is followed by a description of the Hong Kong Government’s efforts to promote trade and to reduce the effect of trade restrictions.

[15] We should note that albeit with the political reform from 1980s onward, so far Hong Kong is still an administrative-led political entity where most power is in the hands of the governor, civil servants and some co-opted political elites. Though partial direct elections was introduced to the Legislative Council, two municipal councils and District Boards, but their political functions are still limited. And so far there are no elected representatives into the highest policy-making apparatus: the Executive Council. Thus, against the criterion of western democracy, it is hard to claim Hong Kong as a democratic system.

[16] For the justification of the functions of government, see also Introducing EPA 2(pp.2-4).

[17] Favourable treatment of the work of Hong Kong government is found in topics like education, housing problems (Introducing EPA 2 pp.110-114); pollution and environmental conservation, (Introducing EPA 3 p.94; This is Hong Kong EPA 3 pp.94-95); the problem of juvenile delinquency (Introducing EPA 3 p.102); social welfare (Introducing EPA 2 pp.89-90;93); medical and health services (Introducing EPA 2 pp.125-127); drug abuse (Introducing EPA 3 p.127) and so forth.

Chapter 5


[2] Students were asked about how frequent their teachers' pedagogical practice for the year 1994-1995 in the following items, with a five-point scale consists of the choices never, rarely, from time to time, many times and always available: 1. instruction by teachers; 2. discussion between teachers and students 3. ETV programs or slide shows; 4. group discussion or presentation of project; and 5. activities of learning.

[3] Students were asked how frequent the happening in the school since the beginning of the academic year in 1994 with a five-point scale consists of the choices never, rarely, from time to time, many times and always was available. They are:
1. ‘the frequency of exposure to controversial issues’.
2. ‘discuss sensitive issues with a range of viewpoints’.
3. ‘state one’s own position when discussing these issues’.
4. ‘It is free to express in lessons’.


[5] For example, an extract from school working plan in On-yan shows that the relative neglect of junior form teaching due to imminent academic concerns with senior classes in preparation for public examination. See On-yan 1994-95 Chinese History Working Plan (pp.64).

[6] The Guidelines (pp.47-48) also point out that over-assessment has many detrimental effects and ‘over-assessment must be avoided under all circumstances’ (p.54), and suggested appropriate pedagogy (pp.56-65). See also CDC (1993) for the prescriptions on pedagogy and assessment.

[8] For student interests and abilities as problems to social subject teaching, see Royal College's Programme Plan for S3 EPA 1994-95 pp.18-19; and On-yan's subject plan of Economics 94-95 (pp.105).

[9] Students were asked whether they agree with a number of statements concerning their studies with the choices of strong agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree.

Chapter 6

[1] For the concept and discussion on informal, hidden or parallel curriculum, see Klaassen (1992). As can be seen, informal curriculum as a special area of research and its 'complementary' status to the formal curriculum.

[2] It should be noted that the Bowles and Gintis' correspondence principle is not without criticisms. For instance, Meielman (1980a) charge that it merely holds that the social relations of education replicate those of the hierarchical division of labour in capitalist economy but fail to provide an adequate account for its existence or merely states that the school relations replicate that of the workplace based upon a functional mode of explanation. However, it does not explain why it was that case, nor does it provide an in-depth inquiry of the social relations of school.

[3] In addition, the Guidelines emphasize the role of discussion in democratic practice (p.69-70).

[4] As far as school climate in Hong Kong secondary schools is concerned, a more open and democratic school climate and management style advocated by the Guidelines are almost absent in the present school environment in Hong Kong. The authoritarian nature of school organization and the autocratic style of school management of local schools are criticized in many occasions (the Visiting Panel 1982:50; Education Manpower Branch and Education Department 1991:14-15; ECR No.5 1992, Leung, SW 1995; and Tsang 1985). In many schools in Hong Kong, power is still highly concentrated in the hands of a few and typically orders are issued from above allow little room for other parties' participation. Most schools have no formal systematic and identifiable procedures for policy-making for their schools. Decisions are usually made by the Principal, or sometimes the supervisor, without involving teachers or other interested parties. There was a low degree of involvement of teachers, alumni and parents in the decision-making process in the school's policy and planning.

