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National education in a democratizing society:
An ethnographic study of education for citizenship in
a Hong Kong school

Submitted by

LAI, Pak-sang

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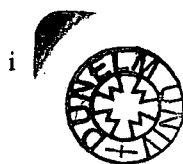
The School of Education, University of Durham

in partial fulfillment for

the Degree of Doctor in Education

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2005



21 SEP 2005

Abstract

After its sovereignty transfer to China in 1997, Hong Kong has seen added new national components to its currently practiced school civic education curriculum which promotes basically a local democracy. The study is thus to examine what national curriculum is implemented in schools in building the 'one country, two systems' China locally. This is a case study, consisting of ethnographic participant observations for a period of 14 months in a secondary school, of ethnographic interviews with 9 secondary 6 and 5 student informants, of eight class observations ranging from secondary 1 to 7, and of documentary research about the school's civic education programme, which is focused on the exploration and explanation of how students learn, from their viewpoint, the different facets and levels of a national citizenship being developed in the school. Different from what it has in the mainland China, it is found that the national identity students have learnt is territorialized in the sense that it is a composite identity of nationalism and democracy, with a two-tier loyalty towards Hong Kong and China, a democratic Hong Kong and de-politicized ethno-cultural China. Also, the making of the national identity is more an interactive process of consensus and of cultural decisions among various participants like the government, teachers, parents, students and past students, media and outside bodies rather than a national imprinting. It demonstrates characteristics very like Smith's plural model of nation building at its macro-process level and at its micro-process level Anderson's national theory of imagination with a modification. The study hints that the school's national programme turns out to be citizenship education for divergence rather than for convergence as it is initially planned. While the school enlarges the commonality of the ethno-cultural base for national identification, it at the same time widens the political differences of the two sides of the border through its deliberate neglect and avoidance of teaching of mainland politics and its focus on local politics. Despite the fact that the national civic education is the school-based programme and the study is context-specific, there are points and possible lines of development found in the case school, the author believes, more commonly shared than distinct in other local schools which imagine in more or less the same way that they face similar situations in conducting the civic education programme in the HKSAR in the early post-handover years.

Declaration

No part of the material offered in this thesis has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university.

Statement of copyright

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Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Professor Michael Byram, my supervisor who taught me all the way through in my work. His unfailing guidance, support and patience throughout these years have contributed greatly to the completion of this thesis.

Thanks should also go to Professor John C. K. Lee for giving his valuable comments on my completed work and professional advice on taking the viva. Same regards too to my friends and colleagues, Professor Lynne K. Parmenter, Dr. Carol M.H. Lam, Dr. S.W. Wu, Dr. Timothy W. W. Yuen and Mr. George S. K. Ngai, for their encouragement and assistance.

I would like here to extend my special thanks to those whom I met in the field, including the school principal, teachers, students, parents and the staff of the school office, as well as the workmen and caterers. They allowed me to learn from them their school life and experience, and I enjoyed sharing with them any idea that came across my mind during the study in situ.

Lastly, I have to thank my brother Aaron and his family and my sister Helen for their encouragement and support in my study.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. The context of the study

1.1.1. New focus in citizenship education after 1997

July the First, 1997 was the new demarcation line for Hong Kong school civic education. It was the day the British government officials withdrew from Hong Kong and the Chinese government came to take over. It signified the transfer of sovereignty between the two governments and ended the one hundred and fifty years of colonial rule. Before that, local schools did not provide any nationalistic and patriotic learning for students in civic education. Things were different after that day. Subsequent to the change of sovereignty, there were fundamental changes in every aspect of the Hong Kong society in which education was no exception. For example, Mr. Tung Chee Hwa, the first Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) saw the need of a nationalistic education for Hong Kong and told the leaders of the higher education at an international forum immediately after the handover on July 4, 1997 that the past local education, which contained little nationalistic and patriotic education had to be changed:

As Hong Kong becomes a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, we must step up civic education so that our youngsters will have a better understanding of China, the Chinese culture and history, the concept of "one country, two systems" and the Basic Law. Through better understanding, we hope to inculcate in them the passion, and the concern for China, the pride of being a Chinese, and a constant readiness to contribute towards the well-being of not just Hong Kong but the entire country (Tung, 1997, p. 4)

He explained to the audience the importance and significance of a new civic education:

【t】 he re-unification of Hong Kong with Mainland is the first step towards the ultimate re-unification of the whole of China, an aspiration shared by the Chinese leadership and the Chinese people everywhere. (Tung, 1997, p. 2)

Apparently, the first school civic education guidelines in 1985, which advocated mainly political democracy (Curriculum Development Council (CDC), 1985) of Hong Kong people failed to cope with the post-handover changes. Responding to these political changes, the former Hong Kong government issued a new set of local Civic Education Guidelines for Schools in late 1996 before the handover, which gave a fuller conception of citizenship constituted within a total framework of individual, communal, national and international (Curriculum Development Council (CDC), 1996). In it, it suggested a rationalistic nationalism that for being a modern citizen in a global world, one should be politically active and participative and show commitments to both his national and the international community and resort to reasoning and critical thinking on public affairs (CDC, 1996; Leung & Print, 1998). In a post-handover study, civic educators consented to add nationalistic components to the existing civic education but were inclined towards an eclectic approach for nationalistic education (Leung & Print, 2002). They would like to have a 'liberal, open, rational, and inclusive nationalistic education', which would be compatible with 'education for democracy, human rights education and global education'. (Leung & Print, 2002: 207). Though Tung echoed the scholars and educators' redefinition of Hong Kong citizen, the emphasis is however different. Representing the official view on the aims of civic education, Tung (1997), wished to see in the youngsters:

- a sense of responsibility towards the family, the community, *the country* and the world;
 - a *passion for China* and Hong Kong, and a global outlook;
- (p. 3) (italics added)

Obviously enough, the China component is given special attention and the patriotic subjective elements are all important. In a commentary of a popular elitist local paper, a columnist interpreted the government's position from a speech on the Hong Kong Education in the new era: changes and challenges by Mr. Leung Kam Chung, the chairperson of the Education Commission at that time that the first and foremost task of Hong Kong education was to foster people to loving Hong Kong and China (Tung Kiu, 1997). He quoted Leung's words by saying that without any knowledge about one's country, how can he love his country?

The year 2000 saw the grand educational system reform change in the HKSAR. Two reform papers, one on policy, the 2000 Educational Blueprints (Hong Kong Education Commission (HKEC), 2000) and another one on implementation, the 2001 Curriculum Development Reform (Curriculum Development Council, 2001) mentioned that civic education should aim primarily at building a new citizenship for Hong Kong for the next century. The emphasis of learning of new citizenship was heavily on the learning of national identity and civic duties and commitments towards the country. The HKSAR government wished schools to initiate their own patriotic programmes with the government's nationalistic inspirations despite the fact that no new school civic education guidelines were issued to dovetail the nationalistic aims into curriculum actions, unlike the former government, which detailed the action for a political democracy in school in the 1985 Civic Education Guidelines (CDC, 1985). Instead, Mr. Tung and his top leaderships had these inspirations clearly, explicitly, and repeatedly spelt out on various formal and official occasions in the early years of the sovereignty change. There was no doubt that nationalistic and patriotic education would be the main focus of future civic education in schools in Hong Kong after 1997. There is however one interesting point to note that democracy, which was once the main topic in 1985's Guidelines, is now of secondary importance in the new discourse of civic education for nationalistic patriotic learning. It is taken away from the arena of nationalistic and patriotic education and the word 'democracy' does even not appear on the subsequent teaching curriculum reform reports which instead put heavy emphasis on educating students for national and civic duties and responsibilities (e.g. see the 2001 Curriculum Development Reform, CDC, 2001).

1.1.2. Challenges to schools

This will be the new challenge for schools in taking up education for 'new' citizenship to which the HKSAR adds the new national dimension but gives little specific curriculum details on how the aims can be realized at the school level. It will remain wishful thinking if consensus cannot be reached at the execution level simply because schools easily get lost on the way through in things of which they have little previous experience. Instead of further clarifying the action, the government on the other hand is giving a free hand for schools to do anything they like to do as long as they are not doing things anti-government or unpatriotic.

or anti-nationalistic. The government merely wishes schools to put first patriotic programmes over other civic education activities and projects and submit their plans of action. But the political contexts of new HKSAR under the 'one country, two systems' arrangements are too dynamic, complex, complicated, and conflicting for schools to grasp properly and appropriately without timely central guidance and reminders.

Politics presents many pitfalls for schools doing civic education about China from schools' perspectives. In the transitional years, for instance, the Chinese government promised a democracy for people of Hong Kong in the Basic Law and people who promoted democracy locally were understandable and legal but people who advocated democracy movements across the border on the Mainland were regarded as involved in a subversive act by the Beijing central government (Leung, 1992). Schools were found trying to avoid politically sensitive issues like democracy and national identity in their teaching curriculum and textbooks (Lee, 1999a) and were hesitant to take initiatives to launch innovative civic education programme for students. Seemingly, these kinds of situations still prevail in the early post-97 years.

Having said this, it does not mean schools do not have their views on political education. On the contrary, there is a 'rich diversity' of views specifically on democracy and national identity and the views 'are not only diverse but in many cases polarized' (Lee, 1999a:338).

Basically, school and education sectors agree in principle with the HKSAR government's one China doctrine and political goals for national unity and re-unification achieved through democracy and self-administration, which are stipulated in the Basic Law (Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education, 1997) instead of the dictatorship of the Chinese Communist Party on the Mainland. They understand that citizenship has multiple facets, which fall in line with the notion of multi-dimensional citizenship (Cogan and Derricott, 1998; Lee, 2001) which permeated into the 1996 Guidelines (CDC, 1996). With these commonly shared broad political and nationalistic principles, this does not necessarily mean that the government and schools are all agreed on one derived value framework, emphasis and approach, policy and strategy, and programme of action-and-development in the school civic curriculum. In reality, there are views more divided than unified on the nature and status of civic

education programme, and about the curriculum substances, teaching strategies and programme evaluations (Lee, 1999a; Lee & Sweeting, 2001; Tse, 1999). Since the centralized patriotic programme of civic education practised on the Mainland would not be imitated and the HKSAR government follows closely the previous practice of laissez faire on implementing civic education, schools despite the stances and views different from those of the government are requested to initiate their own programmes to fit to their school specific situations on the one hand and on the other hand taking into account the latest political developments of local community and China at large. At least, schools are asked to re-examine the existing civic education programmes inherited from British colonialism, which restrains both ethno-cultural and national identification and political democracy for system change (Morris & Morris, 2001; Bray, 2000; Lee, 1999a; & Tse, 1999). The recent discourse has shown that schools despite divergent or polarized views, all 'reveal a sentiment of anti-colonialism' in their new civic programmes (Lee, 1996).

1.1.3. The way forward for a citizenship education

Now, the HKSAR has been set up for more than five years and whether or not the 'Hong Kong experiment' on 'one country, two systems' will be a smooth and successful one, teaching of civic education has a very important role to play in terms of political socialization in which students are taught a set of political values in schools which are those values being endorsed within the community and the nation at large. The HKSAR government tries not to dictate any civic education action to schools but instead expects schools to work together along the official line. In a society of pluralism, there need not be a prescribed set of monolithic values but interactive sets of values of divergence and heterogeneity. There need not be a set of a priori universalized values but negotiated values of shared consensus. Nationalism and democracy will be a product of negotiation and interaction, taking all stakeholders into account. It is against this background that the post-handover civic education in a Hong Kong school will be examined in this thesis.

1.2. The purpose of the study

1.2.1. The intent

To begin with, basically, the teaching mode of civic education in school

does not differ much between now and the past. First, the conventional practice that civic education is conducted through the whole school approach and permeated into every possible learning activity with a loosely structured curriculum is inherited. It is different from other general learning knowledge, which is learnt as an independent subject with a specified syllabus produced by the curriculum authorities. Second, like the past, each school prepares its own civic education programme.

Some difference can be seen. Since the civic education guidelines of 1985 aimed genuinely at a democratically representative government without making big changes to the existing value system of the society, schools knew clearly what and how to integrate the democratic elements into the schools' long-established curriculum structure and schedule. Simply, they added it on top of the existing civic programme or spared a few class time slots to accommodate it. But the 1996 guidelines are the new formula of education for citizenship, which has just the broad, loose framework but does not provide enough details for implementation. This theoretical citizenship with a nationalistic platform affects much of the existing fundamental social values deeply embedded in the past colonialism, which means a total change or re-drafting of the existing social curriculum. A new nationalistic dimension is mentioned but what, where and how to integrate it with the current school curriculum without conflicts is lacking. This flaw is also repeated in Tung and other official reports pertinent to civic education which remind schools of building a national identity among students but lack implementation details. The situation will become more difficult and complex for schools when the parties involved in the civic education experience a clash in their stances, interests and viewpoints. Whether or not schools have the commonly shared China perspective among each other or with the government matter less. What matters is whether every school has its education for citizenship with the cause of China ready for implementation.

In the study, it is therefore the intention to examine (1) what and (2) how students learn a new national citizenship in such a loosely defined, vibrant and divergent context. (3) How the making of the context is formed and presented to students from which they nurture a socially constituted national citizenship? Will the citizenship so constructed in school be very much like the one as suggested by the government in various

educational papers? (4) Which role do students have to play in constituting an identity of indigenous, national and global dimensions, particularly in the time Hong Kong undergoes fundamental and total values transformation in which increasing uncertainty, indecisiveness, heterogeneity, diversity and dividedness is the norm? Also, the (5) effectiveness of the school's civic education programme from the students' point of view will be studied. The study will examine the supportive or inhibitive factors of school in implementing the civic education programme. In what ways does the school (6) manage the balance of divergent forces in the making of the citizenship at different scope and levels, for example, how far is the discourse on democracy an integrative or disintegrative factor to the unification of China?

A case study will then be conducted to examine how the civic education is conducted in a school. Methodologically, it is a single-case that investigates into the natural settings through the eyes of the researcher is anticipated (Donmoyer, 2000; Stake, 2000; Hammersley & Gomm, 2000; Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995). A school case is focused and its civic education programme will be investigated in considerable depth.

Specifically, the following questions will be addressed:

- What do students learn about Hong Kong citizenship
- How many dimensions of the notion of citizenship are taught
- What do students learn about a national identity with China
- In which ways are the notion of China explained to students
- In which ways and to what extent does the civic education programme affect students' learning of citizenship (e.g. printed materials; teaching of teachers; school ethos)
- What exactly is the school's civic education programme with particular reference to teaching of national identity and democracy (e.g. formal curriculum plan and action)
- How is the civic education programme implemented in school (e.g. formal and informal curriculum activities)
- Is citizenship taught in the school's civic education programme comparable to the one the government wishes to constitute (e.g. raising national flag and singing national anthem; direct election to chief executive and legislature)

- Will nationalistic education and democracy education be taught together or separately

The research will aim primarily at three aspects of school education for citizenship in Hong Kong. First, what exactly is the school's civic education programme in the early post-1997 years? Does it adequately enough build in them a local identity with a national as well as global dimension? Second, what do the students learn in a school civic education programme, which now comprises new national components? Third, in what way does the theory of nationalism explain the students' learning of citizenship in the school context? How does it address the tension of democracy with national unification in the 'one country, two systems' context of HKSAR?

1.2.2. The plan

Since the study is an in-depth investigation of students' learning of citizenship in particular to nationalistic dimension where the complexity and interactivity of learning is examined contextually, a school's civic education programme is studied as a case. It will make use of vicarious experience which, according to Donmoyer (2000) is less likely to produce defensiveness and resistance to learning. It is deeply believed that in delving into the case, it gives a more thorough and profound analysis of the relationship of nationalistic learning of students, which is new to most local schools.

1.2.3. The significance of the study

1.2.3.1. Knowledge: Despite uniqueness and specificity, the school under study does have many things in common with other local schools in organizing its civic education programme in the shared 'one country, two systems' context. It will be argued in later chapters that the characteristics and experience found on how and how well students learn a national and democratic citizenship could provide insights for other schools to devise and run similar programs. The inspiration drawn from the school's selected civic ideas and approaches that are different from those suggested by the education authorities is particularly useful. Furthermore, the in-depth case study will, it is hoped, add new knowledge and perspective to look at school civic-education. It is noticed that previous research studies were largely focused on large-scale

quantitative surveys lacking contextual details on how exactly students learn in a civic education programme (e.g. Morris & Cogan, 2001). School research of this kind on the one hand can fill this knowledge gap and on the other hand is more appropriate and timely in such a milieu of Hong Kong experimenting 'one country, two systems', which is full of complexities, uncertainties and contradictories. The significance of the study thus not only lies in the pattern of behaviours of the individual school but also how it serves as an exemplar to other schools having similar situations and bearing similar characteristics. More important, it demonstrates how a school civic education programme helps students of different social backgrounds and cultures integrate peacefully within a boldly imagined and constructed national community.

Since China is determined to make the Hong Kong experiment a successful one, a study of this sort will be an original one and help to explore and unravel the complex nature of civic education under the policy of 'one country, two systems'.

1.2.3.2. Theory: In many studies of theories of nationalism, the macro approach is often adopted with a nation-state as the unit of study and education and school are part of the state system. In this study, the school is the focus of discourse in which how a pattern of the making of an imagined national community is evolved through its civic education programme will be discussed. It is hoped that the study on HKSAR's school civic education in its early years of political reintegration will help to give another dimension or scope to current scholarly works.

1.2.3.3. Methodology: The qualitative methodology in terms of case study, participant observation and ethnographic interviews, etc. down at the school level will add an empirical approach to the study of the theories of nationalism many of which are basically deductively derived from broad and sometimes fictitious mental concepts. Descriptive and realist definitions will be used instead of hypothetical and theoretical ones.

1.2.3.4. Policy: The case and qualitative approach will help in policy study at its implementation level. Change or refinements of macro or national policy will be tailored for local needs and situations.

Furthermore, contextual study of the local will provide a concrete and

material base for policy formulation. Since the present study is focused on how this Hong Kong experiment will set an example for a unifying and democratic China from the students' perspective; and in what ways and to which extent the school contributes to the making of a local citizenship with desired national and global characteristics under the 'one country, two systems' practice, this study can serve as a live example.

1.2.4. The limitations of the study

Since the study is the study of real case and the choice of the case school is the result of convenient sampling, there are some inherent structural constraints of the school that deserve attention. The school is a dioceses school and is directly supervised by the local Catholic Church. This status and its relationship with the Church have made civic education at the school subtle and sensitive. First of all, at the macro level, the political relationship between China and the Vatican is tense and sensitive. The two countries have not yet established any formal and official diplomatic relationship for reasons that the latter recognizes Taiwan instead of China and does not agree on the one China doctrine in dealing with China. However, the Church influence inherited from British colonialism is strong in Hong Kong schools. According to the Basic Law and the 'one country, two systems' policy, these Church affiliated schools will continue to operate intact with their initial visions and missions for 50 years from 1997 onwards.

Secondly, the tension between the SAR government and the local Church is tightened after the people's rally on July First, 2003 and the open critique of the outspoken Hong Kong Bishop against the HKSAR government on the hasty legislation of the local national security act. The Bishop wished a democracy be locally secured first before enacting the legislation, which, to many people of Hong Kong, limits individual freedoms on the one hand and on the other hand extends government powers without sufficient corresponding power check.

With these subtleties, complexities and uncertainties, schools under the directorship of the Catholic Church at Hong Kong may feel embarrassed about implementing civic education for the HKSAR government and some schools would become more cautious and prudent-towards outsiders inquiring about political education of any sort. This institutional

constraint is also felt in the sample school. But, since the task of selecting the sample is the development of theory but not testing assumptions about common features and differences between specific schools, the concern in the study as pointed out by Flick (2002) and Glaser & Strauss (1967) is on the concrete content and relevance of the case instead of its representative-ness. Real and rich findings of the case on students' learning of citizenship, which help produce the maximal 'variational range of possible comparison' (Flick, 2002: 63), are of more importance. As a researcher and Catholic, I deeply believe in this dual role through which I can secure the trust from the school but it demands high proficiency of interpersonal skills of shifting between the status of outsider and insider in building and maintaining good rapport with the school authority and informants. I would always be fully aware of my behavior, being frequently going-in and coming-out of the role as a researcher and as member of the Catholic community in the field study.

A big political event happened in the midst of the field study. Half a million middle class people took to the street to protest against Tung's leadership and his administration on First July 2003. Many demanded direct election to the local leadership as soon as possible. The mass rally is said to have changed the political landscape of Hong Kong from a governance of strong leadership to a more responsive government. This dramatic political event inevitably has engendered profound effects on student youths. In his study on dissensus politics of Hong Kong students, Leung S. W. (1997) has found that great political events will have an immense impact on students' political learning in school. For instance, immediately after the people's rally, a political group of the Secondary School Students Union was set up among youth students, which aims to organize the youth force to take part in Hong Kong politics (The Hong Kong Economic Times, 03.08.2003, p. A35). The July First event still has repercussions. Overreaction of student informants over political developments is very likely and extreme or biased response to my interview questions about political citizenship is understandable. In order to take into account the effects of this sporadic event, any change of the present civic education programme would be noted by referring to those in the previous years.

Besides these institutional change forces, there are other limitations

found in the student informants. The study is focused mainly on senior and elite students. They are students of the first year of the two-year preparatory course, nicknamed as the 'honey-moon' year. They are of the ages of seventeen and eighteen, the latter of which is the legal age of adulthood politically speaking; for example they are entitled to vote in public elections. What it is meant is that they will have a good time because they secured a secondary-six place after a severely competitive public examination and another fierce university entrance examination is yet to come too soon. These secondary six students usually have a close and good relationship with the school. Initially, it was a worry that they tend to support or follow the school policy closely. But the first contacts showed that they are mature and competent enough to give independent judgments and freely express their own viewpoints. Obviously, they will have provided more fresh insights and useful information in the study at their later stages of the second year of preparatory course study.

1.2.5. The outline of the study

Broadly speaking, the study falls into two parts, namely the discussion related to the topic and the original empirical study with the results. Part one of the study includes three chapters with different specific focuses. This first Chapter introduces the topic to be investigated, discusses the contextual background pertinent to the research questions, and explains the purpose, significance, approach as well as limitation of the study. Chapter two focuses on the discussion and analysis of existing literature about the conception of and approach to education for citizenship. Theories of nationalism are explored to refine and better understand the findings of the study as the work of nation building or/and state formation. The situations of Hong Kong are then examined with various concepts brought up in the early discussions. Specifically, this outlines the difficulties with democracy in the process of national identification with China. Chapter three discusses the methodology. It describes and explains the ethnographic case study in a secondary school, together with the rationale, techniques and methodological issues that emerged in the field study such as gaining entry, rapports, settings, informants, language use, reflexivity and research ethics.

Part two comprises chapters that show the data collected with various qualitative techniques in the fieldwork, followed by an analysis and

interpretation and discussion of emerged themes on students' learning of citizenship at school. Chapter four describes and interprets the school context for students' learning of a citizenship. Chapter five examines the students' learning of a national identity in relation to local democracy development. Chapter six investigates how the school affects students' learning of citizenship and explores both the supportive and inhibitive factors that occur in the existing school settings from students' point of view. Chapter seven reexamines the result findings by applying some theories of nationalism and particular attention is paid to how the tension between nationalism and democracy is addressed in the conflicting center-peripheral context. Chapter eight draws some conclusions from the findings and discussions and suggests how the implications from the study will help contribute to framing the future education for citizenship for Hong Kong.

Chapter Two: Literature Analysis

2.1. Introduction

In Chapter one, it was shown that citizenship education as political socialization in Hong Kong changed with changes of time and politics. Citizenship education after 1997 had seemingly emerged in a local framework of national education in which national identity and democracy seemed to be the core civic components despite the discursiveness, complexity, uncertainty, multidimensionality and fluidity of the change with different and even contradictory underlying political, philosophical and ideological beliefs and orientations. This showed a marked difference from the colonial time civic education, which ‘alienated many students from their Chinese nationality and local politics, and fostered their identification as ‘subjects’ rather than ‘citizens’ ’ (Tse, 1999). It is worth to note here that the post-colonial development of Hong Kong is not for national independence but reintegration with the Mainland China. Local citizenship education reforms, for example, for teaching liberal democracy after the withdrawal of the British colonial presence need not necessarily be ‘national’ like what many other Asian counterparts do by reviving the native features as national after gaining independence. Hong Kong’s civic education will remain indigenous unless it accommodates ‘national’ elements from China. Concerning national reintegration, it is the ‘territorial’ context and the China factor and the ‘one country, two systems’ principle that count. In this chapter, I will first examine the current studies of citizenship education and then examine the cases in other countries, specifically those with the anti-colonial history in Asia and then go back to Hong Kong with insightful ideas derived from the analysis and comparison, and finally develop a theoretical framework to look into the national learning of a democratized civic education in school locally.

The following questions will then be dealt with:

1. What is the conception of citizenship education related to the present study?
2. What are the current studies of citizenship education?
3. What are the current studies of citizenship education in Hong Kong?

4. What will be the implications and the theoretical framework of the present study?

2.2. Conceptions of citizenship education

2.2.1. Political socialization and school education

2.2.1.1. School as agent: Socialization takes place in school, family, peer group and media. School, which helps reshape students' values and culture and takes new roles in an objectified society, is a secondary socializing agent (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). It is a potent agent because it is highly institutionalized and the area of influence covers the whole country under the national policy of modern mass education, which is regarded as some sort of national control (Durkheim, 1956; Morrow & Torres, 1998; Smith, 1995). Byram (1992) suggests a tertiary socialization from which students learn to see things with the 'other speaker perspective', which is neither native nor foreign culture. In the case of Hong Kong, tertiary socialization is implicitly developed though not explicitly stated in school because through foreign language an international perspective permeates local socialization, giving students the view of an outsider that is employed to perceive their culture and other culture. This intercultural communicative impact is obvious because Hong Kong like other major Asian cities adopts English as its second home language and embraces the culture of internationalization and pluralism in its city growth for a world city.

Political socialization in school, generally speaking, is a process of transmission of political orientations, beliefs, values, and norms of the society into the young citizens (Saha, 2000a). It is seen as a kind of 'cultural programming' taking students as passive learners (Giddens, 1989) or a taming or clay molding process, which aims at training students to conform to society's expectation (Feinman & Lewis, 1991). In a democratic society, Saha applies Ichilov's empowering concept (1994) and argues that citizenship education is about 'empowering' people and as such is a 'two-edged sword' to the government's rule. Saha finds the cultural imposition or transmission theory in political socialization inadequate to explain the nature of citizens' participation in public affairs:

Education for citizenship, or citizenship education, does

not guarantee the production of adults who will always agree unquestionably with government decisions. On the contrary, citizenship education produces informed adults who, knowing their rights and duties, may choose to disagree with political authorities and will know how to voice their dissent both legally and effectively (Saha, 2000a: 157)

In the analysis of nationalistic movements, both Anderson (1991) and Smith (1991) identify the dual agent role of school, which serves the state bureaucrats in official mobilization and intelligentsia-led popular movements. In the case of Hong Kong after 1997, the official ideology is fostering the nationalism and patriotism in people of Hong Kong, which means supporting the one nation and two systems national policy being implemented in Hong Kong. Distinctive from communist China, school in Hong Kong takes a more liberal and constructivist approach, which involves what Saha (2000b) and Giddens (1989) describe as an interactive schooling process in which student recipients are active learners.

2.2.1.2. School as agency: According to Bourdieu & Passeron (1977), political socialization takes place in one's surroundings, through the 'habitués', the family, the peers, the school and the media, to name a few significant ones throughout one's life. School as one 'habitué' location of socialization is more institutionalized and stratified with an explicit training purpose described by Durkheim's ideal of collective solidarity shared by individuals as binding members (Wesselingh, 2000; Tse, 2000). In a society of pluralism, school is seen a local site where different social forces and ideologies struggle for their domination and hegemony. This appears in capitalistic democratic society where civil society rises to become a dominant feature in politics over various public sectors (Gramsci, 1971). In schooling, a student is socialized intertwining with these primary and secondary 'habitués' in his/her daily routine which is by and large a dynamic and constructivist process, depending on the interaction and interrelationship with members of school. Study of political socialization will therefore not merely focus on the formal curriculum but also on the hidden curriculum analysis and its ideological critique (Apple, 1993; Habermas, 1972 & 1976; Morrison, 1997).

2.2.2. Political socialization and political development

The national role of education for political development, whether in the name of civic education, or citizenship education, or political education or whatever, is increasingly obvious and important in a modern national society (Fagerlind and Saha; 1989; Kennedy, 1997; Green, 1997). Applying western political concepts, Fagerlind and Saha (1989) argue that modern citizenship education significantly contributes to the two major processes of political development, namely state formation with the focus on political democracy and nation building striving for national and political integration. In theory and as an ideal, national education in the western world of modern nation-states aims at a democratic national society in which democracy is considered the essential cultural component of a culturally homogeneous nation within a territorial political state. Smith (1995) sees the active and interventionist role of the modern state as part of the nation building process, which focuses mainly on national consciousness. It is not 'state-making' although Smith admits some overlaps in practice (p.89). The dual process of political development through education is not necessarily complementary but in many times incompatible with each other especially in newly independent colonized states where Fagerlind and Saha (1989) have found ample evidences that public education fails to make democratic values of tolerance and equality compatible with those values of national patriotism and trust in government (p.126) and the impact of education can be politically disintegrative rather than integrative (p.129).

2.2.3. Political socialization and national society

National education and the nationalistic role of democracy differ in different contexts (Torney-Putra et. al.1999; Kerr, 2000) and in different stages of development. The study of developed and less developed societies in Fagerlind and Saha's work (1989) is useful, the difference of which is characterized by the transferal of school models of the former to the latter. Developed societies refer largely to western affluent democratic societies like U.S. and U.K. and Australia in Asia. Less developed societies are those of non-white people and of economic backwardness and aim at modernization applying the western models. Green (1997) defines the less developed society as the developmental state society, which features a momentum-of-economic reforms and other associated changes of modernization. Examples are national societies of

Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, etc. In citizenship education, there are signs of rectifying the withering of education as a public, collective and social process and reasserting 'the primacy of education in the processes of social integration and citizen-building' and 'the leading role of the state' in the light of the post-industrial and post-modernist turn (Green, 1997:10).

Viewing from a western perspective, Huntington has shared similar views that these oriental nation states tend to adopt 'soft' authoritarianism and limited forms of democracy and reject western individualism in educational modernization (Huntington, 1996:18; Lee, 2004a). The notion of Green's developmental state society is suitable to describe the present state of post-1997 Hong Kong which has a democratically elected executive-led government. In education, it reverses the traditional non-intervention approach in the educational reform and re-concentrates the government authority in the de-centralized school-based reform via the central control of financial resources and subsidization. It makes initiatives to give Hong Kong a nationalistic and patriotic citizenship education.

2.3. Current studies of citizenship education

2.3.1. Multi-cultural context and the studies

The nation-state in terms of 'one nation, one state' is more an ideal than reality. In today's world of nation-states, a nation state is usually made up of more than one nationality group and the present emphasis of citizenship education is on how different nationality groups come together to form a national society with fair and equal political rights and participation. Citizenship education as political socialization premises a core national doctrine, which enables to 'embody contradictory political values and criteria for membership' (Benner, 2001:155).

2.3.2. Approaches of studies

2.3.2.1. A Cultural approach

There are many education theories suggesting how to build a nationality among citizen nationals. A cultural approach is based on cultural theories of nationalism like Gellner (1983, 1987) who prioritizes a high culture over the low cultures, or Brubaker of 'nationalizing state' (1995, 1996)

who see a national homogenization of hegemonic culture over oppressed cultures, or Confucius of Ancient China who aims at a societal harmony among different cultures (in Arcodia, 2000), or last but not least, the practice of peaceful co-existence of the nationality policy of the Chinese government. Contrary to the 'majority rule' principle, there are also scholars like the neo-Marxists who focus on 'minority rights' and look to cultural resistance of minority groups (Gramsci, 1971; Giroux, 1983). In addition, Birch (1989) warns of separation or secession of national minority groups within national states while Huntington (1996) reminds people of the clash of civilizations and mutual exclusion among national states.

Initially, a cultural approach to national political education points to 'pre-political attributes that distinguish one community from others, and see these as shaping politics and the state more than the other way round' (Benner, 2001:158) and Smith (1991) has it more clearly expressed as 'a political ideology with a cultural doctrine at its center' (p. 74). Having said this, it does not mean that politics has a little and limited role to play in political socialization for political development.

The identity shaping activities of nationalism rarely take place on politically quiet ground; and the more violent the politics, the more closed, illiberal and ethnocentric the forms of culture usually become (Benner, 2001: 161)

Cabral (1979) contends the cultural authenticity thesis fails to grasp the complexity of nationalism. Jalata (2001) criticizes it as being a methodological cultural reductionism, which fails to capture the dynamic interplay between material and subjective forces and their impacts on individuals and collective identities. Politics matters and culture and politics are closely related.

2.3.2.2. A political approach

A political approach to nationalism and political modernization is based on education for democratic citizenship, which focuses mainly on universalistic basic human rights and individualist civic freedoms in a national society (Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), 2001). It underpins the liberal notion of the democratic nation highlighting the

popular sovereignty rights. In relation to nationalism, Mill believes that democracy flourishes 'where the boundaries of government coincide in the main with those of nationality' (1993: 394). Referring to empirical case studies, Michener (1993) sees the complicated relationship between nationalism and liberalism - 'sometimes nationalism assists the growth of liberal democracy and sometimes it is a most potent foe' (p. xi). Putting it into the context of national development, democratic state-making, if misplaced, will sometimes end up in illiberal and exclusive results of 'ethnification' or de-nationalization or ethnic cleansing in its extreme form, especially in politically unstable multi-cultural and poly-ethnic national societies (Oommen, 1997: 13-19). Democracy can work with authoritarian national leadership and democracy sometimes is used as the means to reinforce the authoritarian control over the people in the name of national cohesion and self-determination. The notable example is Suharto's guided democracy in post-war Indonesia.

2.3.2.3. A national approach

A national identity is both cultural and political (Smith, 1991) especially for new and small nation states, which develop politically while they are busy building their national identity. In empirical case studies or international studies, both the political and cultural approaches are applied to examine citizenship education in many of the national societies (Benner, 2001; Michener, 1993; Oommen, 1997; Davidson, 1997; Jalata, 2001; Lee, et al., 2004). Education for citizenship is seen as a product of both political and cultural efforts in which a balanced and compatible relationship of nation building and state-making is pursued. In another words, the tense relationship between democracy and nationalism is addressed in order to secure a nation's healthy growth of political development.

Anderson (1991) who focuses on the making of a national culture which is future-looking instead of rediscovery of old traditions gives politics a role in the culture discourse. His theory will be applied in the present study, the details of which will be discussed in the later theoretical section.

2.3.3. A comparison of studies

National education for political development in developed and

developmental state societies is different. Many Asian national societies unlike western developed national states like the U.S. and Australia put heavy emphasis on nation building in their nationalist revolutionary history of anti-colonialism and anti-foreignism and do not regard democratic education of western origins as necessarily coherent with the national consolidation locally. On the other hand, in the U.S., U.K. and Australia for example, the two political processes of state- and nation-building do not only complement and reinforce but also converge and integrate with each other to achieve the national destiny for democracy. The civic conception of the nation of Smith (1996) and Tamir's (1993) democratic conception of nation are applicable. For example, in the U.S., democracy, which advocates the universality principle of individualist equality as a human right, enables the national development of multiculturalism, the distinct national feature and character of the U.S. At the school and curriculum level, democracy is learnt as a way of life, which makes people more realize democracy as the cultural core of their national community not only in the history of America but also in some future America which is made more democratic through teaching democracy by being democratic (Becker & Couto, 1996).