[5] There has been a growing concern over the issue of home-school liaison in Hong Kong from the 1980s onwards. A series of educational documents like Llewellyn Report (Llewellyn et al. 1982; ECR No.4 1990; ECR No.5 1992) all together pointed to the weakness of the present schools' openness in the aspect of parental participation and urged for providing more opportunities for the parents to involve in the management of schools. In fact, Hong Kong secondary schools are generally closed not only in terms of student's participation, but also of parent's participation, as Ho's statistics (1995) showed that less than 31.49% of local secondary schools having their parent's associations. For instance, a territory-wide scale survey of Hong Kong schools in 1993 (Committee on Home-School Cooperation, Education Department 1994) found that extremely few schools have parent representation on the school's management committee and almost all schools had not even formulated policy or guidelines on parents' matters, nor a clear policy on promoting home-school cooperation. Parents participated in very few activities organized by the school and the communication between teachers and parents were rather limited, let alone a formal channel or structure of home-school cooperation. Contacts were mostly initiated by schools and which were largely confined to students' academic problems. Also, home visits by teachers were extremely rare. Parents were not well-informed about the school and their children and there was no effective channels for them to forward their opinions. Schools were particularly resistant to parents' consultation and involvement in decision-making even cautious to set up Parents-Teachers Associations. Even for the schools with PTAs or PAs, many of their activities revolved around social events, parent education and fund-raising, while forums for discussing
school policies or practices were rare. In other words, the level of parental involvement in school affairs was still limited.

[6] Students were asked about how frequent it happened for the year 1994-1995 with a number of statements concerning classroom climate, with a five-point scale consists of the choices never, rarely, from time to time, many times and always available.

[7] Students were asked whether they agree with a number of statements concerning school climate with the choices of strong agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree.


[9] Students were asked about how frequent the happening of classroom order maintenance for the year 1994-1995 in the following items, with a five-point scale consists of the choices never, rarely, from time to time, many times and always available.

Chapter 7

[1] Junior Police Call is Royal Hong Kong Police sponsored organization which aims at helping the police in combating crimes and serving and showing care to the local community. Activities include visits to the police station and some social and recreational functions. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award is a world-wide programme which aims at encouraging youngsters to be active members of the society and to prepare them to be the leaders of the future. Awards are offered to the participant who has fulfilled the requirements of service, expeditions, skills and physical recreation. Community Youth Club is an organization by Hong Kong Education Department with the aims of arousing students' interest in community affairs and encouraging them to take part in community services. Originating from Britain, Scout and Guides are discipline training programme for youngsters, they organize outdoor activities, courses and training programmes and taking part in various school functions and social services. As a uniform team, St John Ambulance Cadet Division carries out first-aid duties in school, provides service to the community, and participates in activities and first-aid competitions. For Youth Red Cross Cadet Unit, participants receive training in first aid, nursing and knotting. It also provides medical services to Annual Athletics Meet and works for the Blood Donation Day. As can be seen, the organizations suggested by the Education Department are in nature pro-establishment, serving the community rather than transforming the society and directly related to active political participation.

[2] See the Guidelines on promotion of leadership training based on the prefect system (p.70).

[3] A study by Fung et al. (1994) shows that among a sample of 273 secondary schools in Hong Kong in 1994, 70.7% of them set up the house system while only 12.82% had their year-cohort associations. Also, among the schools with house system, 59.59% in which the students could elect their house office-bearers on their own.

[4] Fung et al. (1994) shows that 83.52% of them set up the system of class associations and 73.95% in which students elected their class-officers on their own.


[6] Based upon On-yan's students' report of their perception and change after visits in Mainland China and school magazines.
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Appendix 1: Interview schedule with school principals or administrators

[Istututional response and organizational change since 1985]

1. Could you tell me about the history of civic education in your school? What changes happen in your school in civic education? e.g. establishment of civic education coordinating committee, formal curriculum panel or coordinator for civic education?

[Objectives/goals]

2. What is your school’s policy in civic education? Are the goals articulated in the form of a clear institutional and instructional statement addressing issues of civic education? What are your school’s overall mission, goals and objectives regarding civic education, and how congruent are they with the Guidelines?

3. How well negotiated, promulgated and disseminated are those goals and objectives with the various members in the school? Are there explicit and well-promulgated procedures for planning and implementation of civic education? Are the goals subject to effective communication and discussion with teachers and students? How effective are the policies and procedures for keeping all staff up to date with the development of civic education and their role in its delivery?

[Planning, coordination, implementation]

4. Any year plan for civic education? What is it about?

5. What are the components of civic education? What is included and what is not? i.e. is law-related education a part of it? e.g. assembly, seminar, etc.

6. With regard to the formal curriculum, are there any special civic educational programme? e.g. design of curriculum, time allocation, focus, etc.

7. Are there any evaluation and monitoring procedures of civic education programme?

[Problems/difficulties/barriers]

8. How would you assess the effectiveness of school civic education programme? How much are the objectives achieved? If there are failures, why?

9. Does the school offer and create opportunities for pupils’ participation? e.g. student union. What about the student union, e.g. membership, activities, organization, election, student’s participation and decision-making?
Appendix 2: Interview schedule with teachers in social subjects

[Objectives]

1. In your opinion, what are the goals of teaching/studying Chinese History/ EPA/ Social Studies? What are your overall course aims? What are you trying to achieve?

[Pedagogy]

2. How do you plan the teaching? e.g. the objectives, etc. What do you consider in planning a lesson? What resources are used? e.g. choice of materials: textbooks, and other sources like print materials (newspaper, magazines, alternative texts, videotapes, films) and teaching aid like chalkboard, map or globe?

3. How do you organize and present the material? How and how extensively textbooks are actually used in history classrooms; the uses of textbooks and workbooks: how and why select content from workbook? Are the curricular materials appealing to the students? What are the arrangements for use of the materials?

4. How do you teach with the textbook? any omission or elaboration? What topics you find most (un)interesting/ (ir)relevant? What topics have been taught? How much was taught?

5. How do you teach the subject (Chinese History/ Social Studies/ Civics)? What methods do you adopt in teaching civic education? What are the most-commonly used teaching methods in your lessons? What are the classroom learning activities about? e.g. only instruction by teachers; discussion among teachers and students; learning activities such as analysis of current affairs, etc.

6. How do you make students engage actively in their own learning? What are the students' responses to the contents, teaching methods, and learning activities? Is progress being constrained by students' level? What are the students' response? Are they active in learning?

7. Do you bring out controversial issues for discussion? How often do you deal with current social problems? When you deal with the issues, will you present all sides of the question and allow all sides to be discussed? When you discuss these issues in class, would you allow the students to express your opinion?

[Assessment]

8. What is the assignment about? e.g. test/ examinations, formal assessment; homework/ assignment/ worksheets, classroom performance, project, etc.

9. What do you think about the workbooks/ assignments? Do you find them difficult/ interesting to the students?

10. What and how will you assess the students' achievements? Have you evaluated the results of implementation/ performance of the students?

11. Are you satisfied with the progress/ courses/ the performance of the students?
12. Have you read the Guidelines before? If not, why? If yes, what do you feel about it? How do you think about/understand the objectives of civic education? How useful do you find about the delineated objectives and curriculum goals?

13. What do you think about civic education should be? the ways, the important goals, and the central purposes?

14. How will you incorporate the Guidelines in teaching, if any? What are your overall course aims? What are you trying to achieve? Are they realizable? In what ways do you make your teaching, content and methods expressive of the objectives of civic education?

15. How much administrative support have you obtained during implementation of civic education? How adequate do you find the resource, curriculum materials provided? How much you have learned about teaching procedures or teaching skills in the staff development sessions? Have you attended any in-service training courses or seminar concerning civic education? Have you ever discussed the guidelines and civic education with your panel chairperson, other teachers or civic education coordinator?

16. What do you view as support or as a constraint for instruction? What are the factors constraining the course? personal, inside classroom, students, outside classroom? What the constraints on adaptation of learning activities: e.g the general and specific needs of the students; the employment and utilization of resources/personnel or material facilities; and the time required/ training and attitudes of the teaching staff.