In Australia, Davidson (1997) argues the case of Australia in Asia that the future Australian nation aims at democratic membership, which looks more to the universalist citizenship criteria, de-emphasizing the nationality prerequisite. He suggests that increased or improved democracy helps form a new national society, which brings unity from diversity and accommodates different cultural communities instead of reshaping the society according to a specific national ideal. To this end, national citizenship education in contemporary Australia is an education in active citizenship in which students are empowered to participate democratically in the national community they live in, which is becoming more multicultural and migrant. It is no longer a conformist education and young adults are taught to be politically critical about the government and active and participatory in public and political affairs. It can be a 'two-edge sword' as described by Saha (2000b) that 'the present-day students may just as likely oppose as support the government of tomorrow' (p.16).

To the developmental states of Asia, democratic ideas are western and

foreign and the context is native, national and cultural. They are not the two sides of the same coin of the modern nation-state as the western liberal democratic counterparts conceived as previously explained.

Western democratic institutions are not modeled to change the native core value structure. In fact, selected western ideas are integrated into the Asian context (Kennedy, 2004; Grossman, 2004; Lee, 2004b) which reflects more truly situations of reform or modernization. It is the culture and native values that matter rather than the western concepts when the latter are transferred (Fagerlind and Saha, 1989) or modeled (Anderson, 1991) to infuse into local citizenship education. This approach relinquishes the Euro-centric tradition and is based on the cultural approach, which is primarily native and contextual. Grossman has the following vivid and impressive description. It is:

... **【t】**o focus on conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education in the Asian Pacific region that take into account local knowledge and indigenous context, traditions, knowledge, and values. Its purpose is not to discount Western liberal views of democracy and citizenship but to emphasize in a deliberate way that local knowledge and values inevitably influence the way citizens think about and act out their citizenship.

(Grossman, 2004: 2)

These countries emphasize more Smith' s ethnic conception of nation and Tamir' s cultural version of nation. The political values they advocate are submissiveness towards the government, civic responsibilities and personal commitments to the state and loyalty to the nation plus the official interpretation of western liberal and democratic ideas.

While subsuming some of the political beliefs and ideas of the developed national societies, the developmental states in Asia have however demonstrated distinct features of their citizenship education: the emphasis on nationalism; the authoritarian role of the state; values tension; and the conflicting roles of school in political socialization and modernization.

2.3.4. Citizenship education and the Asian context

2.3.4.1. The nationalism emphasis: For a nation to arise it encompasses

a population who occupy 'a historic territory' and possess 'shared myths and memories, a public culture, a single economy and equal rights and duties for all members' (Smith, 1996:10). Asian developmental states, which emerge from nationalist revolutions, demonstrate basically an exclusive view of nationalism that 'national feeling comes from excluding others, from shutting others out' (Michener, 1993: p.ix). It falls in line with the cultural nation of Tamir (1993) of the right to national self-determination and the ethnic nation of Smith (1991) of a myth of common ancestry in their national ideologies. The national emphasis in citizenship education not only reflects the identity, argues Cabral (1973), but also the dignity of those colonized people who were oppressed by the foreign colonizers. For instance, China proclaims its sacredness of territorial integrity and national sovereignty externally to outside countries. Internally, the supremacy of national culture over other local and ethnic cultures is maintained and sustained. States comprising several large nationality groups e. g. Singapore place high the nationalist liberation legacy against colonialism and foreignism while those with a predominant national majority e. g. China, focus on primordial roots of the nation. For either category, the national bond and solidarity are put first over any political values including justice, a legacy of the tradition of Aristotle (cited in Mckcon, 1966). The civic notion of nation is of subsidiary importance, if it has any role to play.

In citizenship education, national identity based on particular and exclusive cultural legacies is the center of study among the Asian national societies. A cultural approach to national citizenship is predominant which stresses the greatness of the nation and personal commitment and responsibility to the nation-state. This explains partly why citizenship education in most of these oriental nation states is largely of studies of traditional culture, and values studies of moral and civic education, values education and religious studies. The modern nation-state concept permeates as part of the culture of the people who form the national community, and recent development has seen a cautious and gradual reform of introducing civic and liberal rights of western democracy in the citizenship education as an enlightenment measure of opening ways for an inclusive version of nationalism, as described by Michener (1993), a convergence movement of 'liberalism and with-the-Enlightenment ideals of cosmopolitanism and rationalism' (p. x). It is

however more of an instrumental nature as if democracy is felt a threat to national cohesiveness and unity. Nodia (1994) has a vivid expression of the subtlety of democracy in relation to national sovereignty and survival:

...The political cohesion for democracy cannot be achieved without the people determining themselves to be a nation (p. 7-8).

This instrumental thesis of democracy in nation building is prevalent regardless of the rise of popular movements for greater democratic reforms and more openness of the nation. An exception is Taiwan in which democratization engenders the fight for a new nation of Taiwan from the obsolete Republic of China in Taiwan.

2.3.4.2. State authoritarianism: State authoritarianism is based on its strong political leadership during national liberation struggles against enemies both from outside intruders and internally militia acts of army rebels and insurgencies of rival factions (Spencer & Wollman, 2002). It also leads to high-handedness of central state-government in economic modernization and construction in peace time. In the arena of public education, authoritarianism is reflected in the central ideological control of education and state penetration (Smith, 1995). State nationalism of central authoritarian governance is the predominant ideology taught in school, and bureaucratic incorporation is strongly felt at all levels of schools. Having said this, it does not mean that the authoritative state-government will only teach the necessity of collectivist control and mention little about western and global individualist democratic reform on citizenship education (Green, 1997). The enlightened state government will do both at the same time so that the latter will form an institutional check against the former in exercise of its authority. The institutional check of the state power through democratic procedures is seen as an act of enlightenment behind which the authoritative role of the state remains on grounds that national self determination values are more important than democracy and individual civic rights, and only a strong state government can safeguard the national interests, not democracy. To convince its people of this political belief, a soft, cultural approach in national education is

strategically devised to advocate a modern national culture vested in a reconstructed cultural context of inherited traditions of authoritarianism and collectivism at the national level and relationalism and individuality at the personal level (Lee, 2004a).

Traditional values are re-modified with the infusion of selected western and foreign concepts for a national growth and are taught in a controlled manner in public education. Young students learn the national culture and the nationally reinterpreted western political concepts as part of the national culture in school. It is culture rather than politics that counts. It is the collectivist traditions of culture that tolerate state authoritarianism. Culture is politics and politics is culture. Politics talks in cultural forms, which makes national education the native cultural representation of the authoritarian version of western liberal political development.

2.3.4.3. A cultural national approach: The native context-western concept approach explained previously has resulted in different cultural versions of modern citizenship education among the Asian developmental states. In general, given these conservative, native bearings of context, culture, values and belief, and philosophy, it will not be surprising that most of the national or democratic citizenship educational programmes of these countries are by and large modified local programmes of moral, cultural, values, religious, national, nationalistic and patriotic education plus knowledge of western democratic ideas and institutions (KEDI, 2001). For example, in curriculum studies, it is found that Malaysia since its independence, has advocated its national unity, national development and progressive and disciplined society in its citizenship education, which is based heavily on values education through Islamic religious and moral education plus some practice of democracy (Wan Din, 2001). In China, citizenship education refers directly to moral education, which includes basically morality and character, good citizenship, Marxism and communist ideology, patriotism, Chinese culture and nationality, and socialist democracy (Li, 2001:80). In the Philippines, values education includes nationalism and contribution to national progress.

Socio-political analysis has explained the contexts for such emphasis of

citizenship education policy. For example, in Taiwan, Taiwanization and de-sinicization are linked closely to democracy education, making it moral and good citizenship, and nationalistic in tone (Liu, 2004; Jwo, 2001; Law, 2001). In Singapore, the ideology of economic nationalism and modernization dominates the citizenship education programme, which focuses on the relation of a 'strong state' and economic growth with a good, loyal and efficient population of strong identification with Singapore among diverse multiethnic groups (Gopinathan, 2001; Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004). Citizenship education is an education of civics and morals, religious beliefs and values, national and good citizen rather than democracy, which is instrumental for national ends.

There are historical and cultural studies which unravel the cultural legacy in relation to nationalistic emphasis on citizenship education. In South Korea while the hierarchical Confucian tradition is emphasized (Lee Y. H., 2001) democracy has never been the governance ideology or the common religion. Citizenship education is integrated into and forms part of moral education, which is basically nationalistic (Roh, 2004). Active citizenry means voluntary and responsible participation and valuing a Korean national identity. In Indonesia, the influence of the five principles of the Pancasila state in citizenship education is undeniably nationalistic. It aims at creating national solidarity out of the different societies, ethnicities, religions and economies (Fearnley-Sander, Muis & Gistitutai, 2004). Islamic values and civility dominate the democratic ideas in citizenship education. Last but not least, Japan, which is not a developmental state economically but in terms of modeling the western liberal political ideas, its experience of citizenship education can be comparable with Hong Kong being regarded as economically affluent society and a homogeneous Chinese population. According to Lynn (2004) citizenship education in Japan is largely moral education, which shapes students to be responsible citizens with a Japanese identity both politically and culturally while civic education teaches national citizenship and love of the nation, and human rights, including democratic rights. Qualitative research and case study are becoming increasingly popular in the search for the depth and complexity of citizenship reform in society and education.

In summing up, citizenship education in Asian countries is seemingly

biased towards on national citizenship and love of the nation at the expense of political modernization. Political education takes the soft, cultural approach where self-cultivation and moral disciplines of a person as a citizen is focused on. It is believed that with a multi-leveled conception of citizenship, native context and western political concepts work well with each other (Hughes & Stone, 1999; Mendes, 1995; Yamazaki, 1996; Fukuyama, 1995). Culture and politics mix well. Through moral and values education, specifically religious education in Muslim nation states, youth students are imbued with a national identity and taught to be good, responsible citizen, ready to contribute themselves to the mother nation undergoing a democratization process. In reality, however there exists a values tension, which needs to be addressed.

2.3.4.4. Values tensions: As discussed previously, the developmental states undergo a gradual political transformation from an exclusive to an inclusive variant of nation-state based primarily on Smith's civic-territorial model of nation (1991) or more specifically, Kellas' (1991) official nationalism, which emphasizes the legality of citizenship entitlements, irrespective of the criteria of ethnicity, national identity and culture. In theory, liberal democracy accompanies and helps the growth of inclusive nationalism and human equality but in practice it has to face the challenges of the exclusivistic tendency of initial nationalism for a more particularistic, fixed and firm nation. Michener (1993) referring to the examples of German and Italian unification and the current European Community, sees the problems to be overcome by 'creating new symbols and constructing a new kind of identity' (p. xi). Anderson (1991) finds similar experience from Asia that imagined communities eventually emerge when ethnic, exclusive national societies take as model the advanced, inclusive and liberal countries for change and development.

On the other hand, scholars of Asian studies like Kennedy (2004), Lee (2004a) and Grossman (2004) identify the problems of values tension in an attempt to re-discover traditional values that may harmonize with the contradictions of western values so that western democratic institutions will be built without affecting the national identity of the ethnic and cultural and political exclusivity. Lee (2004a) has envisaged that such a trend of local or regional cultural redevelopment programme could

emerge:

Edward Shils (1996) ...alleged that Confucius does not have a civil society mind in terms of social institutionalization and individual rights. However, he also notes that when we turn to the obligation of the educated to serve society, Confucius emerges as a point of departure for a Chinese tradition that is indispensable to civil society. (Lee, 2004a: 33)

Along this line of thinking, studies have identified the tensions of the external cultural values, ideological and philosophical underpinnings, social and political beliefs, traditions and imaginations with the native ones in reforming the home citizenship education. For example, Liu (2004) examines the case of Taiwan and identifies the following tensions which are also characteristic in its Asian counterparts as summarized by Lee (2004b):

Individual versus society
Freedom versus order
Diversity versus uniformity
Identification versus criticism
Americanization versus localization
Rights and responsibility versus deliberation and civic virtues
Universal citizenship versus differentiated citizenship, and
Fixed citizenship versus flexible citizenship
(p. 279-280)

Morris and Cogan (2001) in a comparative study of civics education in the six countries of Australia, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand and the U.S. identify the four critical tensions with different relative emphasis between centralized and less centralized educational systems, namely:

- the rights of individuals or the interests of the community;
- maintaining social stability or change/reconstruction;

- social cohesion or social diversity; and
 - providing a body of received knowledge or a focus on knowledge that is provisional and constructed
- (p. 113)

With these traits found, they compare these developmental states with developed societies and see a contrast:

In the more centralized Asian educational system the stated aims were more explicit and focused on the moral behavior of individuals, communal interests, and national identity, social cohesion, and established knowledge. In contrast, the stated goals of Civics in the U.S.A. and Australia were broad, implicit, and tended to stress values that focused on the rights and responsibilities of the citizen, social diversity, and controversial knowledge (ibid: 113)

It is not that a clear-cut dichotomy between western developed states and native developmental national societies exists as it is supposed by some people. Cummings, Tatto, Hawkins and Steiner-Khamsi (2001) find that developmental state societies, as compared with the developed society like U.S., have the commonality of value emphasizing individual responsibilities and avoidance of individualism. Yet, the discrepancies between the U.S. and the Asian national states are obvious with respect to ethnic and religious tolerance, avoiding any particular religion, and towards democratic and civic cultures for promoting and defending common values (p. 110).

Values conflict gives rise to ideological struggles and political movements within the national society. It leads to the internal strife of top-down state-led versus bottom-up popular movements (Smith, 1991; Anderson, 1991). In the Asian context, the conflict on the one hand is that the national or nationalizing government (Brubaker, 1995) will strengthen central control over ethnic and territorial marginalized minorities in the name of introducing civil equality and the ideology of civic nationalism of the state. On the other hand, there is a rise of popular movements for civic nationalism motivated largely by the intelligentsia (Smith, 1991, 1995) and/or creole elite (Anderson, 1991)

against the national state's reduction of civic democratic and human rights for people as individuals and as citizens (justified by reference to nationalistic ends or national crisis). Mass rally and street demonstration are the vigorous forms of popular movements, for example, people power coups in Philippines, the latest July First mass rally of middle class people in Hong Kong, whilst politics in school and education, as a form of politics of civil society, has become increasingly significant. Analyzing national education for post-1997 Hong Kong, Lee & Sweeting (2001) and Lee (1999a) point to an ideological polarization of nationalistic/patriotic versus liberal/democratic.

2.3.4.5. Discursive role of School: Besides the classical role of cultural transmission, school has been studied with respect to its complex and conflicting role in political socialization. Neo-Marxist scholars investigate it with many insightful theoretical perspectives such as theories of agency and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), theories of agency and resistance (Giroux, 1983), theories of social closure and reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), and theories of ideology critique of curriculum (Apple, 1990; Habermas, 1972; 1976). They have built a rich literature on the study of interactive dynamism and antagonistic group politics among dominant and subordinate parties within school at the cultural ideological level. For example, Kuzio extends it to explain the hegemonic and oppressive nature of the cultural homogeneity policies of 'nationalizing states' with a hidden agenda of eradicating regional identities and the mobilized resistance of the minority groups (Kuzio, 2001: 137-8). School becomes crucial once public education is deliberately used as the vehicle of the state to homogenize multicultural societies, which harms democratic consolidation (Brubaker, 1995, Linz & Stepan, 1996). At the same time school as an autonomous knowledge institution teaches students to be knowledgeable, independent, critical learners and informed citizens so that they will not be conformist but activist and reformer (Saha, 2000a & b; Wesselingh, 2000; Fagerlind & Kanaev, 2000).

In Asia, many regional studies however now turn to the role of school in connection with local popular national movements. In the Philippines, for example, there is a discourse on the root-of the people power revolution in association with a culture of democratic governance at the Philippine

Normal University (Medina, 2001). In Japan, Nagata (2001) has observed 'the bottom-up endeavors concerning social participation or awareness-building of the young in non-formal education' via alternative 'free schools' (Nagata, 2001: 119). In Korea, the concept of 'democratic civil university' is discussed as an alternative to the existing private university establishment of vocationalism with an aim for 'voluntary participation of a positive civil society' (Park, 2001: 213). In Hong Kong, Pun (1997) has applied hegemonic theories to analyse the popular movement of the Chinese language campaign against the colonist hegemonic language policy of the British-Hong Kong government. After 1997, Hong Kong saw escalated tension in the society and education of the popular democratic ideology of capitalism and liberalism and individualism and, on the other hand, the government nationalist ideology of patriotism and nationalism. School in Hong Kong is found to be playing an idiosyncratic role amidst the struggle, and greater details will be discussed in the subsequent section.

2.4. Current studies of Hong Kong citizenship education

The following questions will be discussed with a particular emphasis on the national project on local citizenship education in its political transition and transformation:

1. What is the status of local citizenship education with the change of politics?
2. What are the current studies of the local citizenship education?
3. What are the implications for the present study of citizenship education under the one country two systems?

2.4.1. The status: national or territorial national education?

As previously discussed, modern citizenship education aims primarily at building a national identity, which is both cultural and political. Hong Kong demonstrates characteristics of a developmental state in its citizenship education in the sense that it faces a dilemma of political development between imitating an inclusive political democracy of developed societies and building or strengthening an exclusive national ideology. National reintegration and building a national identity has been the chief aim to achieve in civic education after the political handover in 1997 (CDC, 1996; HKEC, 2000; CDC, 2001). Since Hong Kong ended

its colonial rule with the reintegration with China not independence, national education will not be national but territorial if it does not comply with the national ideology or culture of China. It will create problems for national integration if local interpretation and construction of national culture differs immensely from the Mainland. For example, learning about capitalist liberal democracy, which is locally considered the most significant cultural and political marker of local identity, has no parallel in the Chinese schools. It is however paradoxically problematic that to be national or patriotic, one is to support the national policy of the 'one country, two systems' framework being implemented in the HKSAR, and in education, this includes the local democratic citizenship curriculum. The different cultural, political background between Hong Kong and the Mainland has made nation building in its national sense a complex, discursive, confused and complicated issue locally. The local civic curriculum is local if it is merely democratic. It is national if it follows the national curriculum on the Mainland without the liberal democratic components, i.e. communism. It will be a local national curriculum if it is both democratic and communist.

2.4.2. Current studies

2.4.2.1. Towards a national education?

Civic education studies in Hong Kong pertinent to the return to China cover a wide range of areas; to name a few, these include policy (Morris, Kan & Morris, 2001; Walker & Dimmock, 1998; Dimmock & Walker, 1997; Tan, 1997), curriculum (Morris & Morris, 2001; Morris & Chan, 1997; Tse, 1999; Lee, 1999a), educational workers (Ng, 2000; Lee, 1999b), context changes (Lee, 2000; Postiglione, 1992), democracy, nationalism and national awareness (Lee, 2000; Wu, 2000; Wong & Shum, 1998) and identity crisis (Fong, 2001, Fu et al, 1999; Hong et al, 1999; Lam et al, 1999). Basically, the existing literature reveals the shift of the focus of citizenship education towards the national endeavor and related problems. The main focus of the national is the Mainland China, a territorial concept that excluded Taiwan, which in fact has significance in every aspect of the national China or greater China under discussion. This is because the Communists defeated the Nationalists in the civic war in the mid-nineties who left the Mainland to settle at Taiwan. The nation has been separated since then and it is always the national goal of the mainland Communist government to reunite the nation with Taiwan where however the people there now aim at a new

Taiwan nation by severing the kinship link with the Mainland in its indigenization and democratization movements. Most problematic is the conflicting role of democracy in national reintegration (Lee & Sweeting, 2001; Tse, 1999; Choi, 1995). Until very recently studies at the school level i. e. taking school as the core unit of analysis, were lacking (Kerr, 2000). Discussed below are the main trends of local studies on national citizenship education related to the present study.

2.4.2.2. The nationalism emphasis: convergent or divergent views?

For China, it is clear that Smith's ethnic notion of nation is applied. For example, in political reintegration, people of Hong Kong who are of Chinese nationality can both be citizens of the HKSAR and of the People's Republic of China (PRC) but those of non-Chinese descent are entitled only to HKSAR citizenship but not PRC.

However, people of Hong Kong, unlike its Asian counterparts, are weak and diverse in identification with the territorialized nation, Mainland China (Fong, 2001; Lee, 2001; 1999a; Lee & Leung, 1995). Social identification with China is distinctive rather than inclusive in terms of belief (Chiu & Hong, 1999), perceived status (Abrams, Hinkle & Tomlins, 1999), ethnicity (Tong, Hong, Lee & Chiu, 1999), modernity (Lam, Lau, Chiu, Hong & Peng, 1999), and group identity (Hong, Chiu, Yeung & Tong, 1999). On the other hand, the indigenous identity is strong, particularly the political identity of democracy, rule of law, freedoms and human rights that was taught in school during the transition since 1982. The 1985 Civic Education Guidelines aim largely at a representative democracy (CDC, 1985). The fear of China's communism and the dictatorial political system is obvious and forms a large obstacle for people of Hong Kong to incorporate into the national culture. Instead of identifying with political China, people of Hong Kong feel more comfortable to integrate themselves with cultural China. However, their ethno-cultural identity 'appears to serve as a basis for differentiation from Western identity but not as a basis for assimilation to traditional Chinese culture as a whole' (Brewer, 1999:192-3).

Citizenship education after 1997 is a 'national' education, which aims at providing a creative national framework that can embrace the two distinct social systems and at the same time allow them to keep their own

characteristics when they begin the integration (CDC, 1996). The emphasis of 'one country' is cultural but at the local level of 'two systems', there is a diversity of views with polarized tendencies between the political democratic and the culturally universalistic of patriotism. The national reintegration under 'the one country, two systems' is an integration of two distinct social systems one of which, the Hong Kong system, is alien to the ethnic culture of China and rival to the current socialist system on the Mainland. Not just ethnicity, but also modernity and civility and distinctiveness count. It is not the culture-of-the-past but the culture-to-be that counts, and the latter is better apprehended in Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined communities. The nation-to-be is created each day and everyday life routines constitute and reproduce the nation. Billig's (1995) concept of 'banal nationalism' can help to identify bits of life events that substantiate the building of a nation of the two systems. These two theories and concepts will be applied to the present study in discussion of findings.

2.4.2.3. The role of the government: authoritarian or liberal variant?

... most governments (...) have seen it as one of their prime duties to establish, fund and increasingly direct a mass system of public education (...) in order to create an efficient labour force and loyal, homogenous citizenry (Smith, 1995:91)

The newly formed HKSAR behaves in a way resembling Smith's (1995) theory of state penetration. Immediately on reintegration, the HKSAR government reformed public education and incorporated key elements of Chinese patriotism and nationalism into the indigenous curriculum, making instilling a national identity the primary goal of education for the 21st century (Tung, 1997; HKEC, 2000; CDC, 2001). The intent of 'bureaucratic incorporation' (Smith, 1995) of the central cultural nationalism downwards is obvious. For example, Putonghua was made an official and legal language locally and schools were urged to teach in this national language. Schools were encouraged to practice national flag hoisting and to sing the national anthem in school assemblies and other grand functions.

Yet, the government's reform action rests largely at policy and curriculum initiative level. In school implementation, state penetration is more in a form of advice and persuasion rather than regulation or intervention as in Singapore and Malaysia despite survey findings that reveal weak national consciousness of local Hong Kong Chinese (Lee & Leung, 1995; Leung S W, 1997; Lee, 1999a; 2001; Fairbrother, 2003). The inherited *laissez faire* practice of civic liberal traditions is kept intact and the school's voluntarism and autonomy is respected in delivering educative services which include also fostering in young students a national individuality (Lee, 2001; Morris, Kan & Morris, 2001). Whether it is the result of symbiosis of central ethnic and local civic nationalism or the cultural resistance from the local public against the externally and centrally imposed national culture via the HKSAR government, one thing is clear: schools of Hong Kong act more as part of democratic civil society in Gramsci's terms than an extension of a bureaucratic state in Smith's conception.

2.4.2.4. A cultural approach: official or eclectic?

Unlike the 1985 school civic education guidelines, which are largely a 'political' education programme, the new guidelines in 1996 are more a 'national' education programme with a balanced treatment of both national and political developments. In implementation, it combines civic education with moral education to give a new curriculum of moral and civic education (CDC, 2001). Personal developments of positive life values and moral and social values are nurtured in both the cultural and material world they live in. Seemingly, the values approach the educational authorities adopt finds close parallels with the official ideology and practices of its Asian counterparts. It has the Confucian traditions that ethics and moral learning is both cultural and political (Arcodia, 2000). Basically, it aims at a national culture and for the sake of reintegration, a good citizen, plus an attempt at political modernization in the new citizenship education. Culture and politics overlap and politics is treated culturally.

The cultural national approach has a risk here in Hong Kong. By focusing the learning on the cultural rather than political identity of national China, people of Hong Kong are deprived of knowledge of the current Chinese political systems and practice they need desperately. It helps little to

mend the political and ideological rifts of the two places. For example, a proposed systematic political learning of national China via a national history and guoqing jiaoyu (national events education) (CDC, 2001) was turned down probably for fears of central control and indoctrination. Lee & Sweeting (2001) explicate the ideological and historical differences in the discourse about citizenship, especially the contradictions between civic-ethnic and center-peripheral perspectives on democracy and nationalism. Democracy locally, although it helped to fight against colonialism, is regarded as disadvantageous to national cohesion and unity on the China side while on the Hong Kong side, nationalism would undermine civic democracy, which they think is the basic human right of individuals that they cannot be deprived of.

Yet politics, as, pointed out by Bray and Lee (2001) has the influence on shaping civic education of Hong Kong:

In Hong Kong, the opposition between democratization and nationalization was heightened and polarized in the immediate years before the transition of sovereignty. This was never the case during the colonial period when neither democratization nor nationalization was emphasized. After the handover, by contrast, both democratization and nationalization have been emphasized by political parties (p.12)

In sum, a mixed cultural and political approach is preferred to the official cultural one. It needs creativity and insights to address the contradictions of the two political systems in the national unification of the two territorial communities albeit of same ethnicity.

2.4.2.5. Values tensions: center-peripheral impasse

To many modern national states, political development constantly faces the problematic of meeting exclusive and inclusive values, and the ethnic-civic tension is spectacular (Michener, 1993). Agreeing with this, Smith (1995) identifies the disintegrative effect in national integration and political modernization:

It also springs from the internal contradiction at the heart

of the national state between a universal conception of citizenship, with its uniform rights and duties, and an inevitably particularist conception of the 'people', i.e. the community of which each citizen is a member (p. 98).

Unlike the case of Smith who refers to the anti-Semitism against the Jews in France, which is of ethnic nature, Hong Kong's problem is basically territorial, civic and cultural not ethnic. It is not an ethnic problem because people of Hong Kong of Chinese decent choose to reintegrate with the national China after the end of colonial rule on ethnic not political grounds (Morris, Kan & Morris, 2001; Tse, 1999; Wong, 1996). They do not identify with the political China and fear to have China's current system of national culture, basically of Marxism and socialism and of bureaucratic centralism and authoritarianism, imposed onto Hong Kong. It is territorial because the Basic Law is so constituted that it clearly laid down that Hong Kong will enjoy the high degree of autonomy (Article 2) and that the current capitalist system and way of life will preserve for 50 years after reintegration (Article 5). Hong Kong is sensitive to the central intervention in local affairs. It is civic because there is a worry that the Basic Law, the constitutional paper of HKSAR will be interpreted by China in favor of the civic-Communist socialist model of nation and in disfavor of the civic-liberal democratic one. It causes concerns about the civil liberties previously enjoyed by the Hong Kong people as revealed for example in the case of Falun Gong in Hong Kong which is legally registered locally but its ability of the members to protest and organize freely is restricted (U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act Report, 2002). Another example is the controversial case of 1999 right of abode which ends up with a reinterpretation of the Basic Law by the central legislature, the National People's Congress.

The use of a mainland mechanism foreign to the common law practice to overturn in effects a decision of Hong Kong's courts unsettled many who thought that the practice undermined Hong Kong's judicial authority (U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act Report, 2002: 10).

It is cultural because they are afraid that the cultural notion of cosmopolitan and advanced nation will be replaced by the one which is rural

and economically backward. Hong, Chiu, Yeung & Tong (1999) studied that Hong Kong people have a strong local identity relative to their fellow Mainland Chinese in terms of the city's economic affluence and modernity and western lifestyle in the city as well as the economic and political system. Local studies have found the youth generation has a strong regional identification that for example, many students would have held distorted beliefs that 'the mainland was backward, dirty and unsafe' (Fong, 2001: 235), and mainland Chinese has been stereotyped as poor, out of style, conservative and backward by the Hong Kong adolescents in general (Lam, Chiu, Lau & Hong, 1995). Politically, however, people of Hong Kong have a strong sense of powerlessness towards assimilation into China (Chiu & Hong, 1997) and felt their political power is very weak compared to mainland China (Ho, Chau, Lam, Lee & Chiu, 1997). From the China side, all these local mixed sentiments and distinct indigenous identification give a sense portrayed by Smith (1995): 'large ethnic and regional minorities' are 'increasingly felt to undermine the fabric of the nation by their demands for separate but equal treatment, their cultural difference and their aspirations for diversity and autonomy' (p.95). Unlike its Asian neighbors, the value tension of exclusivity and inclusiveness of Hong Kong while undergoing transformation is territorial, i.e. center-peripheral, not simply democratic-nationalistic as many suppose. It sees the popular demand for more liberal democracy in its local government system under the 'one country, two systems' framework which does not surprise anyone and it has its historical roots. Tse (1999) views local democratization as a process of decolonization which takes place long before the handover. Lee (1999a, 2001) contends that it sees the turn of politics from consultative democracy to participatory democracy followed after the June 4 Incident in 1989 in China and the enlarged electoral components in the Legislative Council. It also sees the re-politicization of the civic curriculum (Tse, 1999; Morris & Morris, 2001; Morris & Chan, 1997). Since the two systems are separate, unique and in many ways unconnected, the national citizenship curriculum in implementation has been de-politicized and localized (Morris & Morris, 2001; Morris & Chan, 1997) which in effect enhances regional distinctiveness and marginalizes national uniformity and homogeneity. In his various citizenship studies, Lee (1999a, 2000 & 2001) has found a rich diversity of views about democracy and national identity among students, school people and people of different sectors of the society, which in

many case are expressed in polarized tones and ways.

Unlike many Asian post-colonial national states where the national programme is a cultural homogenization and assimilation project and unlike developed national societies like the U.S. and Australia where it is a programme of heterogeneity and pluralism, the national citizenship education of Hong Kong is a national programme of central detachment or a hybrid national programme of localization. Pervasive among schools, avoidance of teaching political sensitive issues and controversial topics is the heart of the problem (Tse, 1999; Morris & Morris, 2001; Morris & Chan, 1997; Lee, 1999a & 2001). In either case, the programme does not resemble the one that is practiced on the Mainland and the tension between local democracy and national loyalty to the central government has yet addressed. It remains problematic whether it will lead to national reintegration or disintegration, or, if not that clear-cut, which aspects are positive and which aspects negative. It remains to be seen whether the national culture will be marginalized or the local civic democratic culture be reified.

2.4.2.6. School education and national citizenship

2.4.2.6.1. A role of schools: Hong Kong schools teach the same publicly produced national curriculum. In this sense, schools help transmit to students the national culture. From the outset, it serves as the socializing agent for the government assuming the role of 'acculturation to a hegemonic majority ethnic culture' (Smith, 1995) for the poly-ethnic state of China. Taking a closer look, the school situations are different. First, the government's school practice is not modeled on the authoritarian model of its Asian counterparts or the 'nationalizing state' model as in Central and Eastern Europe (Brubaker, 1995; Kuzio, 2001). It is more like a liberal model that school has the full autonomy to devise a civic programme for its students and government's regulation is indirect e.g. regular school visit or inspection. Second, it is the local national curriculum, the content of which is mostly decided locally under the 'one country, two systems' national policy. It reflects the local interests given that the national interests are not inflicted. Third, the national civic curriculum will not be imposed on Hong Kong from Mainland China.

Ample empirical studies have shown that indigenous schools show little interest in the Mainland's national culture. Instead, local interpretation of the national culture seems the norm. Very often the negative orientation of school is recorded. For example, Dimmock & Walker (1997), find school principals feel 'the tensions between democratic freedoms and communist control in schools' (p.153) and worry that 'biased political interpretation and dogma' could result in 'strong promotion of China's political system over other systems valued by some Hong Kongese' (Walker & Dimmock, 1998: 17). Morris & Morris (2001) and Lee (2001) learn many schools avoid controversial and sensitive issues and shift the focus to moral education, values education or religious studies. Again, to quote Morris & Morris' s finding as an illustration:

The results suggested that the goals promoted by the government were not a strong feature of the schools' implemented programs. Although the planned goals of civic education in the first school reflected the national policy, in practice, the emphasis was on prescribing correct attitudes and the maintenance of order and discipline. In the second school, there was no continuity between the school's goal and the national policy; however, there was a strong continuity between the school's goal and the perspectives of all stakeholders (Morris and Morris, 2001:11)

In addition, schools have adapted to the display of symbolic or slogan action towards the national education curriculum. Morris and Chan (1997) discover that not the citizenship goals, the school's top concerns are the pupil's intake and examination results. Schools are more anxious about the competition for academically more able students in the newly introduced central placement scheme and student performance, the latter of which is the critical factor for a school to qualify as an elite school and is also the concern of parents who conceives civic education not more than moral growth of students.

Also, school, serving as the agency of socialization, is found to be contributing to the germination of local cultural ideology distinct and even oppositional to the mainstream national ideology of China. For

example, Lee & Sweeting (2001) identify the emergent ideological conflicts of liberalism versus nationalism and the debate on the 'national' versus 'anti-national nature' of the drafting of the 1996 Guidelines (p. 113-116). In the event of reforming the history curriculum, the revised Chinese History curriculum with the new addition of Taiwan development is queried as advocacy for one China policy regardless of its local democratization (Chow, 2001; Han, 2001; Ho, 2001; Hui, 2001).

2.4.2.6.2. The role of teachers: In delivery of the national education, teachers tend to be eclectic, compromising and integrative (Leung & Print, 2002) on the one pole, and on the other pole the mindset is avoidance, evasiveness, and symbolic activity (Morris & Chan, 1997; Morris & Morris, 2001). Fong (2001) found teachers were in an ambivalent position, agreeing only on historico-cultural identification but not on socio-economic and national-political identification with China. They are more inclined to concentrate on the cultural but not political aspects of national China, which makes understanding of the official version of the curriculum incomplete and ineffective. Moreover, they largely teach students with basic facts and knowledge and to be critical and independent thinking, and are cautious not to affect them by letting them know what they think and the stance they take (Lee, 1999a). Nevertheless, there appears to be an emergent tendency of polarized ideological values of pro-China nationalist and pro-democratic civic-liberalists among teachers despite a rich diversity of views, (Lee, 1999a; Lee & Sweeting, 2001). In the civic school context of Hong Kong, teachers perform the role of 'key person', a person who makes official mobilization of nationalism possible and at the same time they act like a 'key opener' who brings about the populist nationalism movement (Nagata, 2001; Smith, 1995; Anderson, 1991). It is in the latter that an indigenized civic notion of national China has taken root locally.

2.4.2.6.3. Students' learning: Apathy and inaction towards civic participation (Leung S W, 1997; Tse, 1997) and weak national history and identity of students (Lee, et. al, 2004; Wong & Shum, 1998, 1996; Wu, 2000) is the main trend. Yet, Fairbrother (2003) identifies traits of resistance of students against hegemonic efforts to influence their attitudes toward the nation (p. 162). Curiosity as resistant disposition leads them to learn more about China on their own and empower themselves through critical

thinking in order to resist indoctrination in the school process. Skepticism, another resistant act, induces students to openly criticize the nation and government.

In sum, Hong Kong demonstrates many characteristics that resemble a developmental state in national education in which political modernization is deemed necessary. Political modernization in the Asian context and in Hong Kong under China is democratization with the blessing of the authoritarian national government and a new national identity component. Hong Kong schools have taken up both the socializing agent and agency role in promoting a new citizenship upon the sovereignty transfer. In performing this dual role, schools face similar contextual problems and difficulties encountered by their Asian counterparts like the emphasis on ethno-nationalism (see section 2.3.4.1), bureaucratic incorporation of national government (see section 2.3.4.2.), non-democratic cultural traditions (see section 2.3.4.3), and values tension particularly of democracy and communism and of national and regional interest (see section 2.3.4.4.). Distinct is that Hong Kong's decolonized education is not for independence but for reintegration with China and the national education framework embraces the teaching within the local system. More important, schools are allowed to initiate their citizenship education programme that may diverge from or converge to the central civic education guidelines promulgated by the government. Different schools will have different civic practices and conducts based on a self-initiated school-based curriculum. It is rare in many Asian countries and cities to have such liberal school practices because central collectivist control has long been the indigenous culture of governance and is believed good for national development if political effectiveness and economic efficiency is the goal.