17. Are any particular topics, lessons, materials proving unsuitable? Why? Is the structure and sequence of the course appropriate and feasible? Is the physical setting suitable for the course? What are difficulties in using specific teaching methods, learning activities or materials? and Why? What are the students' responses to the contents, teaching methods, and learning activities? Is progress being constrained by students' level?

18. People have different ideas about what being a good citizen means, what do you think describe a good citizen in Hong Kong?
Appendix 3: Interview schedule with students

[Personal background]
1. year level;
2. place of birth;
3. How long have you lived in Hong Kong?
4. How long have you studied in Hong Kong? When did you go to the present school?
5. previous schooling experiences, any adjustment problems?

[Formal curriculum: subjects taken, instructional practices, learning activities, classroom climate and assessment]
1. Which school subjects do you (dis)like most?
2. How do you feel about Chinese History/ Social Studies/ Civics/ EPA? How important are those subjects?
3. How does the teacher teach these subjects? What are the classroom learning activities about? e.g. ways of instruction, learning activities, etc. What types of instructional materials do you like? How does the teacher teach with the textbook? What textbook do you study with? Do you find the textbook understandable/ interesting? What topics you find most (un)interesting/ (ir)relevant?
4. Would the teachers bring out controversial issues for discussion? How often the teachers deal with current social problems? When the teachers deal with the issues, will he/she present all sides of the question and allow all sides to be discussed?
5. What is the assignment about? e.g. homework/ assignment/ worksheets; project, etc.
6. What do you think about the workbooks/ assignments? Do you find them difficult/ interesting?
7. Are you satisfied with the courses? Any criticisms? useful? interesting? important? amount of new knowledge?
8. How do you spend your time on this subject?
9. What have you learnt from these subjects? What do you want to learn from the civics?/ skills, knowledge?
10. What results/ grade have you got in this subject?

[Involvement or participation in school life/student organization and participation in extra-curricular activities]
1. What kinds of extra-curricular activities or clubs do you join now? (Membership of extracurricular activities in the current academic year)
2. What is its organization?
3. Did the club held any election?
4. What post do you hold?
5. Are you an active members?
6. Have you been ever a class officer? class-meetings held? class activities?
7. your involvement in community activities and service organized by the school

[School climate and hidden curriculum]
1. What do you think about the teacher-student relationship in this school?
2. What do you think about the discipline of this school? e.g. prefect system, mode of dress, written school rules, etc.
3. How do the teachers maintain classroom order?
4. Do you think you have a voice in the school decision-making structure.

[Student union]
1. Have you heard about student union? What is it about? What do you expect about student union? If there is no union now, should a student union be set up? (pupils' perception of councils, their role, value and efficiency)
2. What is its organization? How should a student union be organized?
3. Did you vote in the SU election? Are you an active member? Did you take part in any activities of Student Union?

[Questions specific to committee members of student union]
4. What is its organization? Did the SU hold any election?
5. What post do you hold?
6. How to express opinion to the school authority?
7. How to collect the students' opinion?
8. pupil representation and participation in the decision-making structures of the school; the level of pupil involvement in the formulation and development of policy

[Civic education activities]
1. What is meant by civic education to you?
2. Do you know any activities related to civic education?
3. Have you join them? Why and why not? How do you feel about them? Why?

[Mass media exposure]
1. How often do you watch TV?

2. What shows do you watch? Which channel do you watch?

3. Which of these is your favourite programme? Do you watch the news every day?

4. Do you read the newspaper every day? How often do you discuss current affairs and politics with your parents/ friends/ teachers? Do you talk about public affairs and politics with your friends outside of classes? If yes, how often?

[Knowledge of politics and public affairs/ attitudes toward government and politics/ general democratic orientation]

1. How much do you know about the following concepts or issues? Basic Law, democracy, rule of law, human rights, the way of election and composition of Legislative Council, and socialism, etc.

2. Are you interested in politics? Do you follow closely what goes on in Hong Kong society? Do you think a lot about Hong Kong politics?