2.4.3. Implications for the present study

From the analysis of the current studies about citizenship education, it has been shown that behind the neatly presented civic education curriculum for schools of Hong Kong, there lies the teaching of nationality and citizenship to students with an array of unresolved controversies, the most notorious of which is the tension between democracy and communism. A national culture is the aim, amidst the controversies of civic and ethnic China, cultural and political China, national and democratic China,

central and regional China. It is one China to Mainland China but for Hong Kong, China is one country, two systems China. Studies are plentiful about the macrocosm of citizenship education, which set the antecedents for microcosm studies. However, the little research there is on schools suggests that planned civic curriculum is not implemented (Morris and Morris, 2001). Based on the context as discussed earlier, a school case will be studied to investigate in depth local students' perceptions of China, democracy, and inherent contradictions between communism and democracy and the role of school, of both the agent and agency of political socialization and of facilitating and hindering factors to students' citizenship learning.

Chapter three: Methodology

3.1. Origin

This chapter first describes the flow of events of how the study comes about, followed by the choice of method of study to be taken. The following questions are specifically dealt with:

1. When, where and how did the study begin?
2. Why and how the focus of the study was shifted?
3. Why an ethnographic approach was applied in the study?

3.1.1. The initial start

The study was the result of coincidence of a series of events that happened to me since I transferred to the present work at a teacher-training institution in 1995. First, as a graduate of political science, I was greatly interested in democratization of Hong Kong in its sovereignty transfer of 1997. I had attempted some self-sponsored small-scale studies about electoral participation of students in secondary schools before I took the EDD course in Durham University of Britain. In the meantime, my teaching institute required its teaching staff to show his specialism and interest so that it could plan its course for institute development and staffing. I opted for civic education. During that time, the HKSAR government advocated the practice of nationalistic and patriotic education in schools. The teaching profession circle and society responded strongly and started off a hot debate on what and how political education should be implemented with the fear that the ideological indoctrination and communist education would be implanted onto the soil of Hong Kong. I wondered if the study of political education would be too sensitive at that time. I did not have any specific theme in my mind. I was still worrying that if I clung to the topic on politics of civic education, I might not find a school for me to collect the data or to do my field work. I discussed it with my supervisor and told him that I did not have any specific idea in mind to begin my research on Hong Kong school civic education and the current education situations were in a state of flux due to the educational system reform, which seemed increasingly losing control and direction, to most frontline teachers and educators. But discussions with my supervisor had re-strengthened my determination to conduct a research on political education in the first years of

sovereignty change. My expertise in politics study and teaching experience pertinent to civic education would be an advantage to me to uncover the things concerning teaching of civic education after the political handover in 1997. I told the principal of my partnership school of an in-depth study of teaching national identity and democracy. He responded to this with some hesitation and eventually turned down my proposal of the case study for reasons that his teaching staff might not welcome such a sensitive topic and personal involvement was too deep to afford. Every school would have its civic education programme on topics like nationalism and democracy but they reluctantly released the details to outsiders. I tried several other schools but received no positive reply. I wondered whether I should drop the idea or do it in my teacher-training institution. I hardly formulated any specific research problem with initial encounters with schools but had to stop at the level of 'general problem' (Spradley, 1980: 26) or 'foreshadowed problem' (Wilcox, 1982). It happened on one day that I recalled I met my schoolmate from some twenty years ago who now serves as a principal of a secondary school in a new town. I gave him a phone call and told him my study situations and problems. To my surprise, he, without asking me any question, promised to let me to do the fieldwork in his school. He just told me to write him a letter and then I could come to his school and start work any time I liked. That sudden turn of events came too fast to me. I could not but follow the flow of events. I did not insist on studying the teaching of national identity and democracy but civic education in general in the school. I would not impose or presuppose anything but adopted an open and flexible approach and let the school system reveal its significance in its civic education programme. The painful failing experience had told me that if I suggested anything specific without taking into serious account the school concrete situations, the school would be very likely to reject me because it could not afford to break the routines and regularities, norms and customary practices. Indeed, in a case study of thorough investigation, it was good to 'understand a system in its own terms' and 'its own criteria of meaningfulness' and not to have any 'specifically predetermined categories of observation' or 'precise hypothesis' beforehand (Wilcox, 1982: 459).

3.1.2. The shifted focus

Despite the shift from studying politically sensitive notions to learning

about the civic education programme in school, I did not give up the initial idea of understanding the relationship of nationalistic and democratic education in secondary school education of Hong Kong throughout my study. It would however be examined through studying students' learning of national identity and democracy in the school's civic education programme instituted in the broader school context. Also, I dropped the idea of applying analytical concepts which were so constructed that they were separated from the school milieu or imposed from outside. The specific school situation and the learning of nationalistic and democratic education were so closely linked together that giving undue regard to the former would mean the study was non-naturalistic and failed to recognize the complexity of the school as a human and political organization. Besides this practical aspect, the contextual understanding of the political education would help grasp not only what but also how students learned a China perspective together with democracy. With such an understanding of both the surface interactive experience and deep structures for those interactions to take place (D' Andrade, 1987), the complex confrontational and paradoxical nature of the two political values could be revealed to its fullest extent. Furthermore, I would also attempt to apply some theories of nationalism to discuss the learning outcome of students with respect to national citizenship and democracy in addition to the fieldwork study in school. This triangulation of multiple-analysis would provide valid discussion results in an attempt to understand holistically the interactive and interrelated nature of students' learning of politics in school, with particular reference to the complex political relationship between democracy and nationalism.

3.2. Qualitative study and ethnographic approach

3.2.1. Underlying philosophy: Since the study was focused on studying students' learning of politics in a school, what exactly they learned about China and its relationship with local democracy would be specific, concrete and subject to their interpretations and context-bound. This would mean that first different students who attended the same civic programme about China could have different learned outcome about China. Therefore, the positivist approach which suggested a reality 'out-there' (Bassey, 1995) and that any person who studied it would get similar if not identical results, would no longer apply. Alternatively,

I found it much helpful for the study to bring in an interpretive or constructivist paradigm, which suggests that reality and hence knowledge is 'socially constructed' (Mertens, 1998; Schwandt, 1994). In this sense, contends Bassey (1995), what is real can have different understanding and thence the concepts of China and democracy are 'socially constructed phenomena that mean different things to different people' (Mertens, 1998: 11). Second, what students learned through their political education in this school would be different from that in other schools because each school has its distinct features. For example, the school under study was a Catholic school which received the local diocese's direct supervision. The school would often take the stance of the Catholic Church. The goal of interpretive research is thus to understand the 'complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it' (Schwandt, 1994: 118).

3.2.2. Qualitative study

As far as the hermeneutic qualities and contextual specificity in understanding human behavior were in concern, methodologically, positivist enquiry, which is focused on experimental and correlational study of isolated variables from context (Spindler, 1982; Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995) and 'repeatable or replicable circumstances which can be described by general laws' (Ernest, 1994: 25) was found less helpful. Naturalistic or interpretive qualitative approach, which takes on various methods to understand 'the multiple realities' (Mertens, 1995) created by people who interact among each other under specific contextual influences of social or cultural, (Flick, 2002) seemed more suitable. In an appraisal study of educational programme evaluations, Fetterman (1984a & b) has found that:

Fieldwork, with its close attention to the details of programme implementation, can identify causal features and causal linkages that may be overlooked or misattributed on the basis of correlational analysis of survey data or pre-determined observational category system (Fetterman, 1984a: 30)

Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) point out that the researcher understands and makes sense of these 'subjective' realities (Ernest, 1994) by taking

'a qualitative appreciation' of the contextual factors and people and people interacting:

That is, qualification of actions, ideas, values and meanings through the eyes of participants rather than quantification through the eyes of an outside observer (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 26)

When making qualifications, different qualitative researchers would have different treatments according to the methods applied. For example, Ernest (1994) resorts to 'build up rich descriptions of the cases under study' (p.25). Guba & Lincoln (1989) on the other hand look to the dialectical property in hermeneutics and require a researcher to 'juxtapose conflicting ideas' (p.90) and develop a dialectical interchange of these ideas in making the textual analysis. Also, Eichelberger (1989) reminds the researcher of his role as both participant and researcher in these kinds of studies:

...they are constructing the "reality" on the basis of the interpretations of data with the help of the participants who provide the data in the study (Eichelberger, 1989: 9)

Different schools would have different understandings of civic education, particularly the conceptions of China and democracy, which would result in different students' learning of politics and of their nation. A thorough and deep examination of the school process of how students learn these notions in civic education programmes from their points of view deserved particular attention.

3.2.3. Ethnographic approach

The school is a cultural and social community in which students' learning about China and democracy takes place. As such, ethnographic study was chosen to explore the nature and effects of civic education in the school because this 'going native' (Malinowski, 1922) approach could best grasp the understanding of the students' learning of politics through direct involvement in the lives and activities of the students in the school in its natural and ordinary routine situations (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995).

Ethnographic study was basically a social research technique of 'folk description' in the sense that the researcher encountered a particular culture, made sense of it in its own terms and presented that sense in a form culturally accessible to people of different cultures (Malinowski, 1922 in Hitchcock & Hughes; Tesch, 1990; Agar, 1986). Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) make a summary of major characteristics of ethnography, which includes:

- The production of descriptive cultural knowledge of a group
- The description of activities in relation to a particular cultural context from the point of view of the members of the group themselves
- The production of a list of features constitutive of membership of a group or culture
- The description and analysis of patterns of social interaction
- The provision, as far as possible, of 'insider accounts'
- The development of theory which is grounded in the data and the use of concepts in a sensitizing manner (p.119)

Technically speaking, Hammersley & Atkinson (1995) define it by saying that an ethnographer:

...participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:1)

Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) argue that ethnographic study usually involves a single or a few cases and data are collected from a quite wide range of sources through participation, observation, interviewing and documentation, etc.

As a visitor or outsider or non-member of the school, I would be a stranger to members of its community and an alien to its culture. The research was then an attempt to make sense of the school's culture of learning and teaching in its own terms and then to present that sense of students' learning of politics and school civic education programme to people culturally unfamiliar to that school. This would be a process of the construction of the reality of students' learning about China in relation to local democracy in their own terms and the reconstruction of that text readily accessible to the outside people who had an interest in the school or students' political learning. This sort of research report was worthwhile and timely in the wake of the trendy school-based reform (see HKEC, Education Blueprint, 2000) and the quest for excellence area in quality education of every each school (see the ECR Report No. 7, 1996) on the one hand and on the other hand the push for a new citizenship education by the HKSAR government after the resumption of sovereignty. Every case was unique and how it was interpreted was significant in both academic and policy terms.

3.3. Ethnographic research in implementation

In this and the following sections, various methodological issues about implementing the ethnographic study are discussed. To begin with, the access, fields and informants will first be examined.

3.3.1. Access, field settings and informants

The following questions will be dealt with:

1. How the access and the entry to the site were made and what were the problems?
2. Where and how the data were collected?
3. Who were approached for providing data?

3.3.2. Access

To teacher-researchers of their working school, access and entry may not be the problems for they do the study in familiar environments and with familiar others (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995). But for me as the outsider to the school community, the situations were different and there were critical problems to be addressed. First, the entry was not an automatic but negotiated one. Gaining permission should be dealt with by the

gate-keepers whom Mertens (1998) describes as 'those with power in the organization or agency' (p.177), usually the school principal in Hong Kong settings. Gaining permission from the school principal was the first step to final entry to the field, which depended on the result of negotiation on access with teacher colleagues. School was not just the hierarchical bureaucratic institution but also a political community (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995) in which in the case of Hong Kong for example superiors would take into considerations democratic practice developed among professional teacher colleagues when exercising their authorities. I failed several times in negotiating entry with some school principals who turned me down for reasons that their teachers after discussion were not willing to take the trouble to entertain my request. Based on these failing experiences, I approached a school principal who was both friend and schoolmate of mine. Also, I knew his immediate subordinate who took charge of civic education in the school and had assisted me in some civic education studies and seminars. This sort of strong personal and social relationship did help on the one hand for the school administrators and teachers to reach a consensus on permission of entry on more democratic and equal grounds and on the other hand alleviate worries of school administrators' about whether the researcher would do something to damage the school image while keeping the integrity of the research (Morse, 1994). Flick (2002) points out that a trustful relationship is more important than the worthiness of the research in negotiating entry. Second, the research is a kind of intervention (Woff, 2002) to school as a social institution. It intrudes into and disrupts the everyday life of the school under study. This difficulty could not be easily reconciled in negotiating entry with the school. Warren (1988) shows that the acceptance of entry is a reflection of cultural contextualization of the fieldworker' s characteristics. My working status as a teacher-trainer in the government- funded institution was definitely an asset.

3.3.3. Field settings

Flick quotes Schutz' s (1983) definition of a field that it means an institution, a subculture, a family, a specific group of biography carriers, etc. In more general terms, Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) refer to it as 'the immediate physical and social boundaries surrounding their chosen research area' (p.123). My field of study was a school with distinctive constraints in both physical and social terms. The issue on

locating the field site was eventually settled after failing in exploring several research fields in different districts. It was a Catholic secondary school located in a new town in the New Territories. The school was a co-education school and was one of the best performing schools of the district in terms of students' achievements in public examinations. It was one of the few schools that could maintain the use of English as the medium of instruction (EMI) when the HKSAR government pushed the mother tongue education in 1997 and only allowed 100 or so EMI schools in the territory. That was the description of the site since beyond that it could be easily identified and the anonymity would hardly be protected.

The fieldwork was started in late January, 2003. I had paid 19 field visits in about a month of time for an intensive observation of the school life (see P/F/N/2 or Appendix One: 1 for the time schedule). Each visit lasted from one hour or so to three hours in the morning and/or afternoon sessions during the regular school days or on holidays. After that, in late October, 2003, I started interviewing students which lasted for about two months (see Appendix One: 2 for the time schedule and for details in section 3.3.4). All the interviews were held in school, the majority of which was taken after school. Towards the end of informal interviews, I requested to sit in class to observe. All together, I had eight class observations ranged from secondary one to secondary seven, mostly of cultural and civics-related lessons from late, 2003 to early 2004 (see C/1/LS/1 or Appendix One: 3 for the time schedule). With those frequent visits within a specified period of stay in the school, I was aware that my participant-observation role would more like what Gold (1958) suggests 'the observer-as-participant' in that I was known to people in school that I was an outsider and a researcher but at the same time interaction with them was frequent and friendly like student informants and teachers who allowed me to observe his/her classes, not to mention the school principal and the school secretary and a few of her subordinate aids and workmen.

3.3.4. Informants

The Secondary Six students of the school were located and focused on as key informants in the study. Based on the understanding of Zelditch (1962), and LeCompte and Goetz (1984), who define key informants as:

...individuals who possess special knowledge, status, or

communicative skills and who are willing to share their knowledge and skill with the researcher (p.44)

As a start, there were three volunteer Secondary Six students from the arts stream, female, who consented to my interview throughout the whole course of the field visit. In between, some new comers joined on one or two or more occasions. All together, there were 9 students receiving interviews and among them one repeated Secondary Five (see Appendix One: 2). The Secondary Six group of students in the school possessed the best above-mentioned characteristics that other student Secondary groups might not possess. First, the Secondary Six students were the achievers in the general education and candidates for studentship in the universities. They all had received some sort of civic education in school. As senior students, they generally held the headship posts in the school and nearly all of them would soon reach the age eligible to vote in public elections in the society. They were mature and independent enough to exercise their will to accept or refuse the request for talks and sharing and they possessed acquired knowledge and competences in communicating clearly complex relationships of issues related to the research study. The Secondary Seven students were also the ideal informants but because they began to concentrate their minds and energies on preparing for the university entrance examination, they withdrew from most school activities and were not willing to engage in outside commitments. After all, the selection of informants was more than a mere rational choice as political and status issues emerged in the choice of decision, taking into account the practical rule that not 'everybody' s voice has equal influence or power' (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 127). As the 'reflective individual' (LeCompte & Goetz, 1984) and willing-teller and 'insider' of the scene, the informants to the outsider researcher were neither the 'subjects' nor 'respondents', but 'specialists' or 'experts' in terms of knowledge and experience of the field where they lived their life (Spindler, 1982; Spradley, 1979; LeCompte & Goetz, 1984; Zelditch, 1962 & Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995).

3.4. Ethics

Certain ethical issues came up during the study, which deserved serious discussion. Self-reflection of this-kind could be seen as part of learning life of the fieldwork as described by Fetterman (1989:129) from

adolescence to adulthood.

1. What were the ethical issues that came into play during the study and how?

3.4.1. Informed consent and trust

As the outsider or stranger to the school community, the study could not be carried out without the voluntary if not full consent of the gatekeeper, i.e. the school principal. More importantly, the research would in one way or another, overtly or covertly, touch on the sensitive issue of revealing the political stance of the school, which was seen as political taboo for local schools inherited from the conventional practice in the colonial past. In this sense, being ethical, it was the responsibility of the researcher (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 44) to make the consent an informed one. 'Informed' in the context could be understood in two aspects namely, the technical or procedural and knowledge or content aspects. According to Sieber (1992), written evidence on procedures should include the description of how, where and by whom the informed consent will be negotiated and obtained (in Mertens, 1995:277).

I had presented all necessary written requests and briefing notes to the parties involved such as the school principal, teachers and students and gained their permission before entering the field or access to informants. In most situations, they gave oral instead of written consent. The consent was voluntary in the sense that 'refusal will not result in any penalty, and that the person is free to withdraw at any time' (adapted from Sieber by Mertens, 1995: 277) but it was based more on trust than knowledge as it was supposed to be. Berg (1995) argues that a voluntary consent is an informed decision, which in Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias' s words (1992) is a thorough explanation beforehand of the benefits, rights, risks and dangers involved in the participation. Obviously, it was difficult for a qualitative researcher to provide what and how exactly the data would be collected and used for participants other than general statements prior to the actual study (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). On the other hand, in my case, the participants might not bother whether they had been given enough time to know enough to make a so-called informed consent decision.

In recalled experience, I remembered that I told the school principal,

a friend of mine, I was doing a doctoral degree course and planning a field study for my thesis, he just asked me a few questions on the research topic and the time for starting the fieldwork and then he told me I could come anytime I found it suitable. With student informants, just soon after I briefed them briefly about the purpose of my study, the role of informant and the rights and risks of being an informant, they replied they learnt it from their teachers and fellow students who I was and what I was doing and they were glad to serve as informant. They had the trust in me and would like to try out some new 'learning' experience. Whatever the case, the gatekeeper and informants were not fully informed even though I gave all I knew at that very moment of time. It was not an informed consent in its strict sense but only in its relaxed sense. The oral consent, face-to-face but loosely structured, signified the trust in and responsibilities of the researcher in protecting the interests of the informants and the school in light of the fact that the consent after all was more a moral than legal obligation. The informants relied more on the status of the researcher as a teacher-trainer and doctoral degree student than the knowledge and written guarantee that the researcher would not betray them intentionally. In this sense, the deficiency of informed consent was compensated by the ethical conduct and responsibilities of the researcher who was also morally liable for the unintended consequences that might do harm to the informants in the research and the published report.

3.4.2. Confidentiality and anonymity

An ethnographer who establishes a bond of trust will learn about the many layers of meaning in any community or program under study(···) communicates this trust verbally and nonverbally (···) speak simply and promise confidentiality as the need arises.

(Fetterman, 1989: 132)

Confidentiality was significant but it was easier said than done. In my case, two types of confidentiality were identified. The first was the confidentiality of site. The school principal requested the name of the school not be disclosed to the public. This was also the 'confidentiality among schools'. The school would naturally not like to have negative

remarks heard from friendly or rival schools out of my research report. I assured him of anonymity through the use of pseudonyms. However, it was the study of only one school. Despite the name of the school being withheld, the rich description of the data about the school and school events (especially those I drew down from the school's web-site) might not prevent people to identify the school being used in the study. As put by Fetterman (1989) 'yet pseudonyms can still protect the informant school from 'the researcher's larger audience' (p.134). I followed closely the practice of pseudonyms in the final writing-up for thesis submission but loosely in the data collection and analysis. In my case, I used 'the school' and 'Pedro school' interchangeably to represent the school under study.

Besides, I restricted the access of data to limited persons with clear, specific purpose, for example, to my supervisor for advice and comments. This would come to the second type of confidentiality of data as Fetterman (1989) reminds ethnographers of striving 'to maintain control of the raw data so that they can maintain confidentiality and protect key informants and other participants from abuses' (p.129). I never cited any classified information of the school in the data analysis and final writing-up account. Instead of merely collecting information from the gatekeeper, much more information about school was collected from teachers and students. There arose then the 'confidentiality within the school'. In school, however, there existed more the sensitive information, such as meeting notes, memos and drafts of proposals, which were not officially classified but the use of it, as the norm of practice, was restricted to those who were functionally involved in the event. Secret talks were also the main source of sensitive information. These kinds of 'insider' information would inevitably help shape my perspective on related themes during the research process. Nevertheless, I avoided using these kinds of information as quotes unless I sought the informants' consent for using the stories in the finished write-up account without mentioning the source.

For student informants, this confidentiality of the data was far more important in school where students were placed in a more disadvantageous power position in the hierarchical structure of the school (Hutchcock & Hughes, 1995). This unbalanced power status of students would make their

views and personal comments about the school particularly sensitive, in a sense that if it was not handled delicately and tactfully enough, students might withdraw from providing the researcher their feelings and information.

3.4.3. Vigor and reciprocity

Vigor expressed in terms of diligence (Fetterman, 1989: 136) will help maintain the human relations during the fieldwork and prevent from falling into diminishing credibility of both the researcher and final product. Vigor in reciprocity could also be achieved through increasing research effort, credibility and impact. In my case, I was always willing to offer time and expertise (Fetterman, 1989: 134) to students and voluntary service to the school. For example, I took patience to explain to student interviewees how to think intellectually and how to plan their study during free talks, usually after interviews upon personal request. They found me very helpful and felt at ease with me. That would help in return for them to speak out and not to hide their inner feelings. They told frankly if they did not catch the meaning of the question because the questions were difficult or I did not make the questions easy for them. Sometimes, I felt I was giving informal lessons on civic education to them because they had no knowledge on so many things that they were supposed to have learnt before. At school, I had helped delivery of letters of urgency to the school supervisor for the school upon request at the very first days of school visit. Doing reciprocal service with diligence would definitely earn much rapport with the school on the one hand and on the other hand make me feel much released from bringing a lot of troubles to the school and the school principal in particular in the research. Vigor in reciprocity however did not mean that I could abdicate from vigorous efforts in producing good quality research work. On the contrary, it added more vigor to me to write a credible account with an impact as an equal barter.

3.5. Data collection: methods and techniques

In this section, the following questions are addressed regarding data collection in the study:

1. What methods were adopted in the study?
2. Why they were selected in the study?

3. How they were applied in the study and what were the limitations?

3.5.1. Participant observation

It was natural and logical for a researcher to 'go native' if he wanted to get to know the insider's perspective of the people living in the field and make sense of the data with that learned perspective. Participant observation as a method of study could help achieve that purpose when the researcher was entrusted with a membership role in the community under concern (Adler & Adler, 1994). As such, Taft (1988) views participant observation as a kind of acculturation. With this point in mind, Fetterman, (1989) sees participant observation as a useful tool to provide 'a baseline of meaning' at its initial stage of the ground study and at a later stage to clarify the results of other ethnographic instruments with a sharper focus. From the very first day I visited the school, I was presented a name card on which was printed the word 'researcher' and I put it on every time I visited the school. That hardly signified me as a member of the school community in its everyday routines. But soon I gained a membership role at least with respect to the school administration after I helped the school to deliver an urgent letter to the school's supervisor who was my former colleague for more than ten years. Moreover, the school principal, the gatekeeper, allowed me to move freely around and put me on a low profile which was advantageous because people would think I was one of the members of the school with specific functions. The daily encounters had however revealed that many teachers and students had mistaken me as a parent visitor. To them, 'parent visitor' was regarded as part if not full member of the school and so I was not treated as a total stranger or complete outsider. When they saw me on the corridor, they were willing to approach me and asked me if there was anything they could help. I found my presence around the school campus did not interrupt or obstruct their everyday life activities. I was treated as one of the members of the school, each having a role to play. Yet, I was not a natural member. I was not given an official role, a position with actual or formal duties or obligations in the school. In this sense, I was not a 'natural participant' (Spradley, 1980) or complete-member-researcher (Adler & Adler, 1994). I also remembered that I was advised not to approach students on the very first days until the gatekeeper, i. e. the school principal had made the formal announcement about my presence. That formal announcement was never given publicly and

openly. The school principal only issued memos to those who got involved in my study. Nevertheless, I was allowed to move freely in the campus but class observations were not arranged until further notice at the later time.

My participation was more of peripheral-member- researcher kind (Adler & Adler, 1994) in that I had close interactions between members yet with little involvement in core activities. The limitation, however, was that the abstinence from active interacting with the field might form 'the systematic restraint on disclosing the interior perspective of the field and of the observed persons' (2002:139). Technically, I was treated like a parent visitor and the presence in the confined areas was then natural. I was an insider albeit marginal. I was free to move, observe, make notes, and even take photos of the surroundings and talk to people who showed an interest in me like the workers and teachers. I participated in the everyday activities of the school. For example, I joined the students and teachers in the morning prayer and assembly, ate my breakfast at the canteen during the recess, took a rest at the canteen or sipped fruit juice in the chair in the backyard and read a book I brought along while students did their free studies or read newspapers in the open area on the ground floor. The role shifted to more a researcher than parent visitor when I did the class observations at the later stage during which I had already been accepted as a friend and a guest of the school. I was aware that the position of my participation would never be 'participant insider' but 'participant outsider' (Patton, 1987) and with this role, I did my fieldwork. Whatever the case, by reviewing field-notes afterwards, Berg (1989) believes that the researcher will sometimes have identified certain underlying principles and concepts about the field and the life of the people.

3.5.2. Ethnographic interview

In ethnographic study, interviewing is 'the best means of obtaining large bodies of information in the least amount of time' (Briggs, 1986: 39). An ethnographic interview takes place naturally in the field and turns conversations into interviews in which 'the unfolding of the other' s specific experiences is aligned with issue of the research in a systematic way' (Flick, 2002: 90; Spradley, 1980). In this sense, the researcher does not collect data about people but learns from them in natural

encounters (Spradley, 1979). In my case, students were requested to join the interview in their free periods or day out in the school (see section 3.4.4. & Appendix One: 2). The interview questions were set in the semi-structured format, i. e. questions were confined to several emerged broad domains from observed facts in the previous studies and derived from general questions being asked in the interview. The semi-structured interview could ensure the coverage of important issues yet make room for flexibility in responding to group-initiated concerns (Mertens, 1995). The interview was however conducted in an unstructured manner for many of the times with the interviewer answering the questions asked by the students and giving his personal feelings, for example, on how the interview should have been done (Adler & Alder, 1994). The interviewer had shifted the focus or depth of the inquiry and the order of question in interacting with students instead of letting the 'pre-structured' questions dictate the scene. In fact, the interview was sometimes more a 'friendly conversation' with students as students would make suggestion to change the questions, ask personal questions about me in the midst of the interview, and talk about their plan for future studies. For example, they once compared me with their lady teacher teaching civic education when I explained the idea of civic education to them. Through these casual conversations or informal interviewing, it was found that the informants often answered the interviewer's unasked questions (Fetterman, 1989). The students were more eager to talk about personal, secret or gossip things among themselves and the school in a much relaxed manner before and after the interview with the tape recorder turned off. Very often these informal interviews would give new insights into what students look for and how they look at things with regard to civic learning. These unplanned conversations often lasted long, taking more than half an hour sometimes. Due to this loosely organized manner, the interview had been prolonged, far beyond than I initially planned.

Sometimes, students might find it difficult to follow. Without noticing the change of the logics of thinking, they felt that at one time the questions were too general and they did not know where to start with and what sorts of details to give in the answer (for example, in the focus group), and at other times, the questions were too particularistic and they did not know how to relate them to the general situations (for example, in ethnographic interview). The planned four 45-minute sessions of

interview turned out to tripling the time. It was however worthwhile because the interviews were 'situated activities' and the data were 'situated accounts' (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 160) and I could learn in depth their subjective views on concrete materials in the study (Merton & Kendall, 1946).

There were group interviews and sometimes some focused questions were asked for example by giving a photo taken by me in the early field observation or the quotes from the publicized information like the school's Newsletter or the copies of news stories posted on the library notice boards for them to discuss and express the views. Group interviews allowed me to identify extreme personal views and opinions of individual students about the school events. It was important because the research focus was the effects of school on students' civic learning. Group interviews could also 'provide evidence of ways that differences are resolved and consensus is built' (Mertens, 1998: 174). Focus groups would be a sort of 'guided discussion' (Mertens, 1998: 321), which allows the researcher to know different views of students on the school's civic education programme and activate students to shed new insights on viewing their everyday events and life experience in school in relation to civic education.

3.5.3. Trustworthiness and validity

My study was a case study about the civic education programme of a school in which I myself served as 'the research instrument' and gave a narrative report on 'the natural flow of events' (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte, 1999: 273). It was in an ethnographic study of this naturalist paradigmatic view that the validity issue sprang up. Silverman (1993) has the insightful remark about validity: '...if social science statements are simply accounts, with no claims to validity, why should we read them?' (p.155). Hammersley (1990) has provided a clear and useful definition on validity:

By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers (p.57)

To discuss validity and trustworthiness of an ethnographic study with Guba

& Lincoln' s (1989) criteria, I had a shared feeling with Ely (1991) who relates it to the role of researcher:

Being trustworthy as a qualitative researcher means at the least that the process of the research are carried out fairly, that the products represent as closely as possible the experiences of people who are studied (p.93)

My study was mainly exploratory and descriptive in essence. Applying Hitchcock & Hughes (1995) schema on validity, I then focused on data or descriptive validity and left other types of validity like explanatory validity, instrument validity, and criterion validity basically untouched. Discussion about data validity worked on two directions in the school study: first, internal validity, and second, external validity.

3.5.3.1. Internal validity

The main focus of the first question is whether the results obtained make sense and are shared by the people under study (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Basically, I tried triangulation and validation check. Regarding triangulation, multiple methods and multiple sources of data were used to investigate the common topics, related themes and common points. Investigator and theory triangulation in Denzin' s scheme (1989a) would not apply mainly because it was an ethnographic study of an exploratory nature and I was the only researcher. Triangulation of methods was to compare and contrast the data of common themes collected through field observations, interviews, documents and photos. Triangulation of sources would delve into different perspectives of source people like students, teacher groups, parents, past students, government policy, school policy, mass media and various outside bodies from looking at the same common theme.

Triangulation for factual data checking was effective (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Fetterman, 1989; Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995) in the sense that it does not only look for convergence of data but at the same time also for inconsistency and contradiction (Mertens, 1998). For example, I learnt

from the field observation and talks with students that Taiwan was at times referred to when political development of China and Hong Kong was discussed in the school's study. Another example when I showed the photos of displays of the two student clubs on biographies of two distinguished Hong Kongers of outstanding international achievements and asked whether the school was now advocating the global dimension of local citizenship. They said they were the products of different times. The one about Bruce Lee, the Kung fu star was already there since they were Secondary One six years ago and the other Marco Fu, the world's top snooker was just recently put up. It had long been the school's policy of educating students that success came from persistent and dedicated efforts. At this illustrative point, my theory of inculcating an international dimension in students required further evidence and proof. In a word, the trustworthiness of the study would greatly be increased if the search for variations of responses were involved before 'a cultural portrait that establishes consistent patterns and makes sense' (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte, 1999: 277).

Validation check took several forms. Firstly, there was persistent and prolonged observation. It could for example allow me to repeatedly ask student informants, largely the three students (i.e. Tracy, Sara and Yvette), the questions on topics about China, Hong Kong until I found I was given no new examples or 'extending answers' (Mertens, 1998) by students. For example, in interviews, I discovered that students had various identifications with Hong Kong even in one self, Hong Konger, Hong Kong Chinese and Chinese Hong Konger, depending on how they perceive and respond to the situations. Also, only by doing this could I understand with confidence about the school context and determine I received enough and no more new relevant data about the studying themes in the field and the report writing afterwards.

Secondly, member check was believed effective if my writing records for analysis were open to student informants (Mertens, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1989). For example, I invited student informants to read over my transcriptions and making corrections on the written record based on tape recordings. They were encouraged to add anything, which they found they had not done enough in the earlier time in order to enrich the initial message with further evidence. Bearing in mind they were responding from

their particular point of view as students of the school, they might be well-placed informants on their own actions, but with regard to school policy and practice, they were liable to be possible threats to validity as reminded by Ball (1981 & 1984) and Hammersley & Atkinson (1995) that no validation strategy was problem-free or security-proof device and the respondents were only accountable for their own action, beyond that they were helpless. For example, students blamed school for not talking about Taiwan the controversial topic in contemporary Chinese studies despite school's sponsored tours to Taiwan for cultural visits for two consecutive years during the summer vacation. In a lesser extent, peer support was sought by inviting helpers for example to make another set of interview transcription as a sample check of mine. Verbatim principle was applied as far as possible to take note of the insight of Fetterman (1989) that verbatim quotation is not only a permanent record of thoughts but also feelings.

Thirdly, in data collection, peer-briefing and support was another significant validity check. Since I was the only researcher in the study, peer briefing was a matter of concern. Ely (1991) had similar experience and she found a doctoral committee very helpful as a therapist and ethnographer. I turned to my supervisor when I met difficulties of any sort in the field and tried to write him my ideas, the questions and records and to request him to comment on them and advise whether or not I was occupied by biased views and inclinations that I was unnoticed of in observation, interview, record taking and reporting. With another angle from looking at the matters, for example, I was alert on not to falling into traps of leading students to give an answer that I wanted to my questions or preventing students from behaving that way, who, at times, tended to do that.

Fourthly, in the whole course of investigation, the 'negative case analysis' (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) was employed to look for clearer picture by 'reducing the number of exceptional cases' (Lincoln & Cuba, 1985: 312). I for example used an example of the increasing use of simplified Chinese character in Hong Kong and the common use of Putonghua (or Mandarin) in both Taiwan and China to confront students with the conception of the modern nation of China, and see whether they held a unified or divided or any other view. The situations might not lead to 'a negative case'

that a conception is refuted but 'a discrepant case' (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) that a refined conception of China of students would emerge. It was found that student informants did not have any prescribed view but seemed more attached to the popular will, regarding the unification issue.

3.5.3.2. External validity

The second question is concerned whether the results obtained hold true in other similar or comparable cases (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

Understanding that the case was unique in its context and culture, it was more possible to make data credible to readers of the report by first providing a thick description of context (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Fetterman, 1989) and second presenting it in a more readable way to readers with clear and commonly understandable terms (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). In the reporting, for example, the original language (i.e. the dialect of Cantonese) of students was kept intact in making the transcription and verbatim quotations principle was applied in writing the report as far as possible. Furthermore, I always told myself to describe not only the national ideas of students (see Chapter 5, 6) but also the cultural attachments and scenes of the school (see chapter 7) so that readers could make their judgment on the degree of similarity and comparability.

3.5.4. Trustworthiness and reliability

To end the discussion on trustworthiness, it is also worth to mention here the status of reliability in relation to case study. If reliability is meant 'duplication of results' (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte, 1999: 288), it might not be relevant because my study is a single case study which is the study of natural flow of events that cannot be repeated and is unique in its temporal and contextual terms. If procedural reliability is meant, documentation and audit should be made explicit (Flick, 2002) and in my case, I tried to stick to some rules of thumb during documentation and note down the course of change in my computer with dates specified.

3.6. Other related issues in conducting the study

The following issues bearing on the researcher as the effective instrument were dealt with.

1. What and how was the rapport affecting the researcher in data collection?

2. How important was the language use in the study?
3. How was the researcher's reflexivity taken into account in the process of study?

3.6.1. The rapport

Being aware that the researcher was the instrument for data collection, I deeply believed that a good rapport with people and the community under study would definitely be an advantage for me to learn from the informants who did not know me before. The importance of rapport had been demonstrated when I approached schools asking to conducting an ethnographic study. In the first place, not many school principals knew exactly what an ethnographic study was. For those who had the knowledge, without their prior friendship and trust, they would still decline my request, replying that they were afraid their colleagues were not willing to cooperate with me with that research scenario. It is not the researcher who could determine the researcher role alone. The school and respondents would have a part to play to shape such role. Mertens agrees with what Warren (1988) says that 'the role of researcher is assigned by the respondents in terms of what they see as his or her proper place in the social order' (Mertens, 1998: 179). Hitchcock (1980) characterizes the relationships between the researcher and respondents as the product of contextual or situational features. The friendly and trustful relations are of particular significance because it is hard to go on with the study when the respondents or the school are hostile against or suspicious about the researcher. The researcher needs to be mindful of the people and the institutional relationships throughout the process of the study.

In my case school, I had a comfortable start because some friendly relationships had been there long before I sought to conduct the fieldwork in the school (refer to section 3.3.2.). I had consolidated these relationships through the initial encounters, making it the platform on which I further developed the rapport for the good of the field study. I did not need to put much effort to establish the rapport with the school gatekeepers. It was already there. The relationship with the school was further strengthened when the general secretary asked me the favor to deliver an urgent letter to the school's supervisor who was my old friend and former colleague. I remembered what he said when I passed the letter to him at his office, he said, "Tell me if there is any thing I can help

in your field work in my supervising school... Try your best to finish your doctoral degree, the sooner the better."

Thus I was not a complete stranger to the school authorities and I could feel that these authoritative persons were frank and sincere in offering me help and assistance in my doctoral study. I had also earned the friendship of the general secretary of the school for I volunteered to deliver an urgent letter for her. That made my study on the later days much easier because she was the person who fixed all the detail things for me in daily operations, for example, preparing labels for me, making liaison between me and the school principal, coordinating between me and the teachers and students and arranging the date, time and place for the meetings and class observation. She also reminded her team to offer me assistance when she was out of office. I also earned the friendship of the minor staff of the school. My long years of working experience in school had taught me that the minor staff in school was the best lubricant in establishing and maintaining working relationship with school. The workmen were pleased to talk with me when they found me sitting in the backyard doing the lonely job of writing notes. They might not understand what I was doing as the researcher, but they were friendly and polite to me knowing that I was the guest of the school principal, not merely the visitor.

With informant students, I soon got their friendship with my polite manner and positive attitude towards life, work and study. They looked to me with a multiple role, a researcher, personal tutor, friend of senior, visitor and guest. They were very cooperative throughout and we built a friendly relationship after interviews. When I suggested to the initial volunteer informants that I would like them to introduce to me new faces for each subsequent interview, they promised to fulfill my wish.

The weakest link was with teachers. To them, I was an outsider if not a stranger. And since the school principal had not yet made known my presence publicly to them at the beginning time, they would hold a wait-and-see attitude and would not take any initiative to approach me. They would just return a polite smile when I came across them and greeted them by nodding my head. They behaved like meeting an ordinary visitor from outside, pretending that they did not hear about my researcher role. Many did not

bother to know who I was and just treated me like a parent visitor and showed me where to wait for the teachers who offered the invitation. They were polite, ready to help and maintain a formal hosting relationship. I was fully aware that I was working and interacting with people under the school hierarchical structure and authority. How deep I could break through this formal social institution and reach the inner side of their life in school depended greatly on how I behaved and how they perceived my behaviors. The relationship changed subtly after I took part several times in the morning prayer with them in the morning assembly. I was a Catholic and many teachers in the school were also the Catholics. Although we did not meet face to face, some catholic teachers would feel we had something in common when they watched me make the sign of the cross in the pray. I made every effort to strike a balance of the roles between the outsider and insider. Prejudice on either one would do no good to the study as the ethnographic study requires related techniques described as consisting of 'lore on establishing and maintaining good relationships in the field' (McCall and Simmons, 1968: 28). I have to confess that if I were given another chance, I would have done better by improving the relationships with teachers through meeting them at the same time with the school principal at the very beginning. This would make them less threatened with the perceived facts that the later contacts and encounters would be imposed top-down.

3.6.2. Language use

Language and language use were all important in the ethnographic study, especially during the process of discovery (Spradley, 1979, 1980).

Language is more than a means of communication about reality: it is a tool for constructing reality. Different languages create and express different realities. They categorize experience in different ways. They provide alternative patterns for customary ways of thinking and perceiving (Spradley, 1979: 17)

It implied among other things that the researcher was required to take into account the socio-linguistic context and the shared meanings of both the researcher and respondents through language (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995). In my case, since I was doing the study in my own society, the

'native language' was not a problem to me. Both the researcher and the respondents spoke Cantonese, the popular dialect of Chinese language in Hong Kong. We could communicate in more or less the same style of Hong Kong language in that in between the Chinese expressions, we included some simple words of English. I understood the linguistic contexts of both Hong Kong and the school because I was born here and I had never left the school community from the very first day of my schooling at an age of five. Students and I understood each other's language use without missing the main cultural themes despite some variations in minor linguistic details. Having said that, it did not mean I understood and interpreted correctly all the messages from their words without missing anything of their young generation culture. As argued by Spradley (1979) there would exist semantic differences between the respondents and the researcher who spoke identical language and this would result in the loss of important cues to cultural meaning (Spradley, 1980). For example, I nearly overlooked the language difference on some simple and common terms like the words of 'Western' and 'Asian' with the student respondents. To them, 'Western' meant broadly those of the white people, which included also the Russians and the people of Eastern Europe. To me, it referred only to people of U. K., U. S. A., and Western Europe and allied countries of the capitalist world. When we talked western food without further specifications, I meant the traditional sense of steak, bread and butter, and tea and coffee. For specialties, I had more refined definitions in order to differentiate one from the other in terms of locality. But to the students, it meant food in all the specific western styles like the Italian spaghetti and American hamburger. In 'Asian', I included Korean and Japanese and Chinese food as Asian food but the students separated it from those three, narrowly referring to the dishes of Southeast Asian countries like Thai, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam and even India. Moreover, although I kept reminding myself to use everyday language in the conversational contacts with people in the field, to look at their faces and hear their answers, I found that sometimes the respondents did not catch what exactly the key terms meant which I unconsciously used as technical terms within the social science discipline. For example, students were confused the term 'nation' with 'state' when I talked about the communist government in China and they just treated them the same as country (國家) or China (中國) in its common sense.

Since the final report was written in English, translation was an issue worthy of discussion here. For the interviews in particular, they had been done in Chinese. There might not be equivalent terms in English with similar cultural contextual meanings attached that I could use when I did the translation of students' conversations or interviews. As an educated bilingual and veteran member of the education community, I would rely on my own linguistic competence and experience to translate the Chinese textual data into English with the hope that the cultural meanings would be much preserved when read by audiences of English culture. Wherever possible, the native terms and their meanings would be included in the English textual reports. Fortunately, Chinese was not the only language in use in the study. English was also another important language medium in school, for example, in school documents and records, in English medium classes in many subjects, in written assignments and tests and examinations. The contextual understanding of the school through these English materials reduced the chance of misinterpretation through translation. Also, since the first day I decided to conduct the field study in an English medium school, I used English in nearly all my written works, which included letters to the school, emails to my supervisor, the field-notes and journals, guidelines and notes, the analysis and of course the final written account. In view of this, many written accounts would be regarded as natural, original and authentic and the readers would not miss any messages conveyed covertly in these original English works or distorted by the translation.

3.6.3. Reflexivity

In the field study, I could not avoid making decisions. It was about selectivity (Hammersley, 1984) of this but not that site, person and event, etc. which inevitably involved presuppositions and was based on particular purposes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Hammersley (1999) brings to the attention of the researcher the importance of reflexivity, i.e. 'the ways in which analysis could involve presupposition that the analyst was unaware of, which significantly shaped the account produced' (p.7). Since the researcher himself was the research instrument, the reflexivity should unravel these presuppositions and itself play a part in creating the social reality by reviewing the researcher's interactions with the field and the respondents. It was then the obligation of the researcher to make known his inner workings to people

and keep them well informed, and examine how these would affect the study and to what extent. Also, the process of reflexivity was to enable people 'to gain insights into the potential biases of the researcher' (Sikes, 1999:109) by contextualizing these subjective experiences as part knowledge of the final accounts. In practical and technical terms, 'a reflexive appreciation of ethnographic realities takes on board the fundamental role of the researcher in the construction and reconstruction of the professional ethnographic monograph' (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 145). Hammersley (1999: 3-9) illustrates this by mentioning Wood as a real example who did not abandon the key role as the researcher despite changes of his approach to ethnography.

In the study, I always reminded myself of keeping the role as an authentic researcher. But, no matter how hard I did, I found I could not help holding a patriotic sentiment of a unified and strong nation when talking about the Taiwan independent movement with students. As both a nationalist and native Hong Konger, deep in my heart, I empathized with the students who always thought first from the stance of Hong Kong when discussing Hong Kong's integration with the Mainland China. I was conscious and cautious of the fact that many of the data collected were affected by these interactive subjective relationships with students, which were in fact creating data during the study. I did not deny that students also perceived my personal positions in the study and suspected that I had hidden answers behind the questions and that I was trying to lead them to reach certain position and produce certain answers through their mouth. 'Your question was too broad to answer. I'm worried that I'd give a wrong answer and I don't want to give wrong answers,' said one of the student informants in an informal conversation after the taped interview. To them, a wrong answer was not the answer that I wanted. They gave instead very general answers without much concrete substance. They asked if I could make the question specific enough so that they could answer it just like doing filling in the blank exercise. I could not stop them thinking of it that way. As pointed out by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), 'people rely on presuppositions about the world, few of which they have subjected to test, and none of which they could fully test in everyday activities'. True or not true, that kind of perceived relationship did exist somewhere sometimes that required serious consideration in the data collection, analysis and interpretation, and writing up of the finished accounts.

In my field journal (see Appendix Four), I tried to contextualize these kinds of subjective experiences and interactions, hoping that through this process of objectification, the bias of the researcher, its impacts and threats to validity of data could be spelt out and dealt with in the field study and in the writing of accounts. I had to confess that being reflexive did not necessarily mean that I would be rational or objective enough to drop the initial presuppositions or values in the study when I began to feel the effects of the researched and of the research setting on me. Plummer (1995) indicates that one's life history affects what one sees as being salient. It depends contingently on his personal subjectivity because 'sometimes people hear so lightly what others say so intensively, and sometimes people hear so intensely what others say so lightly' (Plummer, 1995: 21). Reflexive accounts only recorded or justified my arrogance perhaps. Reflexivity contextualized or objectified my subjectivity but did not necessarily change it, which however helped make the social world under study. Many times, instead of minimizing or monitoring such reactivity, I exploited it (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 18). In another words, what I understood about the reflexivity was superficial and skill-like without grasping fully the significance of its complex workings inside the researcher as the research instrument, as revealed by unresolved problematic or arbitrary situations brought to the student informants.

3.7. Recording data, analysis and interpretation, and writing-up

It came to the later phase of ethnographic study in which the textual production of data (Flick, 2002) in recording, analysis and writing up were discussed with the focus as given below:

1. What were the data and what kinds were they?
2. When and how were data analyzed?
3. What theory development was it in the study?
4. How was the writing of the finished accounts and what problems emerged?

3.7.1. Data recording

Basically, I drew on three main kinds of data, namely visual, verbal and reflexive according to the methods of collection. Visual data were largely

observational notes. They were taken in the form of scratch notes and field notes (Sanjek, 2001) throughout the field visits and studies. Photographs, as non-reactive recordings of observations (Flick, 2002; Denzin, 1989a & b; Becker, 1986) were also taken and largely used to record data by showing the photos to student informants and asking them about the things during the interviews (Barthes, 1996). Verbal data came from ethnographic interviews; if they were formal, they were tape-recorded and if informal (usually in the form of friendly conversations), notes were taken afterwards. The verbatim principle was applied in its loose sense and those 'native' terms, which expressed the main themes, were recorded in the field notes (Flick, 2002; Strauss, 1987). Meta-communicative acts and events (Sanjek, 2001), for example, the subtle relationships of the volunteer informants with the newly introduced informants were also recorded. They were close friends and classmates in Secondary Five but one of them could not progress to Secondary Six and repeated Secondary Five this year. In the group, she was less expressive but when I talked to her alone during the break, she had her points and opinions clearly made.

Reflexive data were put in the field journals and often made on the same date after returning home from the school. These self-reflexive accounts, confessional or analytic, could provide a platform similar to what Clifford & Marcus (1986) described as 'the forum' for discussions in the analysis and interpretations. Richness of data did not necessarily mean all the data recorded were useful, significant or relevant and those unrecorded could be neglected. I was always aware that no matter how comprehensive I was in recording the data, only a tiny portion of data was actually recorded. This might be due to the fact that what was relevant may have changed over the course of time (Hammersley, 1984) and the limited knowledge about the school which might make me miss a lot of data that should have been recorded in the school's everyday practice. Furthermore, Spradley (1979) reminds beginner ethnographers that 'failure to... discovering the inner meaning of another culture will lead to a false confidence we have found out what the natives know' (p.73). To avoid overlooking the data, I chose, whenever and wherever necessary, to return to the field and make successive and supplementary visits and interviews during the analysis and writing of the accounts. For example, I chose to meet student informants to brief them how to cross check the transcribed

notes several times at the school campus. I made use of these opportunities to look around the campus or have friendly talk to teachers and the principal for the points I wanted to have more clarification on in the data analysis and report writing. I wished to record most relevant data and at the same time understood as Hammersley (1984) notes that 'my conception of what was relevant may have changed over the course of time' (p.53). For example, one year after the main field work, when I met student informants and it happened to come across the topic on the elite role of students in society and country in the future, they said the school had to lower the academic achievements of admission criteria of secondary six so that the school could accommodate more students in the light of its future expansion, They were a bit disappointed because the school's future development seemed to have changed for quantity but not quality and they would think the school was no longer to aim at providing an elite education for its serving district.

3.7.2. Data analysis and interpretation

Analysis in the ethnographic study is an activity of making sense of the qualitative data collected (Fetterman, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Given the variety and complex organization of social world and data collected in a variety of forms, no one single analytic strategy could achieve the task without any flaw. As observed by Strauss (1987), '... a standardization of methods (...) would only constrain and even stifle social researchers' best efforts' (p.7). Coffey & Atkinson (1996) advocate a 'thick analysis' in which 'we can use different analytic strategies in order to explore different facets of our data, explore different kinds of order in them, and construct different versions of the social world' (p.16). It was basically an inductive and data-led activity (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and was an on-going process commenced right from the very start of the research. The overall goal of making sense of the data, as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985), is to 'facilitate the continuing unfolding of the inquiry, and lead to a maximum understanding (in the sense of Verstehen) of the phenomena being studied' (p.224). From the very first day of the field observation, I did analysis on the field data in my field diary. I delved deep inside the heart and struggled over whether the interpretation of the China concept so described was the exact reflection of what I collected from the field. Coffey & Atkinson (1996) view such analysis as part of the research design.

and of the data collection but not the separate or later stage of the research.

During the field study, I had to make every decision based on analysis and requested the school to help and cooperate likewise. Basically, the actual process of analysis was however neither linear as pointed out by Spradley nor 'cyclical' in Spradley's sense (1980: 28) but rather interactive and developmental in that data-collection and data-analysis could occur at the same time and were interactive and emerged during the whole process of research. It is more a cyclical and reflexive process (Tesch, 1990). The reflexive ideas so produced would guide me to explore with a focus on the next day of field visits. That complex and subtle process repeated and analysis so involved was more than inductive, it implied also being imaginative (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996), artful (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) and playful (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). The effects of the people's subjectivity (i.e. the informants and the researcher) in shaping the social reality (i.e. the school and civic education programme) were addressed as Hammersley (1999) points out that perspectives and actions are socially grounded in the immediate contexts and 'people construct their perspectives about the world and build lines of action on the basis of these, rather than simply responding to events in a passive way' (p.2). Bearing in mind that my presence and the field study in the school looked more like doing 'smash and grasp' ethnography albeit through intense involvement (see Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995: 148), it could hardly be claimed that the analysis and interpretation could be immune from any preconceived ideas or presuppositions about citizenship education and thus made the development of theories 'purely' grounded in empirical data of the field school difficult. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) have the following note:

While we would certainly not wish to deny or downplay the role of creative imagination in research, we should point out that it is not restricted to the *emergence* of analytical ideas, but is equally important in devising ways of *developing and testing* these. (p.209) (Italics are of authors)

In-between the process of recording data, data analysis also began to take

place. The two activities could be separated analytically, but in actual working, I was not prevented from looking for abstract categorizations for a systematic presentation of data. Furthermore, the activities were not unidirectional i.e. from data to concepts, but were interactive i.e. concepts so derived would also regulate organization and re-organization of data. For example, the two-tier national identity conception of China was the product of the school findings and interpretation with the notion of nation in the political science. Students first lived with an identity with Hong Kong which was the place they were born and grew before they came to school to receive learning that China was their ancestral country which they then embraced after long years of separation politically.

Through asking factual, categorical and contrast questions on certain concrete aspects of the research problem in the field, data were unfolded and analyzed (Spradley, 1979 & 1980). At the same time, I began to work with ideas that emerged from the collected data. In this respect, I tried Hammersley & Atkinson's (1995) 'progressive focusing' which is described in essence as 'over time, the research problem needs to be developed or transformed, and eventually its scope is clarified and delimited, and its internal structure explored' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995:206). For much of the time, I felt I was swamped by an abundance of data collected in the field observations and ethnographic interviews and interactions betwixt and between me and the field school, the field school and my serving institute, and analytic notes and grounded abstractions.

It was not until I decided to suspend the field visits and came down to start writing up the report that I realized that no central theme was yet decided among a variety of seemingly disorganized and emerging themes and theories. I found a complete detachment from the field for a certain period of time was good for me to recapture the master status of fieldworker and not feel like 'a dilettante' who 'flitted from topic to topic' (Klenman, Stenross & McMahon, 2001). At this point of development, I attempted to reflect holistically on a case study from a methodological viewpoint. Hammersley & Gomm (2000) contend that a case study is more than a method and is in fact a 'research paradigm' that it 'investigates a few cases, often just one, in considerable depth' (p.3-7) and a narrative explanation (Becker, 2000) of that particular event will then be made. A case study in this sense tries also to investigate 'the causal

process “in the real world” rather than in artificially created settings’ (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000: 6). It was more than to make sense of data. It was an attempt to have some theory development.

In the generalization of data and theory generation in the case study, I tried first to look at the relation of data and theory with a perspective that was inspired by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Znaniecki (1934).

‘Grounded theorizing’ originated from and developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978) and Strauss & Corbin (1990) is particularly relevant: the central question is whether the findings and the theory are grounded in the empirical relations and data. In my study, I first went to visit the field school without knowing what I could do about the citizenship education and what and how the school could help and assist. For a month or so, I did collect some data and ideas from the field and decided to proceed on my study. In the meantime, I began to read intensively the current literature on methodology and theory and see which and how were the relevant theories helping in my discovery. It was largely data-driven. In theory development, the logic of the theorizing behind it was analytic induction (Hammersley, Gomm & Foster, 2000; Znaniecki, 1934). Briefly, it looks into the relation of the events from not only what is commonly agreed but also from what is disagreed. In my case, a theory so derived or applied was tested in the field, looking for exclusive evidence like ‘negative cases’ which disprove the explanation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Fielding and Fielding, 1986) or ‘deviant cases’ which lack common case-features (Bloor, 1978) or ‘contrasting cases’ which differentiate those similar from those different by comparison (Glaser, 1969; Spradley, 1980; Gerhardt, 1988). These steps were repeated now and then with data and tentative theories moving forward and backward until the emergence of regularities or patterns (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which meant that the new or refined theory then removed or accommodated inconsistent evidence.

As pointed out by Lincoln & Guba (1985), since the general relevance is soaked in the natural case setting which is unique and complex, it depends on the readers to judge how fit the case will be to their situations. As the researcher then, I was always aware of providing sufficiently thick description of the case for the readers to assess the degree of similarity between the cases involved (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). By the same token, sufficient rich ground data were sought before or when a theme was

explained with an application of other theories in my case of study.

3.7.3. Writing-up

During the writing up of the report, I found writing itself could hardly be reduced to method (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) or be made as a transparently neutral medium of communication (Clifford, 1986). On the one hand, the writing was not a mechanical exercise and on the other hand the written text contained no pure and complete description. It was not the 'raw' data but 'cooked' data that was found in the written accounts (Wolcott, 1994).

Done in good faith---although built on a misunderstanding of how to keep an account "scientific" or "objective" --- it falls of its own weight unless the neophyte realizes in time that there is no such thing as "pure" description (Wolcott, 1994:13)

Ethnographic writing after all is a process of reduction, as Fetterman (1989) notes, 'a process an ethnographer moves from field notes to written text, not to reproduce every detail and word' (p.115). Whatever was inside the 'cooker', the ethnographic report was determined and selected by me as the author. There came another question about whose voice was represented in the writing. Self-examination and feedbacks from readers (e.g. my supervisor) of my draft chapters had revealed that I was not speaking for the students or the school or myself as the researcher or author, either. I spoke more in a role of an ordinary Chinese, who, freed from any kinds of practical and political interests, would like to see a strong and unified China. Writing this kind of article was in fact the learning and at the same time re-making of an imagined Chinese national community that had been a legacy of the Chinese people for long, long years. As confessed by Clifford (1986), 'ethnography is activity situated between power systems of meaning. (...) It describes process of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes' (p.2-3). China today was still striving hard to settle the unresolved political and historical problems of the last century in world politics. Clearly, the resumption of the sovereignty of Hong Kong and the subsequent SAR under 'the one country, two systems' policy was one good example. The two Chinese governments on either side of the Taiwan Strait was another acute

problem. It was where the Chinese were situated when they talked about political education. Hong Kong schools had no escape from doing their citizenship education within such problematic context.

Having said these things, there came another related issue about the writing-up report: the authority of the writing. I would not claim that because 'I was there' in the field (Rabinow, 1986) and reproduced the reality by means of thick description and verbatim quotations (Fetterman, 1989) that I had established scientific authority. Although the school, including the student informants had the full authority in telling their stories in the fieldwork, I understood that when I wrote the text, I could not help in one way or another, implicitly if not explicitly, from producing 'monological' writing (Clifford, 1983). For example, I found I wrote for much of the time from the point of view of a Hong Konger or an ordinary Chinese in the Hong Kong context which might not give a representational account of the Catholic presence and influence which was western and foreign on the citizenship education in the school. My limited experience and knowledge with the school in writing the report might or might not reflect the whole picture of the school I wished to aim at. I shared with Flick (2002: 243) who echoed Fuchs and Berg's reflections on the following remarks:

However, in researchers' attempt to make a certain everyday life, a biography, an institutional milieu from their own cultural context comprehensible to readers, the problem of presentation, though less obvious, is equally relevant:

'Ethnography always has to struggle with the misrelation of limited personal experience, on which the process of knowledge is based, and the claim for an authoritative knowledge about a whole culture, which it makes with its product, i.e. the texts' (Fuchs & Berg, 1993, p.73)

Last but not least, the generalization of the report in terms of external validity was problematic. First of all, the study was a single case study. The thick description of the school case did not necessarily lead to case-to-case translation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to another school. Applying the same logic to students' accounts in the case school since individual respondents represented their uniqueness in their individual

contexts, the readers should make the cautious judgment about the student and school category, which I used to generalize across the student population of the school and the school in my writing-up. It is left to the readers to decide which level of generality was the right or appropriate level, for example, referring to the Spradley's (1980) level-translation scheme from material particulars to abstract domains to universal statements of human experience (p.160-168).

Chapter Four: Analysis of findings: The school's citizenship education and the liberal context

4.1. Introduction: the programme of 'national' education

In Chapter One, the Hong Kong context of citizenship education is discussed and it is envisaged that both the study of nationalism and democracy is crucial after 1997. In Chapter Two, the general trends of citizenship education development by stages and localities are discussed. In Asian countries, the national governments often play a proactive role in citizenship education making it appear more nationalistic or patriotic than democratic. Unlike its Asian counterparts, Hong Kong's civic education seems to reflect more the effects of school than the influence of the SAR government, which is felt indirectly on curriculum initiation and guidelines in its national education project. The interplay of democracy and nationalism is obvious in Hong Kong schools' civic education. In this and succeeding chapters I will focus on the data analysis of a local school's (hereafter name as Pedro School) national education programme with particular emphasis on the relationship of nationalism and democracy. With findings obtained and triangulated from various sources and methods and by comparison and interpretation with related theories, the implemented notion of 'one country, two systems' in citizenship education in school will be evaluated. The interactive response of students to the school's political socialization will constitute a significant part in the reported case.

Specifically in this chapter, 'what exactly is the issue' will be dealt with. Through examining the nature and content of the school's civic education programme, it attempts first to unfold the sophisticated, complex and conflicting features of various aspects of the tensions between nationalism and democracy. Lee's (2004b) values-context analytical framework with modification will be employed to study the inclusion of national values in the context of Pedro School. Second, the study will try to identify the trends of civic development in the school. A comparison will be made with the mainland schools in order to highlight the 'one country, two systems' paradox.

After examining the learning context of the school, it will turn to focus on the nationalism study in Chapter Five. What national identity is built

in the school will first be discussed. Its relationship with democracy learning will be envisaged together with the school's liberal orientation as described in this chapter. The question on 'how is the study of national learning under the 'one country, two systems' principles in the school' will be also studied. The nationalism and citizenship education theories of Smith, Saha, Kennedy, etc. will be applied wherever it is deemed necessary to help clarify the study of nation in the unique context of Hong Kong.

In Chapter Six, the interpretative learning role of students will be studied. Basically, it is done through soliciting students' feedbacks on implementation of the programme, particularly the effect and effectiveness of the programme in its methodological terms.

In Chapter Seven, the issue will be interpreted with some related theories in order to see what theoretical nature and significance the case has. The impact of school structure on political socialization is studied, together with the facilitating and hindering factors of school that affect the learning of students. The interplay of government mobilization and popular movement will be given special attention.

4.2. Towards a territorial national education

4.2.1. Local variant emerges

4.2.1.1. An emphasis on nationalism and democracy

The Education Reform report (HKEC, 2000) has noted with reference to the effects of post-1997 Hong Kong situation that 'politically, reunification with China and democratization have changed the ways Hong Kong people think and live' (ibid: 3) and that 'our education system must keep up with the environment and needs of society in the 21st Century' (ibid: 1).

In response to these pressing needs, Pedro School seems to develop a civic education programme that will foster in students a national identity with China and equally important a democracy for Hong Kong. It has a civics group, which writes up the aims for the school that reflect on this trend of development. The civics group consists of five member teachers, the chairman of which has been in the group and the field for quite a number of years and they are all appointed by the school. As a matter of fact,

the school borrows directly the statement of aims from the 1996 Guidelines (CDC, 1996):

1. To enable students to understand how the individual, as a citizen, relates to the family, the neighboring community, the regional community, the national community and the world; and to develop in them positive attitudes and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China so that they are ready to contribute to the betterment of the society, the state and the world.
2. To help students understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life (P/D/CE/P-1) (in Chinese - my translation).

It differs from the practice in mainland schools, which is the teaching of a patriotic socialist China (Chiu, 1998). In the mainland, the Teaching Outline for Political Thoughts Education has the following aims for Mainland students:

To provide students with a basic education of Socialist citizenship that is idealistic, moral, civilized and disciplined; To help them initially understand the moral standard of our country's socialism; To foster collectivist thoughts; To inculcate in them loyalty towards their mother country and its people; To teach them to love the collectivity, to abide by law, be devoted to labor work and lead a hard and simple life, to respect people and their parents, to uphold the public morality, to be honest and trustworthy and competent in knowing what is right and wrong; To know the civic duty of safeguarding the nation's unity, security, interests and dignity (Chiu, 1998: 14). (In Chinese- my translation)

The statement of aims of the school appears to address the political difference of Hong Kong and China and work on them side-by-side. On the

surface, it comes to agree partly with what I hypothesize as reflected on my field journal dated 20 January, 2003.

There seemed to exist a conflict between local and national understanding about China and schools were given free hand to decide what ought to be taught in order to give a balanced view and a perfect harmonious union of the civic goals to students(P/F/J/2-3).

In sum, it is apparent that the national education between the two places is different if we compare the national statement for Mainland China with the statement for Pedro School. The difference is distinct territorially. Hong Kong has its territorial national education under the 'one country, two systems' concept. Politically, it strives for a western democracy. Pedro School serves as one example.

4.2.1.2. The compatible and conflicting nature

4.2.1.2.1. The compatible nature: Both Chinese nationalism and western democracy appear in the civic curriculum as parallel and complementary political values in the local context. In my reflective field journal dated 19 February, 2003, I had noted some observations about the school teaching of civic education.

The school taught both democracy and national identity but did the two things separately as far as possible and left their students to think about the controversies for themselves and drew their own conclusions (P/F/J/24)

In implementation, the school adopts a permeated and whole school approach and as a result students will basically learn these two sets of political ideologies separately and independently across various subjects and in different learning activities (see 4.3.1.2.2. below for examples).

4.2.1.2.2. The conflicting nature: As described earlier, the statement of aims of the school is a direct quote from the 1996 Guidelines which according to Lee and Sweeting (2001) were the negotiated compromise among the local drafters who eventually polarized into patriotic and liberal social groups. From the school documents obtained, it seems that the

civics group also writes several specific objectives, which again are direct quotes from the Guidelines with only slight modifications (P/D/CE/P-2). Against this background, the civics group, in its very act of direct borrowing, admits rather than addresses the inherent contradictions of nationalism and democracy, and of authoritarian and free government, as predecessor drafters previously did. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of national and democratic goals reflects the opportunity as well as the challenge to address the problematic of national China and democratic Hong Kong in its current existence.

The notion of 'one country, two systems' may imply commonality as well as contradictions depending on how it is looked at. In my field journal account dated 20 January, 2004, I tried to figure out the subtle situations of the school about handling the civic education which was 'politically' sensitive:

At the end of the day, I could never know how exactly political education was conducted in the school because on the surface most schools would follow formal instructions and guidelines and handle it with great care, not giving any excuse for the officials to name it as a politically defiant school (P/F/J/3)

The civics group leaves it to individual teachers of school when they initiate civic activities to their students. In its plan of work, the civics group shows appreciation to individual teachers for their dedicated work and collaborative spirit which it thinks is to the advantage of the school.

(II) Present situations.

1. Strength:

School--- Each subject group and functional group has organized on its own many activities related to civic education which make civic education successfully permeate different sectors and levels of school (P/D/CE/P-1) (in Chinese- my translation)

From this liberal approach, though not organized in a systematic manner,

will however emerge some sort of patterns as noted in my field journal dated 20 January, 2003:

In a word, the structural factor had a part to play. With an open and free school environment, we can observe from some student works that students do reveal some clues and traits of their conception about China and democracy upon interactive encounters with the principal, teachers, peers, media, and class and out-of-class learning within and/or outside the school (P/F/J/4)

4.2.1.3. A rational balance

The official line of civic education disclosed by the Chief Executive (Tung, 1997) (see 1.1. in Chapter One) is more a kind of nationalistic and patriotic education that helps develop in students a China perspective in line with Mainland China's national ideology, which, however, confronts the western liberal democracy Hong Kong now embraces (see 5.4.1. in Chapter Five). It aims at national homogeneity by removing local differences and political democracy should give way to a shared national consensus and solidarity.

The civics group however chooses to develop the independent and rational qualities of students towards the government and nation as revealed in its third and last general aim in its civic education programme, which is also a direct borrowing of the statement of aims of the 1996 Guidelines:

3. To develop in students critical thinking dispositions and problem-solving skills that would allow them to analyze social and political issues objectively and arrive at a rational appraisal of these issues (P/D/CE/P-1) (in Chinese- my translation)

Distinct from Tung's official line, Pedro School appears to adopt a realistic and rational approach, which accommodates the differences in a unity, or if not possible, then heterogeneity for the center-peripheral and national-democratic political impasses (for details, see 5.6.2.2. in Chapter 5). In this sense, the juxtaposition of collectivist, exclusive nationalistic values and individualistic, inclusive democratic ideas in

the civic curriculum could be understood as frank exposure of differences of conflicting social and political values. As an illustration, in a Liberal Studies class observation (C/8/LS/SA-1-8), it is found that a local, i.e. Hong Kong perspective was encouraged in parallel with the national or China perspective on the notion of ‘one country, two systems’ China. As a group assignment, teacher asked secondary six students to make a critique of some local controversial issues with both perspectives from which they drew different or even contrary conclusions.

Assignment Sheet: (sample of student’ s work)

Topic: Contradictions and conflicts of the ‘one country, two systems’ concept

Relevant events	From ‘one country’ viewpoint	From ‘two systems’ viewpoint
One man, one vote, direct election of the Chief Executive	The ‘one country’ principle precedes the ‘two systems’ rule. Mode of Election of Chief Executive be initiated by the central government.	Hong Kong practices capitalism. Under this system, government headship is elected by a universal suffrage, therefore agrees on this.

(Source: Extract, C/8/LS/SA-4; in Chinese- my translation)

The extract has shown that students could produce at the same time two different types of answers applying competitive viewpoints. The local perspective presented a collection of fundamental political beliefs and values concerning individual rights to democracy and liberty to which local people were entitled whilst the national perspective presented a saving of national integrity and dignity from unwarranted indigenous civic rights. Instead of resolving the discrepancies, students were trained to be able to give reasoned thoughts on either perspective. They were taught to live with an environment where the tense relationship between national patriotism and local democracy was the norm. In fact, students would learn to weigh the factors from all the three sides, i.e. the central government, local government and people of Hong Kong before making any comments on local political events. In the interview, the row about the legislation of the national security bill in 2002 was one notable example.

Student (Tracy): I feel that we don' t have enough opportunity to express our opinions. Even we have the chance to make known our views the present government does not listen to it.

Student (Sara): It simply ignores it. They take no response after listening to our wills.

Interviewer: Do you think it is the central government or the local government way of doing things ...?

Student (Tracy): It is the Mainland government.

Student (Yvette): The Mainland government.

Interviewer: Or, Tung' s (the Chief Executive) way?

Student (Yvette): It seems to me that the local government does the same way as what the central government does, i. e. they just inform you of what they wish to do. As a symbolic gesture, they will say they will first collect the public opinion before acting it out. They say it is what the 'two systems' way of doing things. But the conclusion remains the same... to go ahead with amending the established law (despite strong local opposition) (I/HK/2/32) (In Chinese-my translation).

In sum, Pedro School' s national education is a territorial national education, which differs from the socialist patriotic national programme on the Mainland. Aiming at the Chinese national community of the 'one country, two systems' with a local democracy that is alien to the Mainland system, the school also differs from the HKSAR government which works on eventual homogeneity. In Pedro School there emerge two divergent perspectives, namely the China perspective and the Hong Kong perspective in educating students, the difference in which mainly rests on different interpretations of the role of democracy in the process of national integration locally.

4.3. Towards a school-based model

4.3.1. A values-oriented study strategically applies

4.3.1.1. National civility as the aim

Despite the adoption of the civic aims from the 1996 Guidelines, Pedro School however appears to support a mild and soft approach in conducting its national education. For example, the civics group in its action plan (P/D/CE/P-4) chose to borrow ideas from another official document, the 2001 Curriculum Reform report where civic education was redefined more as a kind of value or moral education (CDC, 2001).