3. What do you think politics is about? What do you think government do?

4. What is meant by democracy/ a democratic government? Do you support it? Why?

5. Do you think Hong Kong a democracy?

[Political efficacy, political interest and anticipatory political participation orientation/ attitudes toward civic involvement]

1. Will you register in any elections when you are old enough to vote? Why?

2. Will you vote in any elections when you are old enough to vote? Why?

[National identity]

1. What do you like best about Hong Kong? Are you proud of being a HongKonger? What make you most proud to be?

2. What identity would you consider yourself to be? Hongkongese, Chinese or other? What is your desirable or favourable nationality? What is the nationality that you would most like to be if you were not Hongkong Chinese? Why? What about mainland China/ Chinese? Are you going to emigrate? Why? Will you stay in Hong Kong after 1997? Why?

3. What would you say about the differences between Hong Kong and Mainland China?

4. Do you trust the PRC Government. Do you support the Chinese Communist Party? Do you support the unity of Mainland China with Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau. Do you love China? How do you know about China?

[Role of a Citizen]

1. People have different ideas about what being a good citizen means. I am interested in what you think about a good citizen HK. In your opinion, how important are the following rights and duties for Hong Kong citizens?
Appendix 4: Copy of questionnaire (part of the second survey)

RESEARCH OF HONG KONG SECONDARY SCHOOL
STUDENTS' CIVIC CONSCIOUSNESS (the second survey)

Dear students:

This is a questionnaire of academic research which aims at understanding your opinion and attitudes of society and public affairs. We appreciate very much if you could spend about 45 minutes to complete it.

The information you provide will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. Thank you very much for your kind assistance.

Researcher
Tse Kwan-choi

Instructions:
Please follow the instruction of each question and 'encircle' the appropriate number representing the answer you choose or write down the relevant information, if necessary. Thank you for your kind cooperation.

PART I. Do you take the following subjects at present?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chinese History</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. World History</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social Studies/Civics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. EPA /Economics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ethics /Religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART II. Pedagogy

A. For the subject Chinese History, how frequent the happening in the school since the beginning of the academic year in 1994-95?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>never</th>
<th>rarely</th>
<th>sometimes</th>
<th>often</th>
<th>always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Instruction by teachers.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Discussion between teachers and students.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ETV programs or slide shows.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Group discussion or presentation of project.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Activities of learning.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The frequency of exposure to controversial issues.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Teacher discusses sensitive issues with a range of viewpoints.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Teacher states his/her position when discussing these issues.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. It is free to express in lessons.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. For the subject EPA/Social Studies, how frequent the happening in the school since the beginning of the academic year in 1994-95?

1. Instruction by teachers.
2. Discussion between teachers and students.
3. ETV programs or slide shows.
4. Group discussion or presentation of project.
5. Activities of learning.
6. The frequency of exposure to controversial issues.
7. Teacher discusses sensitive issues with a range of viewpoints.
8. Teacher states his/her position when discussing these issues.
9. It is free to express in lessons.

never rarely sometimes often always
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5

PART III. Please indicate your opinion (ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree) about the following statements concerning their studies and school climate by encircling the appropriate number listed on the right with the choices of 1 "strongly disagree" 2 "disagree" 3 "undecided" 4 "agree" 5 "strongly agree" given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I work hard to learn.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I like F3 Chinese History</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I like F3 Social Studies/EPA/Civics</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I like to take part in extra-curricular activities.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I am uninterested in extra-curricular activities.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. My school stresses academic results.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I find difficult to learn in English.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. My school is strict in disciplinary measures.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The disciplinary measures are fair in this school.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The disciplinary measures are proper in this school.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. My school stresses on obedience and discipline.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. There are too many school rules.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. School rules are reasonable.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. It is unequal between teachers and students.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. My school is a democratic place.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I feel constrained in school.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. This school respects students' opinion.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Students can express freely.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. This school encourages students to express opinion.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. It is difficult to contact headmaster.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. I am able to influence school policy.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Students should respect teachers.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Students should follow school rules.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Students should obey unreasonable school rules.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. I would not express even I feel dissatisfied with the school.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART IV You are asked about how frequent it happened for the year 1994-1995 with a number of statements concerning classroom climate and classroom order maintenance, with a five-point scale consists of the choices 1 'never' 2 'rarely' 3 'sometimes' 4 'often' 5 'always':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Teachers are kind to students.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teacher and students trust each other and get along well.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Teachers and students are in disputes or conflicts.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Teachers maintain strict classroom order.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Teachers punish classroom rule-breaking behaviour.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Class activities decided by teachers.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Class activities decided by students.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Teachers ask for students' opinion.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Teachers accept students' opinion.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Raise opinion to the school authority.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Homework given.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Teachers introduce information about the PRC.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. My school practises patriotic rituals.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. I take part in class association activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. I take part in extracurricular activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I take part in house activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I take part in student union activities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART V
A. Are you an officer in the following student organizations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. officer of class association</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. officer of clubs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. head prefect</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. form-house representative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. representative of student union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. In the current academic year, how many extracurricular activities have you taken part in?
Number of extracurricular activities: _______________.
And please also write down the names of the clubs or societies of extracurricular activities:

C. Have you voted in the Student Union election? 1 'no' 2 'yes' 3 "not applicable"

D. Date of admission to this school: ________ (month) _______ (year).

PART VI Personal Details

1. Name: _______________________

2. Name of your class: ___________

3. Number in your class: ___________
4. Sex:
   1. male
   2. female

5. Date of birth: 19________ (year) (month) (day)

6. Place of birth:
   1. Hong Kong
   2. Mainland China
   3. other places, please specify: ______________

7. How many years you have been living in Hong Kong: __________ year(s)

8. Religious belief:
   1. none
   2. Catholicism
   3. Protestantism
   4. Buddhism
   5. others, please specify: ______________

9. Type of housing:
   1. squatters, huts, temporary accommodation
   2. public housing
   3. home ownership
   4. private housing (rented)
   5. private housing (self-owned)
   6. others, please specify: ______________

10. How much is your parents' monthly income?
   01. HK$ 5000 or below
   02. 5001 to 8000
   03. 8001 to 11000
   04. 11001 to 14000
   05. 14001 to 17000
   06. 17001 to 20000
   07. 20001 to 25000
   08. 25001 to 30000
   09. 30001 to 35000
   10. 35001 to 40000
   11. 40001 to 50000
   12. 50001 to 60000
   13. 60001 to 70000
   14. 70001 or above
   88 Don’t know

11. Your father's educational level:
   01. no formal schooling
   02. primary school
   03. secondary 1-3
   04. secondary 4-5
   05. secondary 6-7
   06. certificate of technical or commercial school
   07. diploma or certificate of tertiary institutes(polytechnic,teachers' college)
   08. university —degree course
   09. graduate school
   10. others, please specify: __________
   88. do not know

12. Your mother's educational level:
   01. no formal schooling
   02. primary school
   03. secondary 1-3
   04. secondary 4-5
   05. secondary 6-7
   06. certificate of technical or commercial school
   07. diploma or certificate of tertiary institutes(polytechnic,teachers' college)
   08. university —degree course
   09. graduate school
   10. others, please specify: __________
   88. do not know
13. Your father's occupation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>not working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>boss of large corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>self-employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>manager of large corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>manager of small company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>foreman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>clerk, retailing and other services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>craftsman, mechanical work or machine operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>unskilled worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>agricultural worker or miner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>others, please specify:________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>do not know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Have you got the right of abode or citizenship of other country?

1. Yes
2. No

15. Are you going to emigrate?

1. Yes
2. No
3. undecided

16. Will you stay in Hong Kong after 1997?

1. Yes
2. No
3. undecided

17. What is your expected educational attainment?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Attainment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>do not want to continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>secondary 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>secondary 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>secondary 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>certificate of technical/commercial school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>diploma or certificate of tertiary institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>university - degree course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>graduate school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>others:________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>do not know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. What is your expected occupational status?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>no plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>boss of large corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>self-employed</td>
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<td>manager of large corporation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>agricultural worker or miner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>others:____________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>do not know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The End. Thank you very much! -
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>THE BRITISH LIBRARY</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH THESIS SERVICE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>TITLE</strong></th>
<th>PREPARING STUDENTS FOR CITIZENSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>? : CIVIC EDUCATION IN HONG KONG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SECONDARY SCHOOLS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>AUTHOR</strong></th>
<th>Thomas Kwan-Choi TSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEGREE</strong></td>
<td>Ph.D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AWARDING BODY</strong></td>
<td>Warwick University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATE</strong></td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thesis Number</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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