The development of values and attitudes such as responsibility, commitment, respect for others, perseverance and national identity is considered important... (CDC, 2001: 25)

It elaborates further:

Value-oriented studies such as religious education, sex education, health education, environmental education and media education, or similar studies with different terminology (effective education, life education) can be taken as an integral part of moral and civic education (CDC, 2001: 25)

The two papers are in fact of different conceptual, philosophical, and political underpinnings. The former 1996 paper places heavy emphasis on political entities like nationalism and democracy whilst the latter document is more about civic responsibility and commitment and national identity (CDC, 2001: 25) and less about citizen rights of individuals like democracy and freedoms.

In its action plan, first the civics group focused on helping students to develop 'positive values and attitudes' (CDC, 2001: III-1) related to the life events of students in various types of contexts. For example, a student had to go through a long journey where virtues of discipline, fellowship, and competence were stressed before he/she could become a school prefect. My field-note date 23 January, 2003 has an account about

it by recording a poster of the School Prefects' Association:

The poster read: In every November of the school year, there will be a selection exercise for school prefects. Potential students will be nominated by teachers to sit for a selection interview. In December, the results will be announced and the students selected will receive training before they registered formally as a school prefect. The next year in January, after training, they will have a barbecue together with all other student prefects. All the senior students and the teacher representatives of the school authorities, like the disciplinary master and his team members, will attend that social function. Afterwards, they will take trial practice beginning in the second half of the school year. In July when the long summer vacation began, there will be a summer camp for them. The camp will be an occasion for student prefects to take a rest and more importantly to plan for the work of next academic year (P/F/N/35).

Second, the civics group followed the Curriculum Reform's thematic structure of context of life events, namely personal life, family life, school life, social life, life at work, and life in the community (ibid: III-1-4) which were less politically oriented.

Analytically, national education in this sense is re-directing the focus on topics, which are of common interest for both China and Hong Kong, putting aside the controversial items for the time being, but, at the same time, teachers and students are reminded in the statement of aims of the political uniqueness of Hong Kong that liberal democracy is practiced which is alien to China. The following sections on Pedro school's civic learning will illustrate that the school has already succeeded in constructing a local national reality that Hong Kong is actively integrating with China, historically, politically and culturally speaking in which the polemic role of communism and democracy has a lesser role to play.

4.3.1.2. Fostering a national civility

4.3.1.2.1. The civics group: First, in the field documents collected, the civics group of the school is seen to design its yearly programme plan with embodiments of elements of moral education, media education, growth education, and life education.

School-based civic education learning programme:

Date	Theme	Item	Form
October	Moral education	Values	F.1
	Media education	TV programmes	F.2
	Growth education	Idols	F.3
	Life education	Leisure	F.4
November	Related activity	Human Rights	F.3 & 4
December	Related activity	Children of poverty regions in China	F.1 & 2
March	Moral education	Life and dignity	F.1
	Media education	Popular Songs	F.2
	Growth education	In love	F.3
	Life education	Face adversaries	F.4
May	Moral education	Freedoms	F.1
	Media education	News stories	F.2
	Growth education	ICQ & friends	F.3
	Life education	Life goals	F.4

(P/D/CE/P-4) (in Chinese- my translation)

Interesting enough, it put political education and national education elements under the category of 'Related Activities' and its significance is little in frequency terms. It occupied only two out of fourteen items of planned civic activities. For secondary three and four students, it was about basic concepts of human rights presented by a democratic human rights group with religious affiliation. For secondary one and two students, it was about children's life in poverty regions of China presented by a work unit affiliated to the United Nations. These were very basic facts and universal principles in political studies of

both places that would hardly cause serious disputes in concept, value and affective terms.

4.3.1.2.2. The academic groups: Second, for other teacher groups, like academic groups, teachers made use of various learning opportunities to acquaint students with Hong Kong and China in different domains and at different levels. For example, in class teaching, the sense of ownership and belonging of Hong Kong was learnt at the school community level. While the school was under the extension renovation work, the secondary one Chinese Composition teacher asked students to write on a building plan for the school that would suit future student needs (C/7/CN/25-29). At the societal level, teachers helped train students to compete in the district inter-school civic education quiz and they won the third prize for the school (P/D/NL/5). At the national level, there were traits of China study around the campus. For example, the Geography Club showed the student public the weather chart of China (P/F/N/61 & photo) and the Chinese Society organized a literary game about China's regional cultures (P/F/N/20 & photo). These routine activities of students' organization on values and cultural life of China produce likely effects of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). In my 20 January, 2003 field journal, I had the notes written that echoed this kind of nation building.

This notion of social construction was really important as the school adopted the whole school approach to inculcate a citizenship into students. Every bit of material evidence about students' life found in the context reflected, in one way or another, the inscription of students' notion on national construction (P/F/J/4).

Students accept what they live with and what they live with is what they accept whether or not these very bits of national life are discrete and disorganized as Lee (2001) once commented on Hong Kong's civic education.

The curriculum changes mentioned illustrate (...) the content of civics found its way into a variety of subjects established over the last three decades. The result was that topics related to civics were covered but in a disorganized and sporadic way (Lee, 2001: 3)

Democracy will not be involved and therefore has had a neutral effect on this cultural reintegration with China.

4.3.1.2.3. The functional groups: Third, besides the academic groups, there are also functional groups in the school, like supervising students' disciplined groups. Civics related elements were found in for example the Hong Kong Red Cross Cadet Force which posted up a notice explaining to students that it was because of the change of political status of Hong Kong that the local Red Cross Society changed its affiliation from the British to the Chinese headquarters (P/F/N/53 & photo). It is an expressive act of students towards their country that I recorded in my field journal dated 28 January, 2003:

The change of affiliation was the natural and logical arrangement of reintegration with China. It was a peaceful rearrangement that satisfied all the three sides of the U. K. , China and Hong Kong. Students were sensitive to these political changes and were happy with the new identity of the Hong Kong Red Cross Society, which might serve as a symbolic example of reunion on other aspects of life to people of Hong Kong (P/F/J/15)

For the school, it shows that teachers support students to make every possible opportunity to express the concerns about their country which is what the permeated curriculum intends to achieve. Again, democracy has scarcely any role to play in this national identification and reintegration.

4.3.1.2.4. School life of students: Last but not least, campus life of students also constitutes a significant part in civic education. For example, many student artworks like wall posters, paintings, and pictures about school life were displayed together with the school's works on conspicuous spots on the walls of open grounds and rest places, and corridors and stairways of school buildings. I saw a magnificently large wall poster of school life by students hung on the hill slope situated at one of the long sides of the open badminton court (see photo in the Field-note). This gives students a great sense of ownership in the

community of school they live in and have a part to share. On special days, like Christmas (in December) and Lunar New Year (in February), students were free to put up decorations in their classroom as a sharing of joy among members of school (P/F/N/55 & 66 & snapshots). The field journal dated 07 February, 2003 had the following account:

Students were allowed to put up decoration on the door to celebrate the Lunar New Year. The decorations were very festive with modern designs and of native taste. Even the small chapel had many traditional Chinese decorations put up. Inside the classroom, on the notice boards at the back, decorations were about the X' mas, which was held two months before, I believed. (see also field-note p.65-66 & photo) (P/F/J/21)

Development of collective self is important in the formation of national civility.

In sum, when civic education is defined in values terms, this enables teachers to refocus attention on the common interests of the two places, Mainland and Hong Kong, and build a national community based on commonly shared attributes like culture and positive values, leaving political differences and disputes aside for the time being. For example, Chiu's (1998) patriotic socialism and socialist morality are totally absent in Pedro School. As observation accounts unfold, students may reflect on different sets of values and attitudes in their school life, distinct from those prescribed like in the 2001 Curriculum reform report. They seemingly demonstrate the characteristics similar to what Morris & Cogan (2001) summarize in the study of civics Hong Kong which they say, is

...focused on the moral behavior of individuals, communal interests, and national identity, social cohesion and established knowledge (p.113).

4.3.2. School characteristics count

Inclusion of nationalism does not mean that the established civic practices of school are on the wane. On the contrary, it continues to consolidate to become the solid native context for new national and

patriotic ideas to flourish. In many ways, the school traditions and established civic practices, which basically reflect local values and culture of western origins, develop in a concurrent or concomitant fashion with nationalism study.

4.3.2.1 Liberal civic environment

4.3.2.1.1. Minimal government intervention: Civic education in Pedro School is a 'school-based' programme (P/D/CE/P-1), which means that the school has full authority in initiation of its civics group to devise a civics programme that is tailored to the needs of its students. It is free from direct influence of the HKSAR government, which as shown in previous sections (see 4.2.1.3. of this Chapter) wishes to secure a patriotic education programme in favor of Mainland China that will be disadvantageous to the pace of development of local democratization. Instead of following the pro-China line of Tung in the national education, the civics group chose to produce its programme based largely on another two official papers of 1996 Guidelines (P/D/CE/P/1-2) and 2001 Curriculum Reform (P/D/CE/P-4), and the school's established democratic traditions and practices on civic education inherited since 1985, the year the former Hong Kong government issued its first school civic education guidelines. The school is free to decide which citizenship it wishes to advocate and need not follow the words of the government. For example, I happened to see a Church believers' newspaper posted up outside the library inside which there was a joint statement by the religious groups that there needs to be democracy first before the government considers to pass the national security bill.

【T】 he bishop summed up a stance that before Hong Kong has the fully democratically elected legislature, and the central government has a political reform in itself, the SAR government should not put the article 23 into legislation.
(P/D/NC/8) (in Chinese- my translation)

Apparently, the school puts local interest before the national ends in this respect. In so doing, the school constructs its version of the notion of 'one country, two systems' by suggesting an inclusion of national values into the local democratic context. In other words, the school aims not to create a new patriotic context where development of local democracy

is of secondary importance.

4.3.2.1.2. Choice of professionalism and collaborative spirit: Pedro School respects free curriculum choice of individual teachers based on subject specialism and at the same time appreciates the joint efforts of teachers in making civic education an all-embracing programme which includes both political and non-political aspects. The civics group respects the freedom of choice of teacher colleagues and enjoys the friendly and collaborative efforts of them in the delivery of the civics programme, i. e. a balanced development among different values within the political domain and non-political domains (see 4.2.1.2. of this chapter). In its year plan, the civics group praises its colleague teachers for their dedicated efforts.

(II) Present situations.

Strength:

Teachers--- The school' s teachers work seriously and dedicatedly. They concern about students' body and mental growth and are committed to the mission of civic education(P/D/CE/P-1) (in Chinese- my translation)

In implementation, there is a variety of civic-related activities arranged by the civics groups and other teachers. Apparently, the effectiveness of the programme greatly relies on individual teachers' professional expertise and specialism. For example, the Geography teachers helped students to win awards in the inter-school environmental protection project.

2002-2003 External Awards for the first semester of the school

<u>Event</u>	<u>Teacher group</u>	<u>Award</u>
Inter-school Environmental Protection cum School Environmental Protection	Geography	Outstanding Performance
Ambassador Project		

(P/D/NL/5) (in Chinese- my translation)

In the meantime, the civics groups failed in some interschool civic-related contest.

(III) External school activities:

5. Nominate two students to participate in the district distinguished citizen services contest. Lost in the first rounds (P/D/CE/W-2) (in Chinese- my translation)

4.3.2.1.3. Voluntary and open participation: In fact civic education in school is not a formal academic subject with a prescribed curriculum. It is rather a permeated curriculum incorporated into a whole-school approach, which involves every member of the school which has huge flexibility to interpret the notion of the 'one country, two systems' China. For example, in its report of work, the civics group recorded that students had played an active role in studying their mother nation:

Between 13 Nov and 15 Nov, there are three short briefings during the morning assembly to talk about China and the CCP and the 16th CCP central committee meeting in session. It is national and national affairs education. Three secondary-six and two secondary-seven students are responsible for the activity. The National Affairs society has produced a website about China's political system for students (P/D/CE/W-2) (in Chinese, my translation).

Also, parents and teachers had jointly organized a China tour for students as revealed in the Parent-Teacher Association Annual Report:

For students, the Association organized a five-day programme during the Easter Holiday last year to Shenzhen Whampoa Youth Military Camp (P/D/NL/6) (in Chinese, my translation)

Pedro school encourages different groups of members to organize civic activities related to China which they think would enhance their understanding and sentiments about China as the Chinese nation that they are now one of the members. In these national activities, political democracy will not be the topic.

4.3.2.1.4. Pluralism and heterogeneity: As above described, various kinds of resource persons, both internal and external, take a voluntary

part, in one way or another, in the national education programme so that a liberal civic learning environment can produce its effect. Various kinds of media to secure different sources of opinions are equally important. Newspaper reading (for details, see 4.3.2.2. in this chapter) (P/F/N/28-9; 34) is one of the exercises school has put in an effort, which can broaden the choice, other than teachers and school, of students in learning public affairs, locally, nationally and globally. In secondary seven class teaching, the teacher of the Chinese language and Culture for example encouraged students in a public speech session to express their views about the society and the topic was the social figure who influences young people most. Two students were invited. One student chose the current head of the Education authorities and the other a social activist nicknamed as 'Long Hair' who claimed representing the exploited majority lower class of people in society. In my observation notes of 12 December, 2003, I wrote:

The reason given for the education head was:

The argument was that Dr. Patrick (pseudo name) was the man who headed the education and secondly he was the medical doctor and thirdly he contributed himself to society not for salary. (C/3/CL/8)

For the social activist, the arguments were:

His rebellious character, his resolute mind in social ideal of justice and democracy had convinced many young people (C/3/CL/8).

4.3.2.1.5. Tolerance of differences: Various kinds of opinions can be heard in the school. At the student level, for example, in the student union election, student candidates are free to propoganda their platforms, in which relationships with the school will be discussed. Teachers only advised students to think about all the proposals rationally and critically but would not exercise any censorship like pre-examination.

Student (Yvette): The teacher as the chairman of the gathering will brief students about the candidates and their platforms,

including the pros and cons of the platforms. Then they will ask the candidates to come up to speak to the student audience. (I/ND/2/37) (In Chinese- my translation).

Student informants said that the teacher tried not intervene but provoke students to think what can be worked and what cannot be worked. They rarely told students to add or drop anything about their platform.

At the school level, the free and open civic environment for example is not only confined to the learning of political values that are in favour of the government, but also allows at the same time the discussion of the self-contradictory nature of the notion of 'one country, two systems' China. This again can best be illustrated in the incident of National Security legislation in which the school shows its opposition views about the government act to students. The school had openly expressed its position albeit indirectly which was inconceivable in the colonial times as recorded in my field-notes of 24 January, 2004:

The school seemed to have its position about China and a perspective deeply embedded in the local context. For example, the library's information board on the first floor was fully occupied by the information and news against the government approach on the subversive legislation. Obviously, it was the school to put these things up on the board. The school had shown its position openly and explicitly to students so that students knew clearly what and how different the school thought when compared with the government (P/F/N/45 & information sheets).

The posted materials had carefully explicated the controversial nature of national communist dictatorship and local democracy of popular rights. By this very act, the school apparently intended to raise students' awareness about potential conflicts between the central government and people of Hong Kong on issues of nationalism and democracy.

In sum, Pedro School seems to have tried to create a positive and tolerant and-free atmosphere for students, teachers, parents and the like to organize civic and national learning activities. It helps clarify

different qualities of the notion of national China under the 'one country, two systems' by involving different member parties of school in shaping the national community locally. A liberal civic education helps students better understand the notion of 'one country, two systems' implemented in Hong Kong, its consistencies and inconsistencies, and strength and weakness. As a school-based programme, school manages at least to allow more than one viewpoint, other than the official one, to be heard by students in understanding Hong Kong in relation to China and vice versa.

4.3.2.2. Openness of communication

4.3.2.2.1. Openness of communication: This is a prerequisite to achieving pluralism in national and political education and to enlarge the source of communication is one of the directions Pedro school works in. In addition to formal curriculum studies, the school encourages students to get into a habit of reading newspapers daily which enables them to get to know multiple perspectives on what is happening around them and to form an informed opinion. School helps students of all levels to obtain five local newspapers, one English and four Chinese at discount price and to set up a distribution system that can ensure newspapers reach the hands of students in the morning of each day (P/F/N/28; 73). Students are allowed to read newspapers around the campus, not necessarily confined to the library (P/F/N/14; 18; 34). I recollected my school years in the field journal dated 28 January, 2003 that newspaper reading had a role to play to form one's way of looking things. It helped foster a local perspective

In my old days, only senior form students were asked to place an order and read newspaper everyday. It broadened the views of students about their society which was colonial at that time. Indirectly, a native viewpoint would be developed upon getting into a habit of reading local newspapers in students' early school years (P/F/J/14).

Besides the print media, students can surf on electronic newspapers from the Internet anytime they are free with the on-line computer installed in the library and in every classroom.

4.3.2.2.2. Limitation: Nevertheless, Pedro School can be seen limiting

the choices in placing the subscription order, which may restrict students from learning current events from newspapers representing different sides and interests. Those local newspapers subscribed to seemingly do not have any obvious affiliation to China (P/F/N/28). The fact itself says that the school either intentionally or unintentionally avoids any leftist or pro-China newspapers, i. e. newspapers, which receive financial funding or take the political stance in favour of the Beijing central government. It was common practice in the old colonial days that schools usually prohibited leftist newspapers from being read in the campus, including library. But there will be a gap in students understanding of local affairs if they do not refer to them. Students lack this kind of knowledge of press media related to China.

Interviewer: Yes, student mentions NOEL PAO (pseudonym). Why do you think the school does not order it?

Student (Carol): I haven' t come across this paper before. I don' t know.

Student (Yvette): Is it not that common!?

Student (Tracy): NOEL PAO, people say it is rightist or leftist, or ...

Interviewer: Rightist or leftist?

Student (Yvette): I don' t know exactly. Anyway, they are extreme ones.

Interviewer: What do you mean by leftist? By rightist?

Student (Sara): It (leftist) is pro-China.

Interviewer: What is the rightist?

Student (Yvette): (those are) opposing...

Student (Clark): Opposing China.



Interviewer: What exactly do they oppose?

Student (Tracy): ...against China.

Student (Yvette): ...against the Chinese Communist Party.

Student (Clark): Those against...the leftists... are rightists (I/HK/2/49) (In Chinese- my translation).

The very subscription decision of school will pass on an implicit message to students unless it makes known to them the reason behind it. When students were asked which criteria the school should take in placing the order, one student informant (Tracy) thinks:

Student (Tracy): The school would choose the very serious ones for us (I/HK/2/46) (In Chinese- my translation).

To her, seriousness means sticking to the neutral and objective view.

Student (Tracy): They (newspapers) need to be more neutral (in reporting news stories). (I/HK/2/47) (In Chinese- my translation).

Neutrality means reporting different ideas of different people, adds another student informant.

Student (Carol): It means the newspaper contains the ideas of many different people, i.e. it reports the issue from different angles, not merely from one angle (I/HK/2/52) (In Chinese- my translation).

Seriousness also means not just reporting negative things, it should be more balanced and include positive news. Some positive news can definitely raise the morale that Hong Kong desperately needed.

Student (Yvette): Yes, positive (in reporting). It is good to people to read the (positive) things (I/HK/2/47) (In Chinese-

my translation).

Student (Tracy): I think it should be both sides, the newspaper should report both the positive and negative side (I/HK/2/57) (In Chinese- my translation).

When asked if school makes the right choice, students support the school' s decision.

Student (Yvette): It makes the right choice though they (the newspapers subscribed to) are not that attractive.

Interviewer: Really, they are not your taste. Do you feel strange for school doing this?

Student (Yvette): Why!?! From school' s angle, (it is because) this is just what we (students) need to learn. I think if it is what you (students) need to learn you need to learn the best and most correct things (I/HK/2/47-8) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students have trust in school that it makes the right and correct choice for them, in terms both of content and viewpoint on politics. The act of school on not including the pro-China newspapers might lead students to develop a prejudiced preconception of them that they show no confidence in pro-China viewpoints given by pro-China newspapers in their schooling. Students do have some rough ideas on some of these newspapers and their political stances but are not very definite with what they know. They seemingly try to oversimplify or dichotomize the complex reality into either the rightist or leftist order. Polarization into two extremes is likely and unfortunate which is based on whether supportive of the line of the communist party or the central government (i. e. the leftist) or supportive of local interests (i. e. the rightist). In this regard, school fails to help students to grasp the pluralistic character of the modern national society of Hong Kong and develop proper understanding of democratic tolerance of nationalism.

In sum, Pedro School has made an effort to secure free flow of information.

and ideas and works on multiple channels and media for it. By so doing, students can secure different viewpoints on local affairs related to China. Helping students to read daily newspapers is one notable example. The school has to be cautious whether it passes any implicit message to students on understanding China and local politics in its making of routine decisions like placing newspaper subscription order. The label of pro-China might tighten the tension between nationalism and democracy both psychologically and realistically.

4.3.2.3. Localness bias

4.3.2.3.1. Established practices and norm: Despite changes after 1997, the school by and large has made but little change in the established institutions and practices on political learning except some add-on nationalism learning activities. In school, the existing civic and humanities subjects like Economic and Public Affairs, History, Chinese History, Geography, etc. remain, although some new subjects with relatively strong national elements focused on China like Liberal Studies and Chinese Language and Culture and Putonghua have been introduced. Local traditions and Euro-centric influences remain pervasive in the existing formal curriculum and subject teaching, like Economic and Public Affairs and Liberal Studies, the content of which are basically the concepts of western economic and political systems of democracy, free society and capitalism. Students learn these as a Hong Kong perspective with which the 'one country, two system' China is understood.

Student (Tracy): Yes. If you feel we get used to the existing (the inherited Hong Kong -- my insert) practice, you have no reason to require us to follow your (the Mainland initiated -- my insert) set of rules. From my point of view, I wish Hong Kong would retain its original system of rules. But, looking at China as a state, China of course wishes the systems (the local and mainland systems - my insert) to be merged into one harmonious system (I/HK/2/31) (In Chinese- my translation).

4.3.2.3.2. Western democratic institution: As for students' organizational life, the school has an established democratic institution that has been widely practiced and has deeply penetrated to every level of student organizations like the Student Union (for details, see 5.4.1.1. ;

5.4.1.2. in Chapter Five) at the highest level and the class club at the ground level. Many headships of student organizations, large or small, are democratically elected.

Interviewer: Besides the student union, where else will there be an election?

Student (Tracy): in Class club.

Student (Yvette): Class club and subject societies.

Student (Tracy): Inside the subject societies, they' ll have election.

Student (Yvette): They' ll elect the chairperson and committee members (I/ND/1/15) (In Chinese- my translation).

The norm of democratic practice goes beyond the normal school life of students to embrace post-school life after graduation. For example, I saw a notice of the Alumni Association on its displayed board which showed a clear set of democratic rules and procedures for its members (P/F/N/32 & photo; for details, see 5.4.1.3. in Chapter Five). Democracy as the core value has been deeply ingrained in students' organizational life related to school. The entire school community cherishes the same democratic organizational ethos. In my field notes (23 January, 2003), I recorded the dedicated efforts and effects of the school' s democratic education:

This clearly revealed that former students of the school believed in certain democratic values and principles that perhaps they learnt in the past school years and they wanted democracy be practiced if they were given free hands to run the school matters independently (P/F/N/32).

Democracy learning is indigenous despite its western origins and uniquely distinct when compared with the mainland schools and national curriculum. It is about democratic governance, not government by communism or patriotism.

4.3.2.3.3. Western religious belief: Religion, which is alien in mainland schools was, is and will continue to be students' everyday life at school. The morning prayer for example is an integral part of the morning assembly, which is a routine practice held everyday and presided over either by the school principal or student representatives. Each student is given a hymnbook and is required to bring it along for the ceremony. This year, Catholic ethics is made one of the five school missions which will serve as the values base for students' moral and personality growth and development (P/F/N/64). There are bible classes (P/F/N/75) for junior secondary students and there are student organizations of Hymnal group and a Catholic Society (P/F/N/13). Portraits and paintings about religious life are seen on conspicuous spots like on the walls of stairways of the main building block (P/F/N/9 & photo).

The catholic religious tradition of school helps implant the fundamentals of western values and beliefs into students through everyday life encounters. For example, the school had organized a contest of picture drawings with the theme of School Life: Trust, Faith and Love (P/F/N/41 & photos). Students were asked to present visually how the three religious virtues were internalized into students' school life. In fact, the school's decorations produced a strong religious look and mood in the school. I had the following sentences written in my field-note (21 Jan 03, Tuesday) which was to re-capture my feeling when I made the very first contacts with the school from inside.

On the way up to the general office, I noticed that at each turn of the staircase, there was a painting or a student's drawing on the wall. One painting was about a kind lady and another was a smiling kid. They all were foreign figures of medieval ages, religious in tone from the use of color, and style of drawing. The student's work was about the school, modern in design and mood. The quick impression that I caught was sacredness, warmth, love and care (P/F/N/16).

To local people, 'Western' means capitalist and liberal democratic ideas with British traditions, but not the socialist communist institution of the former Soviet Russia as in the past in China. Communism,

as antithesis of religion, in theory, is seldom put together with religious moral education and Pedro School is no exception.

4.3.2.3.4. English tradition and culture: Localness is even more obvious when we look at the cultural dimension of the school. For example, the school has succeeded in retaining the privileged use of English as the medium of instruction when mother tongue education is the norm. Besides excellent academic performance, students regard English and English education as important factors for a school to qualify as an elite school. It also has its historical reason for it as noted in my field journal dated 19 February, 2003 after surfing on the school's website:

Pedro school was a Catholic diocese school of long years of history in the District, which grew from a village town to become a developed new town with a lot of urban migrants. The school was renowned for its Catholic and English education. It was an elitist school within the district providing a modern education of which western capitalistic ideologies of middle class were not un-mistakenly clear. Elitism was in the sense of high admission rate into local universities (see public AL examination results) but not in socio-economic terms as many of their families lived in the government subsidized public housing estates (P/F/J/27).

One student informant recalled that she once had such a strong feeling of attending an English school:

Interviewer: Let me ask one question. Do you feel that your school is an elite school?

Student (Tracy): It once was. The first time I stepped into the school when I was Secondary One. It is not now.

Interviewer: Could you explain your change of psychology?

Student (Tracy): It was a school of Band One (students of top grade performance) and is an English school. I was very proud of myself (to be one of the members in it).

Students (Tracy & Yvette): Yes. Our parents also said it was the best school (I/HK/3/9) (In Chinese- my translation)

She was saddened by the hard fact that her school had recently been overtaken by her neighbouring school in the overall public examination results which was also an English- speaking secondary school of Christian fellowship. Once the top school and thus elitist in the district, she felt her school had already lost the acclaim.

Student (Tracy): But now, the results drop rapidly.

Student (Yvette): And the calibre of incoming students becomes poor (I/HK/3/9) (In Chinese- my translation)

The student informant elaborated this further.

Student (Tracy): The very basic thing is the examination results. Our school is about the one hundredth or so of the list whilst our neighbour school is about twenty something. It is about one hundred schools behind. In comparison, our school cannot be a good school, no longer the top school in terms of student results. The school leadership has the problem. All these make us feel lost in studying in this school. It is a failing school (I/HK/3/10) (In Chinese- my translation)

Owing to the falling academic performance, student informants seem to find their school's elitist English tradition is a fading glory even though the school is still on the top list in its school district.

4.3.2.3.5. Western orientation: Students show an open and receptive attitude towards western life and develop a western orientation from everyday life activities. For example, they enjoyed having western festivals like Christmas and recently Halloween. They would hold celebration parties at school. At the cultural life level, a western outlook seems not uncommon in the young generation.

Interviewer: Does your school celebrate any western festivals?
X' mas or Halloween?

Students: Yes. We do. Both.

Interviewer: In my student years, we didn' t have Halloween.

Student (Yvette): We hold parties on the Halloween day.

Interviewer: What else you would hold celebration parties?

Students: The X' mas.

Student (Wendy): Most are western festivals (I/HK/1/12).

One student informant made the observation that Western festivals like Halloween are the days for social gathering with friends, usually in the outside places whereas the Chinese festivals like the Lunar New Year are for family reunion at home (I/HK/1/12-13).

Western individualism is trendy in the school but the collectivist philosophy and attitude of Oriental communism is basically absent. Students lack proper learning about communism and the rule of the communists. For example, when student informants were asked if they would contribute their personal belongings and wealth to help relieve the sufferings of the nation from disasters and misfortunes like the South Korean people did in the latest Asian financial and economic turmoil at the very end of the last century, one student offered a surprised answer based on a strange idea about the communist China' s position on private properties.

Student (Yvette): Yes, it will, like confiscation. The Chinese communist party will take away everything from me for no reasons. In fact these are my personal belongings and wealth. But China practices communism, which sees that everything belongs to the government (I/ND/3/2) (In Chinese- my translation).

Deep in her mind, she believed that a communist government would use arbitrary force to take away its citizens' private property for collective ends and benefits. She thought there was no such concept of private property in China under the communist system.

In sum, Pedro School manifests strong native characteristics which are basically western, for example, the cultural tradition of English education, western democratic education and Catholic education. It forms the local western context for Chinese nationalism to germinate. Those nationalistic components that are compatible with the western values context are more easily received. It has been shown that Pedro School allows its national education programme to go that way under the policy of the 'one country, two systems' in which the existing social system and way of life will theoretically be retained and maintained for the time being. Localness, which rests on western cultural and values system, has made national education distinct from the typical mainland model, which emphasizes on socialism and loyalty to the communist leadership.

4.4. Summary of the chapter

In its national education programme, Pedro school has shown its interpretation of the concept of the 'one country, two systems' China, which is different from the mainland patriotic model and therefore makes it a territorial national model. It is also different from the local official line of patriotism, and the national education programme itself demonstrates characteristics of a school-based programme. It is school-based in the sense that first the school has its own understanding about the national community that it conveys to students. Second, the national values are studied in a school context which is distinct from the local society and from many other schools, if not unique. Pedro school has a strong affiliation to English-speaking culture and Catholic traditions. Third, the school takes, relatively speaking, an open-minded attitude towards local politics and national identification. The school is focused on securing a free and open learning space and opportunity for students to learn national and democratic knowledge. It focuses more on the 'agency' (Wessekingh, 2000; Gramsci, 1971; Giroux, 1983) role of the school in national education. The hegemonic domination of national ideologies as represented by the official civic curricula will meet

competition from local democracy as represented by school-based civic plans and teacher practices in the school. The school does not discourage students from understanding the politics of their society and the nation and it encourages student participation on a voluntary basis.

Chapter Five: Analysis of findings: The School's citizenship education and the study of nationalism

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explained that Pedro school's civic education programme was a territorial national education programme with distinct characteristics, that democracy was treated as the core value and learning context in the study of China as a nation. It was a school-based programme where school characteristics reflected a national education programme and made it unique and native. The school had maintained a liberal learning environment within which students acquired an understanding about China as the nation.

This chapter turns to focus on the study of nationalism. The main question is 'what will exactly the learning of the 'one country, two systems' China be'. Specifically, the perceived national identity and the way of perceiving it in the liberal democratic environment in the school will be dealt with. Nationalism studies in the Mainland will be used to compare with the local findings and other local studies will be applied wherever possible to examine the commonalities and differences of the school's national learning. Relevant nationalism theories of Smith and others will be employed to help characterize various emergent focuses of development under the loosely defined framework of the 'one country, two systems' as represented in the school.

5.2. The 'one country, two systems' China: a composite identity

5.2.1. A composite identity

Besides the general aims, Pedro school's civics group reiterates the composite nature of the national identity in one of the specific objectives in its programme plan:

(III) Objectives:

2. To help students become aware of and understand matters of concerns for Hong Kong, China and the world (P/D/CE/P-2; in Chinese- my translation)

Apparently, it helps build in students a national identity locally that embraces both the mainland and Hong Kong internally and externally the

global identity. The understanding of the internal identity is in effect an identity underpinned by the principles of the 'one country, two systems' China. In theory, it appears as a composite identity of the Chinese nation, the mainland authoritarian communist system, and the Hong Kong democratic capitalist system and the civic education is then an education of convergence, striving for a harmonious unity.

5.2.2. A layered identity-- the two-tier concept

In Chapter Four, it is discussed that both nationalism and democracy are studied parallel to each other in the school. Putting the two identities under the one national framework of China, Pedro school is found basically promoting a two-tier identity which appears as a modified version of multi-level citizenship as discussed in the several important local educational papers like the 1996' s Guidelines (p.19-25), the 2000' s Educational System Reform report(p.4) and the 2001' s Curriculum Reform paper(p. III-1). It explains that an understanding of citizenship embraces different levels of the community ranging from the innermost level of individuals to the outermost level of the world. The two-tier concept however highlights a hierarchical loyalty towards Hong Kong and China by which a national unity and solidarity of the two communities is strived at. At the end of the day i.e. in 2046, the 'one country, two systems' policy will complete its political task and there will only have one national system again in China. Basically, the layered structure is territorially defined within the national government system. The lower tier is about the local identity whilst the higher tier is about the national identity.

5.3. The two-tier identity

The learning of the first tier identity is both political and ethnical in the school. The school' s civic education resembles to what Smith defines a nation, which embraces both cultural and political components, which, in the words of Spencer & Wollman (2002) 'appear as material which has been deployed by the nationalist imagination, manufactured in particular ways for mainly nationalist purpose' (p.74). Learning a local national identity will mean to enrich an understanding of a democratic Hong Kong with the Chinese-ness. In addition to democracy, it embeds the ethnicity factor into the local identity, making it more Chinese like in its primordial sense.

5.4. The first tier: the democratic Chinese identity of Hong Kong

5.4.1. Democracy as the core identity: In chapter four, it has shown that there is a tradition of democracy teaching in Pedro school and after 1997 reintegration it begins to advocate a balanced development of both democracy and nationalism in its civic education (see 4.2.1.3. in Chapter Four). It is now here to discuss in detail which sort of democracy and how the democratic education is conducted in the school. This democratic local identity is important as it is a distinct political marker of Hong Kong as the SAR of China in view that China has never had such a democratic institutional establishment in its national government system before. As shown in the 1996 Guidelines and adopted by the civics group, a loyalty towards Hong Kong is the prerequisite for committing oneself to the community of any level, including the nation and the world at large (CDC, 1996: 5 & P/D/CE/P-1 & see 4.2.1.1.). Supporting a democracy is one expressive act of love to the local community. To begin with, the civics group reemphasized democracy study in its specific working objectives.

(III) Objectives:

3. to help students acquire a basic understanding of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life (P/D/CE/P-2; in Chinese- my translation)

5.4.1.1. Democracy of direct election: In the school, democratic participation seems popular practice in public participation and students believe in democratic procedures and representative-ness in today' s running of public affairs. For example, they would like to see a democratically elected student union.

Student (Tracy): If it (the student union) is to represent you, the leaders should best be selected by you. (I/ND/2/15 in Chinese- my translation)

The democratic consensus of students is the rule of thumb.

Student (Sara): Yes. As far as you are elected by the members, you are accepted by them, whether or not it is the result of

a successful campaign. You will then represent them and represent the entire student community (I/ND/2/15 in Chinese- my translation)

The school supports direct election in its democracy education.

Interviewer: Can you say something about the democratic life in school?

Student (Tracy): The Student Union!?

Interviewer: Yes. How is it?

Student (Tracy): Several candidate groups run the campaign. After that, the whole school will vote. Every student will have the right to vote

Interviewer: The whole school!? Is it one man one vote?

Student (Yvette): Yes. One man one vote. Teachers do not vote. Only students can cast the vote. (I/ND/1/11 in Chinese- my translation)

Students are free to elect and to run for an election. They do it on their own. Voluntarism is encouraged. It is student affairs and teachers will not intervene. Students learn self-governance through democracy.

Interviewer: How about the candidates? Do they come out for themselves or with the help from teachers?

Student (Tracy): We form groups by ourselves.

Student (Yvette): We organize for ourselves.

Interviewer: Will any teacher offer any help?

Student (Yvette): Teachers will not intervene. (I/ND/1/12 in Chinese- my translation)

The election is a big student event. It lasts for a quite some time.

Interviewer: How long does the campaign last?

Student (Yvette): Almost a month, two to three weeks or more.
(I/ND/1/15 in Chinese- my translation)

Basically, the election is decided by the simple majority vote and it is by secret ballot. In the student union election, the group who gets the largest vote will win the office.

Student (Yvette, Tracy & Sara): We lost only a thin margin. About a thousand students in the school. Those abstained were 200...no, 300, to add together with the void ones. Then 700 votes were distributed among five candidate groups. We had 200 votes, more or less 20% of the total votes. We lost only by ten votes or so, just a slight margin. People said we lost because the opponents claimed they would invite idol stars to school to perform when they won the election. (I/ND/2/7 in Chinese- my translation)

Similar electoral practices are also found in other student clubs and societies as described by one student informant:

Student (Tracy): The vote is taken by all the members in a student club or society. Usually, one who gets the highest vote wins and will become the chairman. The next highest vote will become the vice-chairman and next the general secretary and financial secretary, etc. (I/ND/1/17 in Chinese- my translation)

5.4.1.2. An elitist tradition: In fact, in the learning of democratic self-governance, the school has developed the customary norms that secondary six students should gain some democratic leadership experience through campaigning for the headship in student organizations of all levels, the largest of which is the student union.

Students (Tracy, Yvette & Sara): We think we can participate more in the student affairs. It is because the school will give secondary six students more opportunity to run the student union for example. Almost all the officials are from secondary six students. Many of us will only have the chance to take part in managing student affairs in this secondary six year. (I/ND/2/3 in Chinese- my translation)

The school then advocates a democracy which in a certain extent is elitist. It is elitist because these senior students have proven to fellow students they are academically capable by securing a secondary six place in the school based on the keen public examination results in the first place and they as seniors are willing to serve the students through taking part in the election campaign and running the student union. This elitist features can also be shown from its organizational characteristics in the structural composition of the Chinese Drama Club as revealed in my field-note dated 24 January, 2003.

Organizational structure of the Chinese Drama Club 02-03:

Advisor:	2 school teachers
Chairman:	F.6A student
Vice-chairman:	External Affairs: Form 6A
	Form 2A
	Internal Affairs: Form 5A
	Form 2C
Sectaries:	Publications: Form 6A
	Form 4E, 4B, 3E, 3D,
	2B, 2B & 2D
	Information 3E, 3C, 2C, 2B
	Recreations 3A 3E

(In Chinese- my translation)

The notice had given the structural composition of leadership of the Club. The chairman and the vice-chairman were of Secondary six students. They were senior students and succeeded in getting through the competitive public examination. They were elected by their fellow students.

Continuity of leadership was obvious. It is seen from the level of vice-chairmanship and below that the seniors looked after the juniors as they paired up in every executive position as the chief and deputy headship. The Secondary 5A student would be the future chairman if he/she could get good public examination results and progress to Form Six education next year. For key and sensitive positions like the Publication Secretary they would be reserved to Secondary Six students (P/F/N/42).

The democratic elitism is more than an attitude or value, it is an institutional practice. It is a well established institution in which students can try democratic governance in their school years.

Student (Tracy): It is because for students of secondary one to five, they do not know how. If one does not know, one's chance is slim. But for secondary six students, they have just completed the public certificate of education examination and have time they then take the things up. More important, it is the school's habitual practice that secondary six students usually shoulder up the leadership role and responsibilities. (I/ND/2/1 in Chinese- my translation)

The way the school does this as reflected on my field journal dated 23 January, 2003 is in fact the common practice of Hong Kong schools about upholding the democratic learning tradition locally.

My knowledge about Hong Kong schools had substantiated by my observation that most of the local schools would let their students try some experience of democracy in managing themselves during their school years. I believed that Pedro school was no exception and the question was only the extent, i. e. how much and how well democracy was tried. Many schools are eager to train students of democratic leadership through students' association activities. Anyway, elitist leadership by democracy was surely an option to the appointment system of student leadership like the school prefect (see 6.2.2. in Chapter Six). It was particularly more

important when we talk about autonomy and self-management (P/F/J/9).

5.4.1.3. Constitutional/ Procedural democracy: It has an extended influence of Pedro school's democratic tradition on its affiliated organization like the Alumni Association which sees democracy more as a constitutional and procedural governance. On its display board on the first floor of the main school block, I saw several pages of the regulations and rules about democratic methods and proceedings of the organization as recorded in my field-note of 24 January, 2003.

The constitution portrayed a democratic institution of the alumni organization with a detailed set of rules and regulations about how democratic governance would be. It was written in Chinese. On Chapter Seven, it defined clearly the rights of a member: (1) right to participate in election; make motion of election; to vote; and to impeach and dismiss the headship; (2) rights to welfare and service offered by the institution. The duties and obligations of a member were also given: to observe rules and regulations; to promote institutional affairs; to comply with resolutions passed by the Executive Committee; to pay membership fee; About the organization and powers: the general council meeting held the highest authorities and when the general council meeting was not in session, the Executive Committee (Exco) would act on and for half. The Exco members would be produced by the general election. The democratic election would be a cabinet system based on simple majority vote. There would be an election monitoring committee and the election appeal panel. There would be a representative from the school authority who served as ex-officio member to the Exco. Usually, he/she came from the school management committee. There were clearly specified rules and guidelines and explicit proceedings with regards to the general council meeting: Letters calling on a meeting should be made two weeks in advance; the quorum would be 1/10 of the total members; the election committee should not contain any cabinet members; Special

general council meeting would be called upon by either half of the Exco members or with a joint-letter of 30 ordinary members and the meeting should be held within 14 days upon request. For any Exco meeting, the quorum would be half of the Exco members and a resolution would be passed with the simple majority vote. The Exco chairman would have an extra vote, or a vote of veto, if there were a tie. The Exco could be dissolved by 2/3 of the members present at the emergence general council meeting(P/F/N/42-3)

The past students seemingly would like to inherit the democratic spirit and secure a democracy with proper procedures and due process in the organizational governance. The involvement of the school in education about democracy and the rule of law is apparent. It demonstrates a strong adherence to a western liberal type of democracy, modelled basically the British tradition.

5. 4. 1. 4. Popular sovereignty: Furthermore, in the learning of the western liberal democracy, the very fundamental concept of popular sovereignty will also be touched upon albeit slightly and implicitly. This is very sensitive an issue about administrative autonomy and political independence in the national politics of China as it will be related to reunification with Taiwan. Briefly, mainland China wished to apply the democratic Hong Kong model for a national reunification with Taiwan but Taiwan however wants independence through indigenous democratization. For example students seem to look at the issue with a popular democratic viewpoint learnt in the school and apply it to the Taiwan case, when they were asked to comment about China which would replicate the Hong Kong model of the 'one country, two systems' to reintegrate with Taiwan. Despite lack specialized topics on Taiwan in the school curriculum, based on their scanty knowledge and impression learnt from the past history in the Chinese History and World History classes (e. g. I/CH/1/3; I/CH/1/6), from newspapers (e. g. I/CH/1/6; I/ND/1/9; I/CH/1/19;) and TV (e. g. I/CH/1/19), and bits of life experiences indirectly related to Taiwan (e. g. see I/TA/1/37 for example of informal learning in school about brotherly love between Taiwan Chinese and Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese; and see I/TA/1/4; I/ND/1/1 for the cultural tours during the summer holidays), students seem to arrive at a point that supports Taiwan people' s choice

about a democratic independence. One student informant argued that a government should act in accordance with the will of the sovereign people.

Student (Yvette): Taiwan has almost everything decided by the people. The (Taiwan) government listens to the opinions of the people. It is impossible for China to claim Taiwan back (I/ND/1/9) (In Chinese- my translation).

Another student informant drew a similar conclusion that the government should never attempt to violate the people' s sovereign right.

Student (Tracy): People living in Taiwan should have the right to decide things on their own. China and Taiwan have a Taiwan Strait to separate them. China should not impose things onto others (I/ND/1/7) (In Chinese- my translation).

To defend the democratic rights of Taiwan people from national unification appeal, one student informant even made a bold re-interpretation about the Chinese history that it is nothing more than an account of split and unity of the Chinese nation.

Student (Jim): But if China and Taiwan do not think the same way, let them part. In history, China had experienced a split for several times. (I/TA/1/43) (In Chinese- my translation).

This re-interpretation implies that a split is not irregular in the Chinese history and can be conceived as a temporary phenomenon and a forceful reunion will then be a bad thing if it means war. Students have a strong sense that the ruling authority cannot do anything in the name of the nation. They think China desperately requires democratic institutions to serve as the system check and balance of the government power.

Student (Yvette): Yes, the (Chinese) government teaches its people to love their country. But the government needs to listen to its people to make the views more balanced. This means the government needs to know what people think. Yes. It means democracy. It needs to have the two things levelled off. It

can' t fall into extremes (I/ND/3/3) (In Chinese- my translation).

5.4.2. The teaching of democracy:

The reminder notes of the civics group in the work plan recorded the worries of teachers that individualistic orientations of students will weaken the learning of local democratic politics.

(II) Present situations

1.3. Students: Students of this school are self-centred. They lack the understanding of the spirit of democracy, rule of law, freedoms, and equality. They are weak in civic consciousness of responsibilities (P/D/CE/P-1) (In Chinese- my translation).

The concerns of the reminder notes reveal that political identification culturally with democratic Hong Kong in the school should not be narrowly confined to the local political system but also broadly expressed as the communal onus of the local public at large. Applying Kennedy' s (1997) civics framework of knowledge, mega-trends and realities, the school' s democracy education is not only knowledge-based but also value-based and action oriented. A democratic identification locally is of many folds in the school.

5.4.2.1. Democracy as civic knowledge: The school teaches students the basic facts and concepts about the democratic political and government system of Hong Kong through various humanities subjects, specifically Economic and Public Affairs as the core subject at the junior secondary level and the Liberal Studies as an optional subject at the senior secondary level. Students learn to believe in an elected leadership. They seem to enjoy having this western democratic practice in the school.

Student (Yvette): We have both (western and eastern cultural traditions). Like voting, it is western thing. Our class club has this voting practice. It is western (I/HK/5/17) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students are taught that democratization in Hong Kong will prosper. They learn democracy as the destiny locally as it is laid down in the Basic

Law that Hong Kong will have an eventual universal suffrage for the election of the Legislature (Basic Law: Article 68) and the Chief Executive (Basic Law: Article 45) at the end of the day. They feel, for example, teachers in the school would provide them with every possible opportunity to lead a life of democratic self-governance.

Student (Yvette): When the Form teacher feels the class monitor is to assist and help him/her in the class affairs he/she will pick the student who he/she thinks is reliable. But, if s/he thinks the class monitor is to serve students, s/he will allow us to decide (I/ND/2/11) (In Chinese- my translation).

5.4.2.2. Democracy as civic mega-trend. Democracy is taught as a value which enshrines a vision of Kennedy that 'focuses on the good of all rather than the selfish demands' (Kennedy, 1997: 3). It is generally believed that China should also have a democracy. In the school, democracy is taught not only as the indigenous virtue, but also as a kind of universal value 'which in itself values freedom and liberty' (CDC, 1996: 14). Students learn to value highly this universalistic property, even higher than nationalism. For example, when asked whether they would prefer democracy to political unification when the livelihood was not the matter of concern, one student informant answered it straight that she would choose democracy.

Interviewer: Do you like democracy, and/or nationalism?

Student (Yvette): Democracy

Interviewer: With democracy, we also need a unified nation.

Student (Yvette): Unified or not, it doesn't matter much to me. Only if a government has the good governance, it doesn't matter who takes the government seats. (I/ND/3/30) (In Chinese- my translation)

One boy informant student added.

Student (Mark): When people have democracy, they will love the country (I/ND/3/1) (In Chinese- my translation)

Students also valued highly the value of freedom which they believed could only be secured by democracy. One student informant commented.

Student (Yvette): If you live under one' s control, it will be devastation, a suffering. You lose your own self to other people (I/ND/3/32) (In Chinese- my translation)

5.4.2.3. Democracy as the civic reality of everyday life. The school helps bring students to get into touch with the substance of the democratic society. Kennedy sees this real life experience as very important as only real life experience 'gives them a stake in the future that rightly belongs to them' (Kennedy, 1997:3). In the school, students learnt democracy as a way of life for example in class activities.

Student (Carol): Like organizing a picnic. Where to go? The final destination will be decided by class voting (I/HK/5/17) (In Chinese- my translation).

Besides the school' s democratic organized life of students (see also 4.3.2.3.2. in Chapter Four), for example, students said they would respect the rights of other people and resolve the differences in a democratic manner among themselves in everyday life encounters.

Student (Yvette): If I suggest going to eat at McDonald and people have other ideas, I' ll first listen to them and if I agree with their ideas, then we' ll go somewhere else.

Interviewer: Does it mean that the right of other people should be respected!?

Student (Tracy): Ours.

Interviewer: Does it mean that there is no paramount figure who overrules?

Student (Yvette): Unless people delegate him/her the authority to do so.

Student (Tracy): Unless you say he/she will speak and decide for you.

Interviewer: Other than what you delegate him/her the authority, he/she needs to obtain your approval before making any decision.

Student (Tracy): Yes. But the extent is not that serious (as you think), after all fellow students having a meal together are friends. (I/ND/1/20) (In Chinese- my translation).

In sum, democracy is both the political and cultural identity of localness in Hong Kong. In effect, the school's civic education politically is indigenization of western liberal democracy which is reconstituted by inserting into it a universality property. The school is anxious to teach students about democracy not as a western concept but as an indigenous as well as universalistic value, yet not necessarily as the core national principle. In short it is a way of life locally.

5.4.3. Revival of the Chinese ethnic consciousness

While democracy is local, the Chinese ethnicity is local too. On the social and education side, identifying with the role models of the locality is one of the ways the school helps build a local national identity among students. The school is seen having an organized learning to revive Chinese ethnicity in the local identity as part of the national programme for its students. The main concerns of the school seem to be the Chinese ethnicity not the nationality of the modern state of China.

In the first place, since the absolute majority of the Hong Kong population is Chinese, Chinese ethnicity to the Hong Kong Chinese is then both local and national when Hong Kong returns to China. Secondly, it is local because it is territory-bound and it is especially the case when Pedro school talks about the role model for its students who has to be a Chinese and at the same time the Hong Kong citizen. Thirdly, it is ethnicity-conscious.

It has the following advantages: 1. the Hong Kong Chinese are largely descendents of the Han race; 2. the nationality issue is a complex issue in modern China because Hong Kong had long been the British colony for more than one hundred years and China is still troubled by the national issue of the two state governments, one in the Mainland and the other in Taiwan; and 3. modern China of PRC is a multi-national state and a state of different political ideologies. Revival of Chinese (or Han) ethnicity is then much simpler the issue when the school is to enrich the local identity with the national dimension.

During the early phase of my field observation as recorded in my field notes dated 23 January, 2003, I noticed that the student clubs and societies had put up on the display boards their choices of the model figures with the shared characteristics like having the Hong Kong citizenship, the Chinese ethnicity, and an international popularity and achievement in their respective fields.

All these printed exhibits shown in open and public grounds needed the school's approval and endorsement. In this sense, what was conveyed on these printed things had been screened and monitored before they were presented before the eyes of students. Examples were the current move of students' clubs and societies, which exhibited their model figures. They were residents of Hong Kong and had their talent and achievements globally recognised (P/F/J/38).

The Sports Club for example exhibited Marco Fu (P/F/N/21), a Hong Kong borne Chinese who won the world snooker tournament at its young age while the Film Club displayed Bruce Lee (P/F/N/52), another Hong Kong born Chinese who was known as the international film star and the Chinese martial art actor and was remembered for his success in showing the Chinese Kung Fu to the world. They might reside in the foreign countries or have the foreign passports, but they never abandoned their Chinese nationality claims and were proud of being a Hong Konger and Chinese.

In the interview, student informants brought forward another Hong Konger and Chinese Kung Fu star, Jackie Chan, whom they recognise as the first native actor who brings the Hong Kong style Kung Fu acting into the

international film market.

Student (Sara); I feel his action in the film is marvellous and he is a Hong Konger (I/HK/2/8)

Student (Tracy): He is both a Hong Konger and Chinese (I/HK/2/11) (In Chinese- my translation).

On the ethnic and national side, students' perceived local identity has had subtle changes after reintegration with China and they began to reflect more on the Chinese-ness in their local identity. When asked whether they would identify themselves as the Hong Konger or Chinese after reunion with China, they noted the ethnicity in the Hong Kong identity.

Student (Yvette): I feel that I' m from China, Hong Kong.

Student (Clark): becoming more a Chinese (I/HK/2/18) (In Chinese- my translation).

Student (Clark): I have a feeling, after reintegration, I feel myself becoming more a Chinese.

Student (Tracy): It is very natural thing (I/HK/2/19) (In Chinese- my translation).

Apparently, it is the People' s Republic of China that students choose to refer to making the ethnicity now closely approximate to the nationality which is significant in the building of a national identity of China in the modern world history and politics, to be discussed in the subsequent sections.

In sum, the first tier of national identity is an understanding about the uniqueness of the locality in which democracy is distinct. In the meantime, the Chinese-ness in the local identity with a particular emphasis on the ethnicity or nationality factor has begun to draw the attention of students in the school.

5.5. The second tier: the national identity of China

5.5.1. A deliberate cultural programme

The second tier is the national identity of China. Different from the work of enriching the local identity with the Chinese ethnicity as just early discussed (see 5.4.3.), Pedro school's civic programme about China is cultural which is national and thus more than ethnical in Smith's sense (1995). The school follows basically what the official Curriculum Reform paper (CDC, 2001) proposes for national study:

A sense of national identity is cultivated through understanding elements of Chinese history and culture, (e.g. history, arts, scientific and technological development, achievement of outstanding Chinese) which permeate all KLAS (key learning areas, my insert) (p.23-4).

It differs from the mainland school counterparts which aim more at a political understanding of a national culture (see 5.5.3. of this chapter for details).

It is to help students further to substantiate the love towards the socialist mother country (···) it is what a citizen is required to perform one's duty (Chiu, 1998:68) (In Chinese-my translation) (the emphases, my insert)

The culturally expressed national political identity will be:

to build the nation with self-pride, self-respect and self-confidence; to support national unification and consolidation; to safeguard national dignity and honour; and respect national signs and symbols (Chiu, 1998:68) (In Chinese-my translation)

5.5.2. A localized cultural understanding

5.5.2.1. The formal cultural learning: As discussed in Chapter Four (see 4.3.2.3a.) the school conducts the programme mainly through separate subject teachings, the teaching strategies of which, as shown in its civics group's action plan, are different from the above-mentioned official paper suggests.

(V): Plan:

1. In collaboration with other subject groups and functional groups, citizenship education will permeate into the formal curriculum teaching. The teaching of civic content is done particularly through Chinese history, Chinese language, Chinese language and culture and Economic and public affairs etc. (P/D/CE/P-2) (in Chinese- my translation)

On the surface, the national identity literally explained seems like a genuine cultural type as appeared in the civics group specific objectives. Genuine means in its traditional and primordial sense.

(III) Objectives:

5. To help students develop open-mindedness and objectivity towards the Chinese people and other peoples, their cultures, values and ways of life.
6. To help students understand the special features of the Chinese culture, identify with noteworthy aspects of the Chinese culture, and strengthen their esteem for it.
7. To cultivate in students a sense of communal identity and belonging, to nurture their concerns for the nation and life of its people. (P/D/CE/P-2)
(in Chinese- my translation)

Since the school, again as revealed in 4.3.2.3.1., develops a local (or western) perspective to understand the national culture which breeds consequently a hybrid culture that it is not as genuine as what the original cultural plan aims at (see 5.5.4. of this chapter for details).

5.5.2.2. The informal cultural learning: The informal curriculum learning is also significant because firstly the school highlights real life study and secondly the school in its cultural studies covers not only the mainland areas but also Taiwan, the piece of the Chinese land which is not yet under the governance of the mainland government which is rather difficult for mainland schools to deal with for the time being.

At the civics group level, they have plans for example for students to tour around China for real life studies.

(V): Plan:

9. To arrange students to the mainland for visits and exchanges in order to broaden their horizon of seeing things and enhance their understanding about their mother country and foster a national consciousness (P/D/CE/P-3) (in Chinese- my translation)

At the top school level, the school was found to arrange in collaboration with the church related service group at least twice a home-stay cultural tour to Taiwan during the summer vacation. It is multi-purpose, religious, cultural, individual and educational and viewing from the informant pamphlet the theme this year is 'Searching one' s identity in the virtual world' (P/D/CE/T-1).

Objectives:

- Exchange of religious faith with youth of different regions and cultures
 - Understand one' s self-identity and mission
- (P/D/CE/T-1) (in Chinese- my translation)

The school has provided learning opportunities for students to acquire a broader outlook about their national identity of the three communities on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. These kinds of cultural contact and communication I strongly believe are very useful for a peaceful national reintegration in which the Hong Kong model is one of the ways out. Students of Pedro school would have a wonderful time as noted in my field-note dated 24 January, 2003.

On my left side hand, there was a display on last year summer visit to Taiwan. Many photos were taken together with the family members of the farmers there. From students' faces, I was sure they have had a marvelous experience about the village life and culture in Taiwan where they stayed for a couple of weeks in the farmers' home and lived with their family members. (P/F/N/48) (in Chinese- my translation)

In sum, the school provides students with a cultural understanding of the

nation where the politically sensitive region of Taiwan is also included in the learning curriculum despite deliberate avoidance of politics and ideological aspects.

5.5.3. The de-contextualized national learning

5.5.3.1. The absence of socialist characteristics locally

As previously described (see 5.2.1. of this chapter), the concept of the ‘one country, two systems’ China analytically has the three components of the Chinese nation, the mainland system and the Hong Kong system. According to the Outline of the Teaching Curriculum of Political Thoughts in China, the first two components merge to give an education for socialist China (Chiu, 1998: 14). The fundamental educational aims are:

【T】 o foster a belief that China with socialist characteristics and under the central leadership of the CCP prospers to become a strong nation; to identify the nature and mission of people’ s dictatorship in a socialist nation; to make students learn the socialist democracy and rule of law; to foster a sense of safeguarding the authority of constitutionalism; to have a legal concept of the basic rights and duties as a citizen; to rightly exercise the rights of democracy and to develop a sense of social responsibility (Chiu, 1998: 14) (in Chinese- my translation)

Pedro school in Hong Kong is different. First, the school teaches Hong Kong as a SAR and China as a nation but little about the mainland communist system as reflected in its statement of civic aims (see 4.2.1.1.-3. in Chapter Four). Second, in the field observation and documentary studies, socialism which is both the ideology and context in the mainland is basically absent. Third, the school has shown in general that the school’ s civic education avoids the teaching of the socialist characteristics and ideologies of China while it highlights the Chinese culture, specifically its primordial nature and significance.

5.5.3.2. China and Chinese-ness in the abstract

In the cultural dimension: In Pedro school, the various dimensions of cultural China are focused through different subject studies (CDC, 2001 & P/D/CE/P-2). For example, in an observed Chinese Language and Culture

lesson, secondary six students sat together to discuss the philosophic and practical impacts of traditional Chinese rural culture over the modern city life (C/3/CC/7-12).

Teacher: What is the inherited character of a Chinese?

Student (May): Simple life, Work on sunrise and rest at sunset. The Chinese are happy and satisfied with the status quo. They keep things as usual and make changes as little as possible (C/3/CC/11) (In Chinese- my translation).

This example has shown that students apparently learnt China and Chinese-ness 'in the abstract' in Luk's (1991) sense that 'it was not connected to the tangible reality', i.e. the reality of Mainland China (p. 668). The problem here no longer lies in colonialism versus nationalism as in Luk's case about Hong Kong's colonial education. It is now about socialism and the rule of the Chinese Communist Party in relation to a capitalistic democratic Hong Kong society.

This detached approach is not accidental. It was once pointed out that there had been a suggestion to teach a socialist national education through creating a new key learning area (KLA) of the National History and Guoqing Jiaoyu (National Affairs) in the writing of the Curriculum Reform report (CDC, 2001) in Hong Kong but this was eventually rejected by the drafters.

There was a suggestion to form a ninth KLA of "National History and Guoqing Jiaoyu". "Guoqing Jiaoyu" is a component of moral and civic education, which is one of the five essential learning experiences for whole-person development (···) Moral and civic education should be internalized through school life and life-wide learning activities with the KLAs or through realizing oneself in life events (···) Therefore it is not desirable to separate "Guoqing Jiaoyu" from moral and civic education to form a ninth KLA with Chinese history (p. 23-4)

The paradox is probably attributable to the 'one country, two systems'

design that Hong Kong practises a social system totally different from the socialist system in the mainland which will then make the tangible reality of China intangible when students learn China in their everyday life events in the local context, unlike their counterparts in the mainland, who learn through their life events that happen in the China context which is real and tangible and is socialistic. In a word, the life event approach (see 4.3.1.1. in Chapter Four) to the national learning of China locally is itself de-contextualized and abstract.

Having said that, it does not mean there is not any tangible contact with China (including Taiwan). As explained in the early paragraphs (see 5.5.2.2.), there are supplementary extra-curricular activities organized in collaboration with related bodies to visit China like the training camp at Shenzhen and Xiwu exchange tour in China in the Easter Holidays with the Parent-Teacher Association (P/D/NL/8) and the cultural tour to Taiwan during the summer vacation with a Church youth service unit. Nevertheless, these are not regular activities and not a large number of students can join and benefit from this on-site learning of China. Finance is a problem not to mention difficulties in monitoring the effects of the curriculum learning.

5.5.3.3. National patriotism: patriotism without socialism

The de-contextualized learning of China has profound implications in acquiring a national identity which is supposedly a uniform set of national cultural codes as theorized by many nationalism scholars like Smith (1995). It in effect produces a national identity which is mainly cultural not political or socialist. Nationally speaking, this will result in two different kinds of love to the same nation in the national learning of the two places, namely the cultural patriotism in Hong Kong and the socialist patriotism in China.

In the patriotic dimension: Not only in the cultural dimension, the abstract national China is but also taught in its patriotic dimension locally. In the mainland, patriotism is both national and socialist.

Today, when we talk patriotism, it is not only to love the mountains and rivers of the mother country, history and cultural inheritance, but also reflects on loving the socialist system,

the Chinese communist party and each nationality under its leadership and the socialist modern cultural enterprise (Chao, 1998: 143) (in Chinese- my translation).

In Pedro school, the learning of patriotism is basically national and cultural and detached from the contemporary socialist and the Chinese communist landscape. It follows by and large the local official line as seen in the Curriculum Reform report (not Tung' s version) (see 4.2.1.3. in Chapter Four; 1.1. in Chapter One) which is to build:

a sense of national identity through understanding the elements of Chinese history and culture (CDC, 2001: 23)

The school also touches on sentiments of patriotism but in a restrained manner. It hopes to develop positive attitudes and related values in students like responsibility and commitment to improving the society and nation. For example, students were told one should save one' s mother country from hardship.

Student (Yvette): They (the school) tell you that you should love this piece of land, but tell you nothing how to do it.

Interviewer: Can you say it more clearly? How is it?

Student (Carol): At best, they tell you that you should show concern about things happening in China. If they (people in China) meet difficulties, you should donate some money to them. Everything seems to become fairly positive (I/CH/2/14) (In Chinese- my translation).

Apparently there is nothing about socialist politics and communist comradeship. The school' s 'patriotic' programme is basically humanistic. Students were taught to extend a helping hand to the needy people in China because they were all Chinese and it was the moral duty as a Chinese citizen. Seemingly, it is more a kind of values education underpinned by a framework of universal values that embraces all levels of communities ranging from individual to family, school, district, region, the nation and the world at large as revealed in the Curriculum

Reform paper (CDC, 1996, 2001) (see also 4.3.1.1 in Chapter Four). In a sense, it helps boost reintegration of the people of the two communities by resorting to moral, humanist, cultural, national and patriotic appeals, separating it from the education of socialism.

5.5.3.4. Symbols and symbolic de-linkage

In the everyday life dimension: Deliberately or not, apart from the formal de-contextualized curriculum learning, psychological distancing and detachment from socialist politics is also reflected in the use of everyday language and routine communication in the school. In the first place, there seems to be some kind of provocative ideological sentiments about socialism and communism among students. They had biased feelings about the communists. In the interview for example student informants seemed to possess negative connotations about the Chinese communist party.

Interviewer: If you are given the chance to join the Chinese Communist Party, would you like to join?

Student (Yvette); No. I don' t like the Chinese Communist Party.

Interviewer: How about the rest of you?

Students (Mark & Sara): ... nnnng...

Student (Yvette): I never like it. I can' t explain the reason why (I/ND/3/7) (In Chinese- my translation).

In everyday life communications about discussing the public affairs locally, more neutral terms are used when it involves across the Chinese communist government. For example, in the class observation of secondary six Liberal Studies, it was seen that the 'communist government' was rarely used to describe the government in China in nearly all the printed and written materials like the columns from several local newspapers cuttings and the written notes of students (C/8/LS/SA-1-6). Instead, the 'central government' (中央政府、中央) which specifies the centre-local administrative working relationship, or the 'Chinese government' (中

國政府) which marks the common ethnicity of the two communities or the 'mainland government' (大陸政府、內地政府) which indicates the territoriality factor were used. These terms seem more easily acceptable to the general public of Hong Kong, without causing any unnecessary disputable ideological sentiments.

In sum, the school provides a de-contextualized learning of China where the socialist characteristics are avoided. It is basically cultural and the Chinese-ness is learnt in the abstract. Pedro school teaches students patriotism and socialism as the two separate subjects, unlike the mainland schools which teach students that they are two-in-one.

5.5.4. Re-invention of the national cultural values

Hong Kong is an international society of plurality where different cultures are free to interact to give a distinct local culture of heterogeneity. It is also the fine tradition in school education as depicted in the Education System Reform report (HKEC, 2000).

Education in Hong Kong is endowed with some very fine traditions. Our education is infused with the essence of eastern and western cultures, preserving the basic elements of traditional Chinese education while absorbing the most advanced concepts, theories and experiences from modern western education (p. 29).

In the teaching of the national values, the school not only touches on the old Chinese traditions but also reinterprets them to suit the new political situations and even adds in new contents to give a new life to the long standing Chinese norms and practices. The learning of modern political cultural practices will serve as an example.

5.5.4.1. Transformation of the old national values

Politically and nationally, the school first teaches students the Chinese traditional beliefs and viewpoints at the junior secondary level. To illustrate, the Chinese history curriculum aims to help students to develop 'a deeper understanding of the history, culture and human environments of China and strengthen their national identity' (CDC, 2001: 46). In actual teaching as in an observed secondary one Chinese history

class, for example, the lady teacher told students in the lesson at the end of class that no one Chinese authority could afford any other power centres. The episode was the original historic source of an aphorism that 'a mountain can hide no two tigers' (一山不能藏二虎) (C/6/CH/25). She elaborated it by explaining the metaphorical meaning to students that it meant there survives only one sole power centre in one place and it cannot afford to have other authorities that pose a threat.

This 'imperial' political tradition will still have its cultural influence sometime somewhere in students. For example, in national politics, the Taiwan issue is a critical issue to understand the notion of 'one country' locally. In an interview, informant students had produced a viewpoint out of the cultural inheritance. They suggested that in power politics the Mainland China could hardly allow Taiwan to become another strong Chinese power centre.

Student (Tracy): Because they (the Communists) want one China, they worry that...

Student (Sara): I think it is because Taiwan has the military might. They (the Communists) do not want them to grow stronger. They want to have the paramount Communist Party (I/TA/1/20-21) (In Chinese- my translation).

Another student seemed to suggest to her classmates an answer which is again deeply founded on this Chinese 'imperial' cultural tradition.

Student (Sara): Perhaps it is the matter of face (I/TA/1/19) (In Chinese- my translation).

For good or bad, this 'imperial' traditional thinking has been re-constituted to become the 'nationalist' pretext for the communist China to liberate the capitalist Taiwan undergoing democratization for independence. The thesis of power politics embedded in feudalistic traditions partly explains the strained cross-Strait relations between the democratic Taiwan and the Communist China.

5.5.4.2. Re-making of the national values

5.5.4.2.1. **Public participation:** The previous discussion of the Chinese political tradition of the power politics among the ruling authorities in which ordinary people have little role to play is in fact a kind of submissiveness education. The national wisdom told ordinary people ‘not to get involved in politics’ and ‘to mind one’ s own businesses’ . It is more a kind of education for passive citizenship in Saha’ s (2000a & b) sense. Distinct from the junior secondary studies, at the senior secondary level, the school turns to focus more on teaching students the participation spirit of people in public affairs. It is an education for public participation, or in Saha’ s (2000b) sense, an education for active citizenship. The traditional national thinking again is transformed or re-invented and tailored to meet the changing needs of Hong Kong and China at large.

5.5.4.2.2. **Education for active citizenship:** Public participation consciousness and caring of the community first begins at the school level and stretches out to reach other levels of the community bit by bit. A glimpse of the civics-related posters hung around the campus would suggest that the school is eager to inculcate the participatory spirit in students. The following account in the field-notes of 19 February, 2003 might provide evidence for such a claim:

There were two main types of posters, by the school and students and from the outside bodies.

Examples of posters by the school and students were: “Social Service Plan of 2002–2003: Visit Elderly Citizens once every month: We are waiting for you, Come to visit us please” organized jointly with the Church Social Service Unit...

On the public ground around the general office, the main block, there were plenty of posters from the outside bodies. They were put up on the walls and on main posts of the building. Examples were: a poster on “Walk for a Million: Walk for the goods of the community and Walk for the community spirit of mutual care,” a charity district walk jointly organized by various community and social services bodies; and a poster on “Good Student Promotion Project” by the District School Liaison

Unit, Education Department and various sponsoring bodies related to educational and youth services. The theme was: optimize one's potential and life; respect teachers and love parents and exercise self-discipline and set a model to other; protect the environment and serve the community... (P/F/N/84)

In the field observation, there were two kinds of learning of public participation. The first is in the explicit formal curriculum study. For example, two groups of Liberal Studies secondary six students in a class observation reported their empirical study on the misconduct of students on polluting the public environment of school and made recommendations that the school should be more strict with students who pollute the campus and those who misbehave should be punished for what they do because every member of school is held responsible for keeping the place clean (C/1/LS/1-3). It is the scientific and rational way of popular participation.

Second, in the implicit curriculum learning, public participation by democracy can easily be identified (see 5.4.2.1.). In the interview, students told they were much influenced by the school's teaching of western liberal ideas about politics. The democratic culture of vote taking in the school is one example (I/HK/5/17). It is seen that the culture of student Chinese Hong Kongers is much fused with the western concepts and becomes more participatory.

Furthermore, student informants said they would make an open challenge against the school authority for mismanagement or mistreatment. They would like to have their grievances addressed through democratic institutions and practices. To illustrate, the school was open to student criticism about its mobile phone policy via the elected student union which was blamed as an outdated and unreasonable measure.

Student (Jim): Cell phones have become popular only recently. The school rules were set some years ago. It may (not) match the present situation. Do they (teachers) bring cell phones along (to school)? One thing there is hard to change. That thing is tradition.

Interviewer: Who brings forth the question?

All Students: Students.

Interviewer: Through which channel?

All students: the Student Union (I/HK/5/ 8-9) (In Chinese-my translation).

Another impressive live example is about the floating class issue (I/HK/5/17). In the interview, the secondary six arts students said they were told by the school that they would not be assigned a base classroom this year and would only be given a floating classroom instead. Without the base classroom, students needed to carry their belongings all the way round during the school day. This would cause much inconvenience and nuisance in their everyday school life. They thought it was unfair to them because they already had had it before in the junior years. It was the customary practice of the school that students needed to float once in their entire school life. They were angry at the school for not seeking the prior consent from them. They felt their rights were being ignored. They went to the student union for help. An informant student explained the fury inside.

Student (Yvette): He (the class teacher) thinks we have the right to know and the right of safeguarding one's interests, and if we think we are badly treated and it is unfair, then we can lodge a complaint. We may voice our discontent and do something about it. We are given the right and we can use it. It is the western way of doing things (I/HK/5/17) (In Chinese-my translation).

The education for active and expressive citizenship is conducted in

collaboration with the outside bodies for students. In the civics group annual report, there are some examples.

(II) Internal activity:

3. To liaise with the Amnesty International (AI) to give a talk. In the mean time a display about human rights was held. The civics group called on secondary six students to join the AI to demand a release of dissidents in Malaysia.

(III) External activity:

7. To take part in the signature campaign organized by the Hong Kong Educational Workers Federation against a war in Iraq by the U.S. (P/D/CE/W-2) (In Chinese- my translation)

In sum, the Chinese culture of Hong Kong is much mixed with western ideas and values and gives a new brand of national code of governance in and for Hong Kong (and ideally China). In national political education, participatory not submissive culture is in concern. Reinvention is the key word not the tradition.

5.6. Towards a composite identity of divergence

The early sections in this chapter have shown that the school has taught a composite local national identity of a two-tier territorial structure in which the first tier features a democratic Hong Kong with ethnic revival and the second tier a cultural China in de-contextualized and de-politicized learning. There is the reinvention of national culture with the fusion of western values and concepts locally. In effect, there emerge different trends of development concurrently in the school's implemented programme, making the composite national identity an identity of divergence rather than of convergence as was first proposed by Tung in his public speech about citizenship education for Hong Kong after reintegration delivered at the University of Hong Kong (Tung, 1997).

5.6.1. About the two-tier identity: Hong Kong first

As described in section 5.3., students learn a status hierarchy between Hong Kong and China in searching for a national identity locally. This can be illustrated by a student who reflected in the school's Newsletter that after he spent a summer vacation with people of nine other Asian

countries in a wild-life camp in Africa, he felt uncomfortable with only a native, regional identity of Hong Kong and would like to look for a higher ranking national identity.

From the encounters, I found myself being a Chinese ethnically, yet, I know very little about China. Therefore, I' d study much harder to learn about China, everything about it and make myself a true Chinese. (P/D/NL/4) (in Chinese- my translation)

Re-positioning the order of significance: Having said this, it does not mean that all other people think his way. In emotive terms, many students put Hong Kong first before China. Territorial proximity and intimacy count. For example, student informants clung more to the territorial identity as Chinese Hong Konger when they were asked how to explain the current status of identity to the foreign friends.

Interviewer: After reunion, what do you feel about your identity now? Hong Konger, Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese or Chinese Hong Konger?

Students (Tracy, Sara, Wendy & Yvette): Hong Konger, Yes, a Hong Konger.

Interviewer: What if explaining it to a foreigner? A Hong Konger or a Chinese?

Students: Hong Konger first.

Student (Yvette): Yes. Hong Konger. Hong Kong is the place I live (I/HK/1/26) (In Chinese- my translation).

It seems apparently that the regional linkage is much stronger than the national bond. The history and education will be contributory to this.

Student (Wendy): The handover is just a recent event. Before this happened, I was taught including school that I was a Hong Konger, I was always taught I was a Hong Konger (I/HK/1/26) (In Chinese- my translation).

Politics may also be counted.

Student (Yvette): The existing political modes have separated Hong Kong out as an independent territory or even country. That is why I put Hong Kong first (I/HK/1/26).

A kind of alienation may have a role to play.

Student (Tracy): We feel that Hong Kong and China are separate. In the past, Hong Kong was ruled by the British. When we say Hong Kong, we simply mean the territory. It is a fact that Hong Kong has been separated from China. We have had an alienated relationship with China (I/HK/1/26) (In Chinese- my translation).

Another student informant helps explain the psychological complexity with a historical cause.

Student (Yvette): It is because this territory of Hong Kong is unique. Before reintegration, it was under the rule of Britain, but it was not completely the territory of Britain. It was only the leased land. We didn' t have any relationship with China. I feel Hong Kong is an isolated place and therefore I feel I am Hong Konger. I do maintain this kind of feeling even Hong Kong now is returned to China (I/HK/1/25) (In Chinese- my translation).

Despite this alienated relationship, students did not totally reject the ethnic identity when they claimed they are Hong Kongers.

Student (Yvette): I feel I' m both a Chinese and a Hong Konger. In China, when people say for example he is a Sichuan person, he does not exclude that he is not a Chinese.

Student (Sara): I feel I am a Chinese Hong Konger because I think I am also a Chinese. But when asked who I am and where I come from, I' ll say I' m a Hong Konger. I got use to it

(I/HK/1/25) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students seemed open and receptive to integration with the north variant Chinese cultures. For example, in the field observation, I noticed that the Chinese Society organized a literary game about the native cultural customs and life of different geographical regions in China (P/F/N/20). This revealed that a kind of cultural mix with the initiation of local students was under way as reflected on my field note of 21 January, 2003:

This gave a revealing example of how the young students of Hong Kong developed their unique local blend of Chinese culture by intermingling different variants of Chinese culture from different geographical regions. It was a sign of cultural mix of Southern and Northern provinces with historic China, plus a modern creation of Hong Kong. It felt no strong sense of the Hong Kong identity, or any discrimination against the northern variant of the Chinese culture, yet in a particular native genre of Hong Kong (P/F/N/21).

This emergent trend of national cultural reintegration locally seems irreversible, far-reaching and sometimes in an unintended manner. For example, students began to get used to write in a mixed mode, i. e. both simplified Chinese mode practiced on the Mainland and the standard Chinese mode with complicated characters locally in the same piece of writing like student assignments, school function publicities and even public examinations papers.

Student (Yvette): Last year I at times wrote in some simplified Chinese characters in the examination. The teacher of secondary four allowed us to do so. I can write faster in them.

Student (Sara): It is allowed in public examinations.

Interviewer: Can' t you in this mixed mode!?

Student (Sara): Sure. As far as you know, write in them. But

you have to make sure that they are not written wrongly.
(I/CH/1/8) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students might thus have a stronger local identification in relation to the national identity which appears more remote and unfamiliar in its cultural and ethnical as well historical terms. There exists a hierarchical relationship but in emotive and significance terms it is weak as it first appears. There are different forms of cultural integration under way in addition to the serious and formal learning.

5.6.2. About the de-contextualized learning: differential sentiments
As shown in the sections 5.4. & 5.5. of this chapter, students in effect learn the national identity in its de-contextualized and depoliticized format which results on the one hand in a remote and distant identity of the mainland China and on the other hand a close and intimate identification with the locality of Hong Kong which is now discussed below.

5.6.2.1. Discrepancies in subjective sentiments: Discrepancies in subjective sentiments between Hong Kong and China are material and substantive. There is an objective material base for the lopsided curriculum learning towards Hong Kong. First, the school had shown for example the historic record of student life that had taken place locally on the front entrance floor. Nearly all the honours and achievements were gained locally in Hong Kong (Field-note dated 28 January, 2003):

I walked past her (the receptionist) and went straight to the opposite end of the lobby where lay a series of glazed cabinets. The cabinets exhibited all kinds of rewards and souvenirs like trophies, shields, bowls, plates, flags etc. gained from outside. From my right to left, the collected items were put under categories of moral and spiritual services, followed by intellectual and academic, soccer, gymnastics, swimming, basketball, and badminton. Community and citizenship related events like Outstanding student award of the District and Inter-school Chinese History quiz were found in moral and intellectual columns. Further left, it came to the central wall of the lobby where the collected

items were closely related to diocesan schools and the church activities. The collection could be traced back from day one of the school, which opened in the late-nineties.

(P/F/N/54-55)

Second, the school finds it easier access to the local society in Hong Kong than the national society in China. For example, there are related activities for students to develop their voluntarism and expressive sentiments towards Hong Kong and China. But the plan related to the mainland was abandoned for a shortage of finance as revealed in the yearly report of work of the civics group:

(II) Internal:

7. To assist the District Affairs Office to conduct the campaign of voter registration. More than 30 students joined.

(III): External

6. To seek patronage for a study tour to HuMen, DongGuan, Guangdong, China. Application unsuccessful. (D/CE/W/2) (in Chinese- my translation)

5.6.2.2. Exclusivity of local consciousness: In chapter four, I contend that a local perspective arose to balance the increasing national influence locally (see 4.2.1.3. in Chapter Four). Local exclusiveness seems apparent in the critical learning of national education.

5.6.2.2.1. Sentiments about Hong Kong: In the interview, it was observed that informant students had developed a local perspective with which the conducts of the national government about Hong Kong is evaluated in the learning of the 'one country, two systems' China. Students initially seemed not to have negative feelings about China taking Hong Kong back, they however were anxious that the original system of Hong Kong would be dismantled after reintegration.

Student (Tracy): I think the 'one country, two systems' is good. Hong Kong has been ruled by the British for 99 years or so and has already absorbed many western things. The Chinese system is different. If China imposes its system on Hong Kong

after taking it back, then the people of Hong Kong will feel anxious and they leave, like those days before 1997 (I/HK/2/29) (In Chinese- my translation).

A defensive mechanism seems apparent. They later began to feel uneasy about the way the 'one country, two systems' concept was implemented. For example, in a class observation session, secondary six students when asked whether the implementation was a success or failure, they expressed pessimism about the future of Hong Kong.

Student (Lucy)' s comment:

Failure. Because the SAR government shows more concerns about the nation' s affairs and interests. It neglects local people' s interests and opinions (on the two systems). Very often, it does not listen and does its own way resulting in strong resentment of people. It is a bad failure. (C/8/LA/SA-5)

Student (Mary)' s answer:

【b】ut the 'one country' things come in incessantly; it(the 'one country, two systems' exercise) approaches a failure (C/8/LA/SA-8)

The strong responses of students confirm what Fairbrother (2003) contends that there is a kind of resistance of Hong Kong people to react to their perception of 'the state' s attempt to disempower them through a process of hegemony' (p. 167).

5.6.2.2.2. Sentiments about China: Students had shown scepticism about the mainland China based on their general knowledge and school learning in connection with Hong Kong. A prejudice is evident.

Student (Yvette): **【Y】**ou' ll feel China is a place of backwardness and is despotic. It does not allow people to speak out. China scares people (of Hong Kong) a lot who yet are still pleased to see Hong Kong to become part of China. They (people of Hong Kong) should not be blamed for this because China has

too many negative things. China has bad things. There has been a long time for China to learn western things like freedom and liberty and the western model, but China changes very little. People (of Hong Kong) would find it difficult to help (I/CH/2/13) (In Chinese- my translation).

Hong Kong belongs to the liberal democratic communities of the western world. Students suspect whether China truly believes in these liberal political values or not.

Student (Tracy): I think it is necessary for me to make clear what exactly China did to Hong Kong after it took it back. Before that (the handover) happened, people feared China that its Mainland policy... does not embrace freedom and democracy (I/TA/1/22) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students complained that the distinctness of Hong Kong begins to disappear.

Student (Sara): (It becomes) the 'one country' now. Things have changed. At the beginning, it was the 'one country, two systems' and I was feeling good... Yeah, yeah!!! Slowly and slowly, eh, it is not like before, and many, many problems begin to surface (I/HK/2/29-30) (In Chinese- my translation).

The anger can be understood as a negative expression of local exclusivity. One student (Tracy) is dissatisfied with changes for the one China model.

Yes. We' ve already accepted the initial plan (the two systems co-exist). It is no longer ... now, amend, amend, amend, and it amends to become one China (I/HK/2/30) (In Chinese- my translation).

Defensive exclusivity may lead to confrontational sentiments. One informant student for example (Yvette) commented that the legislation of the national security bill was absolutely against the will and interest of Hong Kong people. That those local people who supported it itself is an act of betrayal (see also 4.2.1.3. ; 4.3.2.1.1. ; 4.3.2.1.5).

I do not believe there is any necessity to get the national security bill legislated. To betray China, it is the matter of China. No one (Hong Kong people) will betray Hong Kong (I/HK/2/34) (In Chinese- my translation).

In sum, in fear of the indigenous way of life being affected externally, students tend to cumulate a differential sentiment towards Hong Kong and China: they are sceptical of China and its Hong Kong policy on the one hand and on the other hand engender a local consciousness distinct from national China. Some extreme forms appear, making the identification of Hong Kong and China into oppositional identities.

5.6.3. About reinvention of national values

The problematic consequence of reinvention: As seen in section 5.5.4., it appears that the reinvention of national values politically may not help the Hong Kong system converge with the mainland system but on the contrary diverge away from it. Here now we discuss its effects on nation building among students.

In the modern history of China, the Chinese Communist Party had contributed to save China from foreign invasion and colonization and built a new Chinese state in the mainland. Collectivist socialism was the nationalist revolutionary ideology at that time (see also 4.3.2.3.5. in Chapter Four). In the case of Hong Kong, individualist democracy has replaced socialism to become part of the national program of reunification. Unfortunately, this confronts with the collectivist nature of the Chinese government and makes national identification and education for democratization locally very difficult as revealed in my reflective field journal dated 24 January, 2003(P/F/J/11):

Politically ... They drew the Five Stars flag to represent China in their drawing and learn Putonghua as the national language on top of the Cantonese, the Chinese dialect of the southern provinces (see P/F/N/45). Nevertheless, it did not necessarily mean that they would like to see the dictatorial government system practiced in the HKSAR. Instead, students were pleased to see a liberal democracy modelled on the USA or the UK system as initiated by the school and practiced on

various organizational levels of student bodies as seen from the Chinese Drama Club and the Alumni Association (see P/F/N/42).

In the school's learning, students have addressed more questions than answers to the new democratic invention in the discourse of national unification with Hong Kong. Asked whether China would help Hong Kong to develop democracy, students had reservations.

Interviewer: Do you think China would help Hong Kong to develop more democracy and in a faster pace?

Student (Yvette): (China has) Less democracy. The mainland itself hasn't any democracy. Hong Kong is such a free place that the Mainland can help nothing. The Mainland itself has got many things to do to improve its (free and democratic) situations (I/ND/3/11) (In Chinese- my translation).

They rather thought China should learn from Hong Kong's democratization to transform the non-democratic political culture in the mainland.

Student (Yvette): No. China can't help. On the contrary, if it needs a democracy, Hong Kong could help. Perhaps, Hong Kong could pass along information on democracy to China and China should learn it from Hong Kong (I/ND/3/11) (In Chinese- my translation).

About China's idea that Hong Kong will be an example for Taiwan to reintegrate with China with a democracy, students however have another idea. They conceive that Hong Kong has fallen far behind Taiwan in democracy development as the Taiwan government has plans to hold referendums for any big decision of the government.

Student (Yvette): No. Just said before (that Taiwan deems to hold a referendum and Hong Kong never dreams of it).

Student (Mark): Hong Kong does not do too well in democracy. How can it serve as a model for Taiwan!? (I/ND/3/14) (In

Chinese- my translation).

Instead, students thought Hong Kong should take Taiwan as its example in democratic development, putting aside reunification. In Taiwan, democracy is the end in itself. In the case of Hong Kong, democracy seems the means to an end of reunification.

Student (Sara): I wish so (reunification with a democracy).

But people of Hong Kong wish to have a democracy like Taiwan.

(I/ND/3/15) (In Chinese- my translation).

In sum, the re-invention of the national values has embraced western concepts of limiting the authoritarian ruling power in Chinese political traditions. Western liberal democracy seems the essence of the new invention which serves as the competitive model against the long established dictatorial customs in modern political system government of China which is communistic. In the case of national reunification, China has succeeded in putting it to the test in Hong Kong with the concept of the 'one country, two systems' but fails to have it tried in Taiwan which simply rejects it.

5.7. Summary of the chapter

This chapter tries to explain what kind of national identity is learnt by students in the school and how the school helps students to acquire a national identity. It has shown that a localized identity of the 'one country, two systems' China is a two-tier composite national identity of divergence, not of convergence as was initially intended. Despite highlighting the cultural uniformity and homogeneity, diversity for example in political democracy and national patriotism is obvious. Furthermore, the school's national identification programme differs from the mainland in that it generates in effect differential sentiments between Hong Kong and the mainland, a focus on a de-contextualized learning of national principles, a detachment from socialistic characteristics, and a reinvention of national values for integration with western individualistic democratic ideas and values. Lastly, it has shown that the school liberal learning context as discussed in the previous chapter has contributed greatly to fostering in students a local consciousness and interest in democracy.

Chapter Six: Analysis of findings:

The school's citizenship education and students' views

6.1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I attempted to explain how the school presents a local national identity in its interpretive context and focus. However there will not be a complete picture about the school's national education without examining the student perspective. As a matter of fact, students are involved in the school process and belong to the process of the school's national education programme. This chapter will then focus on how students perceive the school's national education programme with respect to the learning about Hong Kong and China and the conflicting nature of the composite conception of 'one country, two systems' China as described in the early chapters. Through examining students' evaluation of the methodological effectiveness of the implemented school programme pertinent to the three general civic aims of a local identity, a national identity, and a balanced development (see 4.2.1.1. & 4.2.1.3 in Chapter Four), I try to elicit students' national learning in the school. For analytical convenience, the strong and the weak side of the programme implementation will be dealt with accordingly. Last but not least, students' perception of the role of the school in national education will also be discussed which can be used as a check against the students' evaluation of the aims of the school programme.

6.2. The strength of the school programme: the students' viewpoint

6.2.1. The first aim: a Chinese national identity

The school's civic education programme aims to help enhance students' national understanding of China culturally, among other things. Students said they learned the fundamentals about China from various subjects. They welcomed this cultural approach in understanding China as the nation.

Student (Tracy): Most impressive, I think, are the Chinese History classes because I've taken the subject for more than five years. These classes at least help me to learn some of the history of it and its development. Geography class also covers the topic on Chinese industry. I know some bits of it. But every piece of knowledge learnt is inside the scope of the textbook and the examination (I/CH/1/5) (In Chinese- my

translation)

The school also gave them an opportunity to know China by themselves through the National Affairs society (see also 4.3.2.1.3. in Chapter Four).

Student (Yvette): Previously, the National Affairs society arranged talks for us. This year, it produced a board display about the celebration of the national day and other information about China (I/CH/1/5) (In Chinese- my translation).

It is students themselves who made all the decisions, for example, about the functions to celebrate the national day.

Student (Sara): It is the National Affairs society and students of this group who decide what to talk about in the assembly (I/CH/1/5) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students found the school' s teaching about China was useful.

Student (Yvette): Sometimes father and mother chat on the Sino-Japanese war. I' ve come across the topic in school. We then have a common talking point on what then China was (I/CH/2/12) (In Chinese- my translation).

Pedro school provided them with concepts while parents with details. Both were useful and complementary.

Student (Sara): What I get from the school are broad concepts. What I get from home, from mother, is her personal experience. It contains more details (I/CH/2/12) (In Chinese- my translation)

In sum, Pedro school helps students to develop their own conception and feeling about China and students in general find the school learning helpful. Students said they secure a solid foundation that can allow them to make progress.

6.2.2. The second aim: a Hong Kong local identity

The school helps students to enhance their political understanding of Hong Kong. Students were pleased with the school providing them with a democratic learning experience through taking part in the student union election and participating in school affairs.

Interviewer: Why does (the school authority) let you students have a part to play (in school management meetings)?

Student (Tracy): To provide us with a place (an opportunity) where we learn democracy (I/ND/1/23-24) (In Chinese- my translation).

The school did not involve itself directly in students' affairs. Teachers' involvement was minimal for example in student union election activities (see 5.4.1.1. in Chapter Five), they played mainly the supervisory role.

Student (Yvette): To help in vote count...No. The students of Secondary Seven Art do the actual counting. Mr. Tom (pseudonym) only watches us counting the votes. He only supervises the actual counting and sees if there is anything going wrong. In fact, school will also take a look at our policy platform, yes, our policy platform (I/ND/2/36) (In Chinese- my translation).

Students learn to believe from a democratic school life that leadership by election is better than leadership by appointment in terms of legitimacy.

Student (Sara): My feeling is that a democratically elected leader is better.

Interviewer: why is it?

Student (Sara): No special reason. It sounds better being

elected. You feel better having so many people casting the vote for you. It means you are well supported by them. It means your capability as leader has already been recognized by a vast majority of individual students (I/ND/2/14) (In Chinese- my translation).

6.2.3. The third aim: a balanced development

The school has put in an effort to help students to grasp the complex political relationship between Hong Kong and China. The school on a case-by-case basis touched on incompatibilities of the two systems as illustrated in the row about the national security bill discussed earlier (see 4.2.1.3. ; 4.3.2.1.1. ; 4.3.2.1.5. in Chapter Four; 5.6.2.2.2. in Chapter Five) When asked to comment on the school' s action, students' response was positive.

Student (Clark): In fact, I think the school has its reason to post this up. It wishes that students would know more about what exactly is happening in society. School wishes students to think what is right and what is wrong. (I/HK/2/24) (In Chinese- my translation).

Instead of providing them with answers, informant students felt that teachers aimed to guide students to draw their own conclusion on political issues as revealed for example in a Liberal Studies lesson in which the topic on the contradictions of the implementation of the 'one country, two systems' in Hong Kong was discussed (C/8/LS/SA-1-8). Group reporting method was applied. After student reporting, the teacher either asked the other students to respond or posed specific questions for student presenters to clarify the points they made (C/8/LS/30-38).

Group 2 student (Susan): I support what the pro-democratic writer said.

Teacher: What is it? Is it the 'two systems' viewpoint!?

Group 2 students: Yes.

Teacher: Why do you say this?

Group 2 student (Daisy): It is capitalism here in (Hong Kong)

Teacher: Good, anything to add.

Group 2 students: ... (C/8/LS/31)

6.2.4. Summary of the section

Students gained fundamental knowledge about China in regular classes that enabled them to proceed on with people outside school. Voluntary and independent learning was encouraged and students reflected on certain democratic and patriotic attributes in school life. They were guided to take a reasoned and rational approach when facing problems of conflict of interests between Hong Kong and China.

6.3. The weakness in the school programme: the students' viewpoint

6.3.1. The first aim: learning about China

Students nevertheless found that the learning about China was largely confined to the teaching syllabus suggested by the government. They said the study was basically results- or examination- driven.

Student (Tracy): I feel school does only what is in the examination syllabus. Other than this, it tries to avoid it in class. It is because teachers don't have enough time to finish the syllabus and always complain that it is necessary to rush on with the schedule (I/CH/1/19) (In Chinese- my translation).

They felt uncomfortable with the bookish learning because it could not help them apprehend China in a broader national context that included Taiwan. The cultural approach has its limitation politically. For example, students found it difficult to comment with a local 'one country, two systems' perspective on Taiwan's national position which in fact is a 'two Chinas policy' or a policy of 'one state on each side of the Taiwan Strait' .

Student (Sara): The school talks reintegration. It is reintegration with the mainland. Our concept is they all are the Chinese land. Hong Kong now falls into the reign of the

Mainland China after reintegration. If we say Taiwan does not belong to China, then we seem disloyal to China (I/HK/5/23)
(In Chinese- my translation)

On the one hand, students felt it would be an act of betrayal of the Chinese nation if they allowed Taiwan to separate from the country. On the other hand, as described earlier (see 5.4.1.4. in Chapter Five), students showed a respect for the sovereign will of Taiwan people to form an independent state. Students saw a tie there and they would like to know more about Taiwan in the learning about China because Taiwan would supposedly be the next place to be reintegrated with China based on the Hong Kong model.

Student (Yvette): The School seems to forget Taiwan.

Student (Yvette): At most, a little (history of) Taiwan, like how the nationalists moved and settled in Taiwan. In fact, (teacher) rarely mentions Taiwan.

Student (Sara): No. Not Taiwan independence or politics things.... (I/HK/2/13) (In Chinese- my translation)

Teachers appeared evasive and one informant student recalled that her teacher seldom taught what is not required to teach by the syllabus.

Student (Carol): The teacher does not give his ideas. He just teaches you what is in the textbook (I/HK/5/ 24) (In Chinese- my translation).

About patriotic sentiment, students said the school had not done enough.

Student (Mark): Don' t you mean that it is necessary for the school to teach us some patriotic ideas?

Interviewer: Yes. Do you think they have done enough to make you love your mother country?

Student (Mark): They talk and we listen. That' s all.

Student (Yvette): No follow up action so far. Judging from this, it is very inadequate (I/HK/5/ 24) (In Chinese- my translation).

In sum, there are many dimensions of the 'one country' in the notion 'one country, two systems' China and students felt the school's national programme was not able to meet their demands in understanding about China. Patriotism was one example. If patriotism means to support Mainland China to reunite with Taiwan, then school's deliberate neglect of dealing with topic of Taiwan seems very insufficient to explain to students the national significance of patriotic reunion to give one unified China in its modern history. Taiwan in its democratic independence movement was another. Students found the school unable to help them to address the sophistication and complexity of the 'one country' in its broader national context.

6.3.2. The second aim: learning about Hong Kong

Similar to the case of China studies, students seemingly were not content that the learning about Hong Kong was narrowly confined to the subject study. They felt that what the school taught was bookish knowledge and outdated information and not of immediate relevance, urgency or importance connected with what was happening around in the society. The school's concern was to finish the syllabus in time so that students could sit for examinations.

Student (Wendy): I don't think it can. What I do in the school is attending classes and taking tests and examinations. What I know about Hong Kong is the knowledge based on the existing syllabus. For example, you yourself will not write a report on the transport history of Hong Kong. It is because the teacher happens to teach the transport history of Hong Kong, she/he then asks us to write something about it (I/HK/1/14) (In Chinese- my translation).

What concerned students were immediate things that happened around them and whether their interests and rights would be affected in the course of development or not. For example, they would like the school to give them more thorough knowledge about the mass rally on the 1 July, 2003

locally which caught the international attention. But they said they did not hear the school to mention it and the heat seemingly had gone out of it.

Interviewer: How about your teacher? Did he/she talk about the event with you in class?

Student (Yvette): We were in our summer holiday on 1st July. When we came back to school in the new school year, it had already lost the heat. (Note: The student was a secondary five student at that time and her school term ended much earlier for her to sit for the public examination held in the early half of the year)

Interviewer: No one mention it?

Student (Yvette): No.

Interviewer: Have you ever heard your teachers discussing this with students?

Student (Yvette & Sara): No. (I/ND/3/23) (In Chinese- my translation)

6.3.3. The third aim: a balanced development

Although the school as earlier described helps to encourage students to think by themselves in understanding the complexity and compositeness of the 'one country, two systems' China notion (see 4.2.1.3. in Chapter Four), it however took a 'step-back' position in order to avoid unnecessary embarrassments in the center-peripheral disputes. Again, the row about the proposed legislation on the national security bill will illustrate the case. The issue itself was very problematic. On the one hand, the existing local conditions for liberal and democratic self-government will disappear with the imposition of strict national security rules. On the other hand, there is not any convincing excuse for Hong Kong as part of China to be exempted from this national security law. Students felt the school would be caught in embarrassed situations if it took a stance when explaining it to students.

Student (Yvette): The school might feel embarrassed. For example, when it talks about it without a position, students will feel bored because they already know the details (from TV or newspapers). On the contrary, if school discusses it vigorously and individual teachers produce their viewpoints or state their stances, the school will be in embarrassed positions.

Interviewer: Why is it? Teachers just voice their viewpoints!?

Student (Yvette): If a teacher opposes the legislation, then students will think it should be right to oppose it. But if a teacher supports legislation, he appears to be pro-China and he may not know why it will look like this. But if the school simply asks students to think about it for themselves (without any action from school), they may perceive that the issue is not that immediate and urgent, why bother to waste time on it.

Interviewer: Do you really think your teacher will think this way?

Student (Yvette): Yes. (Teachers think) the lesson will then be wasted and therefore it' d better go back to teaching the lesson (I/HK/4/5) (In Chinese- my translation)

First, both teachers and students as citizens of the 'one country, two systems' China would face the problem of double loyalty when they confronted with this kind of center-peripheral conflict. In favour of the legislation would mean nothing but pro-China and it was bad despite positive connotations within it. Against the legislation was mocked as unpatriotic and was also bad. The teacher would face a dilemma in teaching this kind of complicated and complex matter to students, particularly junior students. Second, there is the question about how students perceive the teacher' s position. Student informants worried that the words of the teacher would mislead students to take a certain position without serious thought.

Student (Yvette): It will be dangerous. Because when teachers give their personal views (on supporting the government), they worry students will misunderstand their ideas and they then will commit a fault of misleading students (despite not doing so deliberately) (I/HK/4/5-6) (In Chinese- my translation).

Junior students would take teachers' position as their position on the matter.

Student (Sara): True. Because they (students) do not know how and where to start with. They depend on what the teacher says and believe what the teacher says and take the teacher's view as their view (I/HK/4/5-6) (In Chinese- my translation).

The center-peripheral issue can become more complicated when the school and students apply the local perspective to look at the national politics, like the reunification of Taiwan. Students felt that the school seems to avoid this kind of sensitive issue and teachers seldom mention Taiwan at other times, other than class teaching. It is not easy to explain in simple words and students would find it very confused when what they hear from the school is different from what they hear from the outside.

Student (Carol): If the teacher says Taiwan is China and the Mainland China is also China. Then which one is China?

Interviewer: Let them find it out then.

Student (Carol): If they (students) hear from outside that Taiwan is not belonged to China, it then will cause confusion

Student (Yvette): The school just passes the ball to us. In fact, we find for ourselves something to read, much more than the school gives (I/HK/5/22-3) (In Chinese- my translation).

Student informants found that many of these controversies were talked about in an informal manner in class. Teachers were conservative and cautious when they came across sensitive/ controversial topics. They took

a low-key approach. An informant student recalled that her humanities teacher seldom made his (personal) views on public affairs known in class and if he did, it was the 'side talk' (題外話), which was by no means formal or official.

Student (Sara): I think...how to describe...this situation!?
The issue in question is not in the curriculum. It can only be a side talk. He (teacher) might let us know what has flashed across his mind. (I/HK/2/26-27) (In Chinese- my translation).

6.3.4. Summary of the section

Students were worried that the evasive position of the school and teachers in political matters would not achieve what they should. They were not content with the school for providing them superficial and outdated knowledge about Hong Kong and China in the light of fast changes and development.

6.4. A critique of the role of school

In the formal curriculum learning, the school as discussed in Chapter Four (see 4.4) plays more like an agency role where different forces compete to influence students in the building of a national consciousness. The students however, from their perspective, perceived the school playing more a role of government agent (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) that it helps transmit government values about Hong Kong as the SAR and China as the PRC. They have got some sense of being indoctrinated by the school.

Student (Yvette): Yes. The school does a similar kind of thing, same as from outside. We already heard a lot. It seems natural that we begin to believe in what is repeatedly heard (I/ND/3/37) (In Chinese- my translation).

Apart from this formal curriculum learning, the school is also seen to transmit a certain set of national values through the informal or hidden curriculum. The effects are there but students do not notice them. Many students were not aware of the school's silent efforts in this respect and therefore they were not critical enough to examine the agent role of the school in the national consciousness programme and to identify

themselves with the nation through participating in school's ordinary life. Students' uncritical awareness about the role of the school has resulted in them often being critical about the school for its apathy towards politics. If we remember that one of the school's aims is to sharpen students' political awareness and critical capability, then Pedro school needs to do something more to help.

About the 'one country', for instance, the school had displayed some student drawings on school life in the campus open space, in one of which the author had drawn a national flag of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to represent the study of the nation (I/CH/1/1-2). Asked to comment on this, one student informant responded that nothing was uncommon and it was natural to have PRC to represent China.

Student (Yvette): The national flag is the symbolic thing just like the school badge to the school. Anything else can replace the school badge to represent school. You may draw the whole school (I/CH/1/1-2) (In Chinese- my translation).

But the school's general proceeding was that it needed a school stamp before a work was exhibited. It was not just procedural and the school authorities had the final say. By this very act, the school had conveyed a clear message to students that the PRC as the state government was to represent the Chinese nation irrespective of the ideological differences.

About the 'two systems', the school seemed to communicate the message that it was the view of the Hong Kong people about the Hong Kong system that the school aimed to impart to students. School subscription of newspapers which were found basically taking a local stance was one example. Students have found not see this routine habit as a significant act of civic education although they did know more, better and the latest about China and Hong Kong from reading these daily newspapers with local value-frames as presented in these newspaper. They did not notice these small reminders had turned the school background space into the 'national' space as Billig (1995) argues.

Students: No. In fact, school just helps tidy up the thing. It is just to encourage us to read newspapers. It is not for knowing

better about China and its culture. It is up to us whether we order it or not. School does not advocate this (I/CH/1/23) (In Chinese- my translation).

The 'national space' the school presented to students was reconstructed to suit the local ideologies of liberalism, not the patriotic nationalism the government wished to convey.

At this point of reporting, it gives two dimensions of national consciousness building. One is perceptual. The banal effects were obvious as students took PRC for granted as their legitimate state government through repeating daily routine activities (refer to early paragraph). The other is ideological. Knowledge is not neutral (Mannheim, 1936; Apple, 1990). The subscribed newspapers of local views would present the partial truth of the Hong Kong society if pluralism was the achieved reality. To recall, a development of students' critical and reflective capacity is the third major aim of the school's civic education programme. Students did not ask why the school introduced one kind but not other kinds of newspapers. They trusted the school in providing them 'serious' and 'neutral' information and knowledge in this respect (see chapter 4.3.2.2.2.).

In sum, students were more aware of the agent role of the school. Yet, they were not critical or sensitive enough to more be alert about the school effects of the informal, hidden curriculum in the national education. It has shown that the building of national consciousness had become the customary practice, that its significance, educationally, socially and politically had been concealed in the everyday routines.

6.5. Summary of the chapter

Students have shown that they possess certain critical and reflective capabilities on learning about the composite identity of the 'one country, two systems' China. They are more critical about the formal curriculum learning about national education but less aware of the informal curriculum learning which in effect is equally significant in building a democratic national identity that is different from the mainland. Whether the students were conscious about the school's transmission of certain national values or not, the effects were there. It is conceivable

that a student critique of the school' s role in civic education may help them understand better the school' s position independently and therefore be more reflective about the school' s political education. To this end, students seem to have great room for improvement and progress. Their attention should not continue to look at matters at the operational level and judge that the school merely looks after tedious and minute routines like in newspaper subscription and distribution. They need to reorient themselves to learn to be more politically critical about minute life routines.

Chapter Seven: Discussion of findings:
Nation-building as a school process

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters four, five and six, it has been shown that political socialization in Pedro school was never the process of imprinting (Giddens, 1989). Students' national learning is in fact an interactive and interpretive process that embraces different life aspects and levels in the school. This chapter will therefore discuss the findings with relevant nationalism theories in order first to explain why Pedro school's national education programme is basically localized, second to examine the commonalities and differences between the school and government in fostering a national identity in students, and third to study possible implications for the building of the 'one country, two systems' notion as national unification. Culture will be treated analytically. Critical components of national culture will be studied to reveal the complex nature given the specific school context. A cultural perspective based on Anderson's framework of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991) and other cultural theories of nationalism studies (e.g. Smith, Gellner, Billig) will be applied to evaluate the strength and weakness of the school in implementing civic education.

In the analysis, the following questions will be specifically focused on.

1. What are the major national cultural components in the school's civic education? How does the school characterize its interpretation of the 'one country, two systems' China?
2. What is the process of developing a national identity and consciousness in the school under study? What kind of process is it when the civic education programme of school is conceived as cultural construction of nation locally?
3. In what ways and to which extent does Anderson's concept of imagined communities help explain the school's localized civic education?

7.2. National identification and characteristics in the school

7.2.1. School's national identification

At the national level, it is generally believed that modern nations

attempt to use public education to foster a national consciousness in student citizens (Kennedy, 1997; Green, 1997; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1991, 1995; Anderson, 1991). According to He & Guo (2000), China exercises a pan-Chinese nationalism based on the ethnic Han culture to assimilate people of different nationalities and interests under the leadership of the Chinese Communist party.

Chinese nationalism is essentially a state nationalism sponsored and manipulated by the Party-state, which is inventing a pan-Chinese national identity to protect the Chinese nation-state from secessionist tendencies (He & Guo, 2000: 192).

It has a clear political agenda and mainland education is considered one significant national agent of political transmission. The educational situations are different in Hong Kong at the school level. The findings in the present study have revealed that Pedro school itself did not passively receive what the government said about the national culture and had its own interpretations (see chapter 4.2.1 & 5.6.). Also, students did not passively receive the national education the school offered but made interpretations in the learning (see chapter 6.2; 6.3 & 6.4). Students were particularly critical about the center-peripheral relationship which confirms Saha's (2000b) 'two-edge sword' thesis in the education for active citizenship. It is obvious that the school's teaching of national consciousness suggests a possibility of variations on the government model. In this connection, the school's (including students') perceptions of the cultural characteristics of nation are examined with a modified schema of Smith (1991; 1995: 89-90) to present national identification in five facets, namely 1. kinship; 2. language (as culture); 3. territory and homeland; 4. myth, history and memory; 5. elite ('resources' in Smith) and destiny ('rights' in Smith). A modification is made to show my concerns about the limitation of state-led nationalism which is more in structural terms and therefore overlooks the human sides like the people power of the masses and mobilization of the elite under a 'plural model' of nation (Smith, 1995: 106-111). Using destiny as an example to illustrate their argument, Spencer and Wollman (2002) put more emphasis on autonomous individuals than the state in the nation building.

In any event, this destiny makes it possible for individuals to imagine themselves as part of the future. Their own lives may (...) then (...) be (...) attached to the collectivity of the nation (Spencer and Wollman, 2002:88)

Moreover, with the advent of communication development and technology, contends Anderson (1991), it is possible 'for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways' (p.36). A participatory model of nation building seems to prevail over the state-led ones and will be relevant to study the national identification of the school.

7.2.2. School' s national characteristics

7.2.2.1. Kinship and education: The findings (see chapter 5.4.3.) show that the kinship tie with the Han culture and Han Chinese was strong among the Chinese student informants. They identified themselves as Hong Konger but they never denied they belonged to the Han Chinese. Students did not confuse the regional identity with national loyalty in the learning. They were definite that China was their ancestral country (祖國).

Interviewer: What do you mean by ancestral country?

Student (Tracy): It means China.

Student (Yvette). I think it is the place where one' s ancestors lived. It is the blood tie that counts as one' s ancestral country. It is not simply meant where one is borne.

Student (Sara): Ancestral country means your blood tie, your forefathers, followed by your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother i. e. that piece of land where your ancestral family lies at (I/CH/2/1-2) (In Chinese- my translation).

Modern China is not genuinely the Han Chinese China. Modern China is a multi-national and poly-ethnic Chinese state. Despite differences in many national factors, students did not dispute what Geertz (1993) describes

as the ineffable and sacred subjective attachments to the given kinship and blood tie. Even if it is not materially and biologically 'given' as described by Shils (1957) but as Geertz's (1993) 'assumed given' or Connor's (1994) 'felt kinship ties' in its cultural sense, students did not challenge the mainland Chinese government with respect to kinship ties. Moreover, the thesis of the latter forms the theoretical basis for the 'pan-Chinese nationalism' movement which transcends the Han-centric China into a modern national Chinese culture which is 'compatible with all ethnic identities, not only Han but non-Han as well' (He & Guo, 2000: 99). Students learned early in their junior secondary Chinese history class that modern China is composed of the five major ethnic groups of Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui and Tibetan and that they are all Chinese, among which Han is the race of majority (I/TA/1/40 & I/CH/1/28-29). They learnt that the Chinese culture is a mix of territorial communities and were interested to know about the regional ethnic specificities while studying the common culture. With this logic in mind, the exclusionary effects of the felt kinship ties and the 'symbolic legacy' of the common descent (Smith, 1998) have produced the paradoxical function of inclusiveness as revealed in the long history of China which had already assimilated many other races coming into China to become members of the big Chinese family.

Kinship and politics: This kinship-based national education in the school however met complexities and difficulties when the politics of democracy and communism became involved. At the national level, first, Taiwan's democratic attempt to sever the Chinese kinship ties with the mainland and create a new one is a serious national threat that the mainland government will not tolerate. China seriously condemns Taiwan's curriculum reform for 'eroding Taiwan's links with the Chinese mainland, developing a terminology to "de-sinicise" Taiwan and using education to separate the people of Taiwan from Chinese consciousness' (Hughes and Stone, 1999: 987). Behind this de-Chinese education reform lies the democratization move for indigenization or Taiwanization.

Second, inside China, communism is at risk and the Chinese government has a problem of legitimacy after the 4th June, 1989 incident (He & Guo, 2000). Nationalism is used politically to re-strengthen communist rule.

In the 1990s, the Chinese nation-state has confronted the most serious national identity problem: the possibility of disintegration. (...) forced Chinese Communist leaders to redefine and re-adjust Communist ideology by supplementing it with more nationalist characteristics so that it could be a more persuasive and more effective means of defending the legitimacy of the government (He & Guo, 2000:9)

In light of these political complexities, at the local level, national politics is deliberately avoided. In Pedro school, it appeared that the nationality issue was de-linked from state politics, specifically political parties (see chapter 5.5.3.). On the school side, the Taiwan issue was not included in the formal curriculum studies as revealed for example in Liberal Studies (EA, Examination syllabus for 2005). Instead, Pedro school put it in its informal curriculum studies. Cultural tours to Taiwan (P/D/TT/1) were organized for students to get an actual feel of the ethnic culture from a different Chinese context. In the pamphlet, it was indicated clearly that the summer trip was a kind of cultural study with aims to broaden students' horizon through obtaining some life experience abroad in other Chinese communities. It separated the study of nation from politics. On the student side, student informants enjoyed learning the cultural aspects of China and Taiwan (see chapter 5.5.2.2.) but were skeptical about Chinese politics (see chapter 5.6.2.2.2.). They loved to learn to broaden and deepen their ethnic and cultural ties with China. Besides formal Chinese and related studies, student informants (Tracy, Sara) said they would accompany their parents to visit the hometown and relatives in China because it was the place where their parents came from before settling down in Hong Kong (I/CH/2/10-11). They said they would take their children to visit the ancestral hometown when they had their own children in later years.

In sum, the kinship tie is the crucial element in the school's civic education programme, which can produce strong integrative effects on Chinese people of different political ideologies. Distinctive from the mainland (and Taiwan), Pedro school tries not to involve politics in teaching students who also like to study culture and politics separately and independently.

7.2.2.2. Language and national education

The political significance of a common language in nation building is insurmountable (Spencer & Wollman, 2002; Anderson, 1991, Gellner, 1983, Smith, 1991; Fishman, 1972). Anderson (1991: 78) has pointed out that it assumes even greater power and status if the common language is both 'language-of-state' (i.e. the national and official language in the present study) and 'language-of-population' (i.e. the home language). It will however be problematic and oppressive if there are different language communities in one nation and people of a minority language community are told to accept the language of people in power (Billig, 1995) 'ideologically defined as the essential and necessary national language' (Spencer and Wollman, 2002:77).

In the present school case, the language development for national identification has been twisted (Lai & Byram, 2004). At the national level immediately after the sovereignty transfer, Putonghua, the national language, which was alien in the colonial past, was made the legal and official language in Hong Kong together with Cantonese, one native language of Chinese, and English, which was the colonial language yet of international communication significance. At the local government level, the education authorities enforced mother tongue education (i.e. Chinese) despite strong resentment from schools using English as the medium of instruction (EMI), which formed the majority sector during that time. Instead of Putonghua, the regional variety of Chinese, Cantonese, was made the principal teaching medium in almost all schools, with some exceptions. At the school level, Pedro school was one of the privileged few schools to retain the EMI status. Despite this, the school decided to switch to Chinese, Cantonese to be specific, when the teaching involved national learning like Economic and Public Affairs in junior secondary classes and Liberal Studies in senior secondary classes (P/F/N/40, 45, 85; P/F/J/11, 16; I/CH/1/9, 14-16, 18). Furthermore, Putonghua was introduced in junior forms (I/CH/1/9). Use of Putonghua was promoted through the students' Putonghua society, for example, a Putonghua week was organized to encourage students to speak in Putonghua in daily life contacts with their schoolmates in the school campus. In my field journal dated 24 January, 2003, I reflected on the competitive use of the two Chinese languages, Cantonese and Putonghua and was convinced that the intention is largely national.

It was not mistaken to note that Cantonese, a regional dialect of the Chinese language, had long been the mother tongue of most of the Hong Kong Chinese. Learning of Putonghua in school was obviously some sort of cultural, political and communicative development of the national identity (P/F/J/11).

On the student side, students had long learnt the national status of Putonghua though it was not taught in Hong Kong during the colonial years.

Students: The cultural side. Both Taiwan and China speak Putonghua.

Student (Sara): The only difference is the name. In China it is Putonghua. In Taiwan it is Guoyu(國語, i. e. national language, my insert). (I/CH/1/18) (In Chinese- my translation).

Putonghua learning can be multi-purpose. One student informant (Tracy) said she would like to learn Putonghua because Putonghua as the majority language could earn her greater employment opportunity in future.

Student (Tracy): I myself have thought to work in the Mainland. If I do not find any job here in Hong Kong, I will try my luck in Shanghai. I feel it is important for me to learn Putonghua (I/CH/1/9) (In Chinese- my translation).

In sum, Putonghua, the national language was added to form the local tri-lingual and bi-literate language policy for Hong Kong after reintegration. Nevertheless, since Pedro school was given the authority to decide which language will be used in class, it kept using English as the principal teaching medium. Local practical interests came first. Although there were some Putonghua classes, the fact itself revealed that its nationally integrative effects remained nominal, spiritual, abstract and minimal. Its national symbolic meaning has not been strongly felt.

7.2.2.3. Territory and homeland

Smith's (1991: 9) theories of 'sacred homeland' and 'historic territory' hold when the territorial factor is discussed with respect to reintegration after 1997. Since most Hong Kong people are descendants of Chinese immigrants from the mainland, the return of the colony to China has been the political process of reviving the national identity of the Hong Kong Chinese. In the findings, the school taught students that, at the national level, China is their mother country and Hong Kong now returns to this big Chinese family (community) after long, long years of separation (P/D/CE/P-1; CDC, 1996). At the regional level, the school taught students who were born in Hong Kong to make Hong Kong their home under the 'one country, two systems' principle (I/CH/2/11; I/HK/1/1-6, 13-20). In theory, there will not be any loyalty disputes territorially since both the historic territory of Hong Kong and the mainland belong to the same sacred homeland of China. In practice, since there are two completely different political and social systems between Hong Kong and the mainland, this makes territorialized identity difficult for students. The findings show that students were inclined to identify themselves with Hong Kong when a civic-territorial model of the nation, i. e. a democratic variant in indigenous understanding (see chapter 5.4.) was taken but they tended to identify with China when cultural roots in ethnic-genealogical terms were discussed (see chapter 5.5). Fong (2001) had observed this similar ambivalence attitude when studying the national identification of school people after 1997.

Nonetheless, only the identification with the historio-cultural China has been incorporated by the education sector in the rearrangement of national and local identities since most of the practitioners as well as sections of the society can identify themselves as Chinese but cannot relate their Chinese-ness to contemporary China. As a result, contemporary history, society, economy and politics of the PRC have been overlooked by the education sector at best and avoided at worst (Fong, 2001: 239).

In this national discourse, students seemed to find their way out by envisaging a hierarchal structure for the territorial identity in which they also took in the idea of 'historic territory'. Student informants (Yvette & Sara) tried to address the home problem by taking the Mainland

as the first home and Hong Kong the second home.

Student (Yvette): The first (home) is the one with the ancestral line and the second (home) is the place where I live and was born.

Student (Sara): We have most relatives of the immediate generations here (in Hong Kong) and I feel intimacy. Hong Kong is another center where I find most of our close kin (I/HK/1/6) (In Chinese- my translation).

In sum, despite complications and ambivalences in territorial identification, the principle of sacredness applies to the immigrant community of Hong Kong, namely that China was, is and will be their sacred homeland, even though students were told they were citizens of Hong Kong in civic-legal terms. It is the ancestral factor that provides the integrity of the Chinese nationhood.

7.2.2.4. Myth, history and memory

Myth, history, symbol and memory are important for new national meanings. Smith's (1995: 68-71) theory of 'purification' of the community for a national revival seems to come into play albeit in its milder form in the politics of Hong Kong concerning its national reintegration. At the national level, a patriotic appeal for the love of Mainland China from the central state government in effect discriminates against those local social groups which focus on other issues like democracy and human rights. As discussed previously (see chapter 2.4.2.5.; 2.4.2.6.1.; 2.4.2.6.2.), specific events with symbolic and ideological implications often agitate the polarization of patriotic groups and liberal groups in the education environment (Lee & Sweeting, 2001) and in society. At the school level, the findings have shown that the school tried to avoid or play down politically, ideologically sensitive or controversial events, objects, myths, memories, etc. by means of following what had been agreed in the published civic education guidelines and teaching syllabus (see chapters 6.3.1. & 5.5.3.2.; 5.5.3.3.; 5.5.3.4.) in which, for example, facts of communism and socialism were taught but not interpretations, particularly the version of Mainland China. In addition, the school curriculum about China is de-politicized and detached from the contemporary context of

socialism (see chapter 5.5). The native link with China was abstract, spiritual and scared and mainly in ethno-cultural terms. Localness was emphasized. For example, students were asked to name indigenous heroes highlighting their international profiles and achievements and the ethnic tie with China (see chapter 5.4.3.). Student societies and clubs were requested to display their beloved local figures of their respective fields for their fellow students. Also, student informants said they had arranged visits for themselves to historic spots with ethno-cultural significance like the Sam Tung Kuk in Tsuenwan, New territories (Wendy) and a Walled village at Sheung Shui, New Territories (Sara) (I/HK/1/14-5). Local consciousness built on historical links ethnically with China would in a sense reduce political radicalism through the purification effects of patriotism. For example, the school would hold a national flag hoisting ceremony in collaboration with the students' National Affairs Society on the national day to remind students of the great historic event (see I/CH/1/5; chapter 6.2.1.). In this sense, the school seemed to respond to the patriotic appeal with new national imagination of an idealized or fictitious local 'folk' culture which is basically western, Catholic, liberal and democratic in the school setting on the one hand and on the other hand it is national and primordial instead of communist or socialist or authoritarian as what the national flag ought to represent, a socialist state under the central leadership of the Chinese Communist political party (see chapter 4.3.2.; 5.4.). To student informants (e.g. Yvette), the myth of Chinese communism and socialism would mean backwardness and despotic rule (see chapter 5.6.2.2.2.). Behind the evasive attitude lies the distrust of the national system of Chinese socialism and authoritarianism (Leung & Print, 2002; Fairbrother, 2003). For example, Fairbrother (2003) interviewed one student who, deeply believing in western democracy, claimed she was not patriotic in the sense that she had no feeling when hearing the national anthem. The narrative about patriotism has given a perspective on the purification issue from another angle which is indigenous and democratic.

Her image of patriotic people is one of sometimes extreme political activism in the pursuit of democracy for Hong Kong. She is proud of China's long history and the Four Great Inventions (paper, gunpowder, the compass and movable type

printing, my insert), but not proud of any aspect of China in modern times (Fairbrother, 2003: 123)

In sum, some purification effect of myth, memory, history, etc. was evident on either the China side or the local community. The patriotism of communism is problematic to local students receiving western education. Pedro school has shown that politically, the mainland cultural traits of communism and socialism are put aside locally. The national pursuit of China has been purified into ethnic and cultural identification which appears less controversial.

7.2.2.5. Destiny and elite

The elite of intellectuals (or political leaders) play a key role to transform ethnic history into a nation of the future and to envisage a destiny for their fellow people (Smith, 1991; Spencer & Wollman, 2002; Anderson, 1991). They provide poetic spaces or religious-like pursuit through cultural and romantic creations (or political mobilization) which then grow into cultural nationalism. In the case of Hong Kong after 1997, politically there emerged two polarized nationalist tendencies, one aiming at a unified and strong China under the leadership of CCP and the other striving for a local participatory democracy and more broadly a democratic China in future (Leung & Print, 2002; Fairbrother, 2003; Lee & Sweeting, 2001). For the present study, elite refers mainly to teachers of Pedro school who convey the political ideas and destiny produced by poetic and political elites of the society to students.

In the findings, the influence of teachers because of their professional expertise and authoritative positions in the school on students' learning of democracy is potent and pervasive. The civics teacher group for example had its aims of democracy not only learnt as the core value of Hong Kong society but also as a universal virtue and human right that students as citizen should not be deprived of (see chapter 4.2.1.1.; 5.4.1.). The school and teachers helped develop a democratic institution at almost every level and aspect of students' organized school life. In formal class teaching, democracy as knowledge, values and reality of everyday life was seen spreading out at different levels of studies and permeated into different subject studies through the coordinated efforts of the civics group of the school. In daily contacts, the spirit of

democracy and associated values like openness, tolerance, rationality, rule of law, plurality, etc. were nurtured (see chapter 5.4.2.3. & 4.3.2.1.3. ; 4.3.2.1.4. ; 4.3.2.1.5. ; 4.3.2.2.1.). Students were encouraged to take part in the community services pertinent to democratic governance like serving as volunteers in the voter registration (P/D/CE/W-2). In short, students were deeply soaked in a learning environment of democracy of the school where democracy was learnt.

On the student side, democratic education helped foster a sense of limiting authoritarian governance. They would challenge the school authorities against unreasonable policy that affected their school life. The incident of 'the floating classroom' for secondary six students and 'the use of mobile phone in school' for the whole student population were notable examples. They turned to the democratically elected student union for a resolution with the school authorities (see chapter 5.5.4.2.2.).

Democracy is no longer a political conception in books but popular movement to be realized in the community. Pedro school as part of civil society has a part to play. For example, in the argument over legislation of national security in 2003, the school exhibited the news stories explaining the flaws and bleak future of local democracy if the bill in its present form and content was passed (P/D/BD/1-17). For students, they tried democratic principles in life events in school with teachers' consent and guidance. The elite role of teachers in leadership and supervision of school for a local democracy is vital but the rise of students' self-consciousness of democratic governance and popular sovereignty is noticeable.

With regard to national development, political nationalism cannot be compared with local democratic education or national education in the mainland. For example, in the mainland, political education is a compulsory subject for secondary school students which embraces Marxism, socialism, patriotism and socialist citizenship (Chiu, 1998:16). In Pedro school, it is basically learnt as bookish knowledge and incorporation in the school routines is limited and on an ad hoc basis, unlike democratic education which receives much attention and has got formalized and institutionalized in students' learning via elected student unions,

clubs and societies, etc. Both the school and students are content with the cultural approach to patriotism which permeates the study of various cultural subjects (see chapter 4.3.1.2.). In the school life, they found that the presence of democracy and 'cultural China' in uncontested, harmonious union (see chapter 4.2.1.3.) seems unproblematic, provided that political differences can be avoided in real life if properly managed by the school authority.

In sum, teachers of the school appeared to commit themselves to fostering a democracy in the school's civic education, unlike the mainland school counterparts, which aim at socialism. The school taught students that western democracy could work with ethnic-Chinese nationalism, at least at the local level in the special administrative region of China (SAR). Teachers as an elite seem crucial and important in this respect because they have every authority to choose to teach either civic-democratic or ethno-communistic nationalism for students given the conditions of the school-based curriculum and government's laissez faire school policy. They choose democracy plus cultural nationalism.

7.2.3. Summary of the section

In brief, despite variations of interpretations on the five facets of national identity, the school's civic education has revealed that it has something in common with a national culture advocated in the mainland in its ethnic terms. Basically, the majority Han ethnic culture understood as the core of the pan-Chinese nationalism is shared by the school and the Hong Kong Chinese students who are largely of Han origin. The findings are found comparable with Leung & Print's (2002) study that school educators of Hong Kong would like to focus on a cultural understanding of China (see chapter 2.4.2.).

The territorial distinctiveness is however obvious yet it does not affect much the shared ethnic attributes of Chinese-ness, particularly the blood ties and homeland factor.

But on civic-national terms, there might not be obvious political common ground for local liberal democracy and nationalistic socialism to rest on except the agreed consensus of the 'one country, two systems' notional framework. The school (i.e. teachers and students) chooses

democracy, knowing clearly that China is a socialist country.

7.3. The school process and national identification

The school process: The above discussion has shown that the local national culture is largely the choice of school and subjective interpretations of students of the objective national materials and objects, culturally and politically. The question that follows will then be 'How is the choice made?' and 'What is the process at work?' Smith (1991) contends that the rise of the modern nation has two aspects, namely the 'cultural-psychological' and 'socio-political' (p.70). Along this line of thinking, the present school case will be studied at two identifiable levels: first the micro-interactive level which treats the school and participants as atomized individuals and second the macro-contextual level which takes the school process as the social process in which various actors will be examined. Anderson's theory of imagination will be applied to examine the inner working of the school and students as atomized individuals and to see how the making of nation is affected by these human and psychological factors. After that, a discussion about the subjective national construction with the introduction of a conceptual model of school process, based on Smith's and Anderson's theories of nationalism will be proposed. It will focus on institutional interaction in the school context with various participants in the process of nation building. A modification will be made to respond to the rise of the plural nation. (see section 7.5.1. for the conception of plural society).

7.4. The school process: the micro level study

Smith (1991:70) believes that a national culture is largely a subjective 'cultural psychological process' of elite intellectuals and political leaders who lead the way. Anderson (1991) and Billig (1995) contend that the national culture is the culture of everyday life of the majority people and elite and that they remake and/or romanticize it in the political process. They add ordinary people's participation which has increasingly become important and significant in today's politics, particularly in modern democracies where people's power quickly develops and this resembles more or less the present situation of the local Hong Kong community with its capitalism and liberal individualism. Anderson's (1991) subjective theory of imagining is found most helpful in explaining the autonomous activities of individual citizens which includes in

particular, the activity of imagining, borrowing and inventing. To stress the significance of Smith's 'artistic media and genres' (Smith, 1991: 92) in cultural creation by the elite of professional intellectuals, particularly in national revival, we will also consider the poetic, aesthetic human work of rediscovering and redefinition of ethnic images, myths and symbols etc., to supplement Anderson's psychology of mental processes.

7.4.1. Imagining: At the national level, the 'one country, two systems' China, said one central government official, is a notion of nation-to-be which requires the participation of people of all walks of life and the government (The Hong Kong Economical Journal 11.12.2004. p.7). At the school level, seeing the school functioning as an elite, China is studied in an inherited school context, which is basically western, religious, liberal and democratic (see chapter 5.5.4.2.; 5.6.1.; 5.6.2. & 5.6.3.). The school seems to construct the 'imagined community' that way, as it conceives that other schools will do the same, i.e. continue to run a school with long-established traditions preceding the transfer of sovereignty, the practice of which is secured in the Basic Law (Article 136, 137). The findings confirm Leung & Print's (2002) observation that indigenous schools of western education like Pedro school will not think to convert the school into a patriotic model as practiced in their pro-China school counterparts. It demonstrates that Hong Kong has a shared culture of diversity. What is commonly shared is diversity not uniformity, i.e. the substance itself can be different in every school. For example, Pedro school, with its English language status and catholic education, is unique after the enforcement of mother tongue education after 1997. The 'imagined community' of Pedro school and majority schools is a nation of heterogeneity and not a nation of homogeneity.

AS far as the students (as the mass public) are concerned, they shared the liberal school context within which they develop a national identity and unification. However, informant students have, in addition to their shared experience of the 'imagined' nation, acknowledged the fact that their cultural roots are in their ancestral home in China, not Hong Kong (see 7.2.2.3.). It differs from what the teachers and government try to establish in the special administrative region of China when they teach students Hong Kong is their Home.

In imagining, the psychological process of memory and forgetting (Anderson, 1991: 187-206) is vital when information, historical data in particular, is selected to configure the imagined community. For example, local icons instead of national figures in the mainland were remembered and used to establish deep ethnic and communal ties. Teachers defined the native heroes as those who are Hong Kong-born Chinese with international achievements and identification with ethnic China (see chapter 5.4.3.). Another example is that English as colonial language was forgotten while English as elitist education (see chapter 4.3.2.3.4.) and international language (Lai & Byram, 2004) was remembered and reinforced. The bilingual language policy after reintegration is praised as the right and proper measure to respond to local, national and international needs of Hong Kong moving towards the era of globalization and making Hong Kong the World's Asian city. By the same token, Putonghua which had long been forgotten was then taught in school for national purposes after reintegration.

7.4.2. Borrowing: Anderson's theory of imagining explicates the modular borrowings of cultural experience from other places. In a free and open society like Hong Kong, free flow and access of information allows people to take in outside knowledge and experience in their nation-building. Pedro school encouraged students to read newspapers, both Chinese and English, so that they could obtain perspectives other than the school's from looking at local as well as national affairs (see chapter 4.3.2.2.1.). Not only newspapers, but also TV and computer and internet were also popular means students could approach in school. To make study trips abroad has become popular as seen from the school report that last year they arranged a study tour to Canada, Taiwan and the mainland for students and sponsored students to join students of other countries to visit Africa (P/D/NL/4 & see chapter 5.5.2.2.). Politically, democracy is one example that Hong Kong looks for outside rather than inside, from China for its further development. The school applies an international, uniform standard to look at citizenship issues, unlike the government, which tries to focus the energy on national and patriotic citizenship. Students, on the other hand, would compare it with Taiwan where the will of people is better represented democratically (e.g. see chapter 6.3.3.).

Again subjective selection among autonomous individuals is evident which

makes 'imagined communities' different unless and until they come to common terms through discourse, exchange and communication. For example, the government, school and students would have different interpretations of democracy but they agree that democratic Hong Kong is unique in the China sphere which is socialist. So is national identity. Student informants felt that the school appeared to avoid talking about politically sensitive and controversial issues in class (see chapter 6.3.1.), as Fairbrother's (2003) study about Hong Kong schools' patriotic education had found. They would like school to provide them with more updated information about Hong Kong, China and Taiwan in national learning. Teachers respect students to pursue their national identity in their own ways and, in the school, voluntarism of students in this respect is fostered despite the fact that they may have different ideas about the nation.

7.4.3. Inventing: Another distinct feature of Anderson's theory of mental process is invention. Anderson (1991) thinks of it as transformation brought by a creole elite in their pilgrimage with the result that new political ideas will evolve from the local context which will be commonly shared with people of different sectors and levels. First, the 'one country, two systems' notion of China itself is an invention tailored for the unique colonial history of Hong Kong (and Macao). It has no precedent to follow or replicate and it does not arise from the repetition of present-day life (Billig, 1995) or from the revival of past tradition (Smith, 1991). Second, it is really a political process through which the government has to secure majority consensus in order to have the ideas tried out in real life. In a sense, the society is working towards what Gellner (1983) calls high value fabrication. In the findings, it was seen that the civics group and other teacher groups in the school had created a civic-model of democratic China for students who supported the notion by and large but in a more radical manner sometimes. One informant student for example challenged why China could not be split for people's good if it was the democratic decision of people for example in Taiwan (I/TA/1/40-43). He said people would choose to come together again when they felt there was a need again because after all they belonged to the same Chinese nation with its long history. Paradoxically, the student's proposal was seemingly grounded narrowly on the ethnic-genealogical conception of Han Chinese nation with no regard to the multi-national

reality of modern China.

For good or bad, liberal fabrication of China in the school obviously contradicts ideologically the mainland which strives for a socialist China under the authoritarian leadership of the Chinese Communist party. In the school, the liberal civic-model of nation is so constructed with the mechanism that it is based on the discourse, exchange and communication of ideas and sharing of life experience of different individuals so that bit by bit a national community so constructed has been made thinkable or imaginable among students and the school. It is invented or made but not imposed or implanted.

7.4.4. Rediscovering and redefining: One student informant (Sara) recalled that they were often told China is the nation which originated from the 'Central Plain' (中原) (I/TA/1/39), the land near the upper and middle course of the Yellow River and therefore they see each other as having close kinship ties. In fostering a national consciousness, Anderson is aware of people's selective memory and forgetting about history. Smith (1991) however contends that the reinterpretation of symbolic meaning of the national past is more relevant in revival or renewal of national traditions and history. In the present school case where the fusion of democratic individualism and Chinese collectivist traditions took place, collectivism is redefined in 'relationalist' individual terms (Lee, 2004a: 28; King, 1992) as individuality not as western individualism. The school taught students to take care of their school surroundings in matters of cleanliness and hygiene in their self-interest, as the first step to selfless goals (C/8/LS/1-4). The school shared with Lee (2004a) the notion that citizenship education is to develop the personal qualities of students such as individual responsibility and reflective and autonomous personality (p. 31). Examining the aims and objectives of the civics group's civic education programme, the school's redefinition of moral individuality into participatory citizenship does not only redefine the relationship of Chinese collectivity and individuality, but also rediscovers what Lee argues, namely that 'civil society also entails the participation of individuals in the collective self-consciousness of society as a whole' (ibid: 33). The utilitarian tradition of western conception of civil society has been reinterpreted as 'self-cultivation' and

'self-enrichment' (Au, 1994; Lee, 2004a).

Different from Lee who talks about western concepts in the Asian context, the present school case has shown however that it is basically Chinese values in the western school context. For whatever the case, one thing crystal clear is that the meeting of two cultures in the school process is relational, interactive, fluid, dynamic, and sometimes conflicting and contradictory. Regarding love and loyalty to the country, for example, both Pedro school and students attempted to study the Chinese nation and the socialist state represented by the Chinese Communist Party separately. It differs from the initial theory of nation-state, namely that the two notions are two in one and that the state reflects the nation in its legal-territorial sense. Also, it differs from the position taken in Chinese national politics that nationalism and socialism are two in one, that the Chinese Communist Party represents the national interest of new China (Chiu, 1998; Chao, 1998).

7.4.5. Summary of the section

In the above analysis of school findings, it was shown that the national culture interpreted in the local western context and local perspectives of school and students has produced distinct and even opposing features, particularly in civic- national aspects in comparison to that advocated by the local and central governments. Despite uniqueness, there are however commonalities in national identity in ethnic- nationalism terms albeit in different genres between the state government and the school (and students). The discrepancies in civic- national aspects do not stop students from developing an intimacy with ethno- cultural China.

7.5. The school process: the macro level study

The understanding of national consciousness and national process at the individual level will not be complete and thorough without examining it in the communal context to highlight the social process and its rules of interaction. Culture is communication (Gellner, 1983; Billig, 1995; Anderson, 1991). National culture is both the interactive process of culture and context and the communication about subjective perceptions of members of the community about the national objects (Geertz, 1993).

7.5.1. A plural society and analysis

Smith (1995) shows that the nation- state is more an ideal than reality if it is defined as: ‘a single ethnic and cultural population inhabits the boundaries of a state, and the boundaries of that state are coextensive with the boundaries of that ethnic and cultural population’ (p. 86). Most states in fact are made up of ‘constituent ethnies’ and are poly-ethnic in character. As discussed earlier (see section, 7.2.1.;7.3; 7.4), the mass public as an aggregate of autonomous individuals rises to importance in modern democratizing societies where competition also involves ethnic- and civic- nationalisms in a democratic process (Smith, 1995). The notion of civil society (Kennedy, 2004; Lee, 2004a) will then be necessary in the discussion of group politics. In short, these are plural ‘national states’ .

Hong Kong is a society of pluralism characterized by equal opportunity and rights for constituent ethnies identified in terms of race, religion, gender, class and other functions. The cultures of constituent ethnies, of fluidity and diversity, are given due respect and people are being unified under civic-national developments of a civil religion (Smith, 1991; Anderson, 1991) including common laws , shared public culture etc. The plural conception also marks democracy and mass participation. In Hong Kong since the absolute majority of people is Han Chinese, the ‘constituent ethnies’ then refer mainly to functional and social groups in the society.

To follow this line of macro understanding, the school’ s civic education programme as construction of national ideology is hypothesized as a cultural consensus- seeking process of people of different interests with characteristics of first developing a commonly shared national culture; second, addressing group differences and conflicts about national values and principles; and third and last, group competition for primacy.

7.5.2. The refined framework of Anderson’ s nationalism

7.5.2.1. The initial analysis of Anderson’ s theory

Anderson (1991) observed that a national government will usually mobilize for a national ideology (i. e. official nationalism in Anderson’ s terms), which will meet competition from popular nationalist movements (i. e. national liberation movement in Anderson’ s terms). The campaigns for dominance in cultural national consciousness characterize the elite of

professional intellectuals, and political leaders lead and the mass follow. The tension is between the hegemony of the ruling ethnies and the counter-hegemonic opposition of the ruled.

7.5.2.2. A plural version: reinterpretation of Anderson's theory

Anderson's theory of nationalism, commented on by Ozkirimli (2000), describes a simplified model of the nation in that first it assumes a homogeneous nation-state; second the national consciousness is basically the elite's creation; third the cultural process at work will end in one culturally uniform national community. As most modern states are plural in terms of reality and significance, and are clearly not nation-states but 'national states' (Smith, 1995), it is necessary to refine (or modify) the thesis of 'imagined communities' before it is considered in analysis of the plural national situations of the world of today and Hong Kong is one example.

The refined version first will aim at a national state which 'draws its power and sustenance from the dominant ethnies around which it was formed and which it in turn helped to coalesce and crystallize' and 'the will of people' can have its effects 'in shaping a cohesive nation' via for example education and active civic participation (Smith, 1995:114). It is no longer a homogeneous, uniform nation state and culture. Second, the focus is a 'public culture', in Smith's term (1995) which will emerge from the interplay of constituent ethnies of various kinds (or various groups of people in the present school context) like the dominant ethnies with other ethnies and/or ethnies with the state government. The role of the masses in culture-making is as significant as elite cultural and political leadership. People power in terms of autonomous popular participation of individuals is vital in the politics of participatory democracy (Saha, 2000a). Peaceful mass rally and procession is a common form of civic action. National consciousness as elite-led cultural mobilization has begun to give way to the collective creation by individual citizens, particularly from the middle class people who are educated and knowledgeable, internationalized and globalized (Isin, 2000), and independent and autonomous. National culture is more a political process of choice of cultural values and events. For example, the majority of people of Hong Kong choose democracy not socialism in nation-building locally. The values behind the choice of citizens matter and it is a

process of negotiated consensus among citizens. Implanting of or direct borrowing of values from the historical outside world or from the outside world of modernity is rare and external imposition is unlikely. Third, it sees competition for primacy in the light of multiculturalism, which has created fluid and diverse phenomena in shaping a national culture, not homogeneity or uniformity.

Such a culture is not necessarily uniform and homogenous; it may in fact have been interwoven from many ethnic and linguistic strands and it may reveal subtle regional variants. But it is sufficiently common and inclusive for all the citizens to share in it at the public level, and so to endow them with a feeling of cultural affinity with members and as sense of distinctiveness from outsiders (Smith, 1995: 114)

Fourth, regarding the concept of imagining and the communication revolution, the advent of computer technology and internet communication has made free access of information more possible which in turn enables mass participation viable in nation formation and imagination unlike in previous times when, as Anderson notes, the access to knowledge was limited and available only to the elite who traveled or the creole elite (and intelligentsia) in the early expansion years of print-capitalism.

In addition, modern communication technology has enhanced the effectiveness of imagination since the communication revolution of print-capitalism as described by Anderson (1991).

We are faced with a world in which the figuring of imagined reality was overwhelmingly visual and aural (p. 23).

It has not only made 'simultaneity' (ibid: 24) more conceivable but 'interactive' in a sense of real-time communication or instantaneousness in everyday life encounters. With these activities, contends Anderson, the participants will continually be reassured that the imagined world is rooted in everyday life and will create a 'complete confidence in their existence and their steady, anonymous simultaneous activity' (ibid: 147) which is 'the hallmark of modern nations' (ibid:

36). In this contemporary interactive dimension, the community is not imagined but made through mass consensus and an act of cultural decision.

In sum, the development of a free albeit capitalistic communication system and technology, the development of the pluralistic character of nations, and the capability and role enhancement of individuals in the subjective psychological process of nation building, and last but not least the increasing participatory politics in modern democratizing nations are all contributing to mass participation in the competition for primacy among different groups of people in society. The enlargement of individualist rights as citizens, which are universal and uniform and equal also competes for primacy over those political values which are national and particularistic in the civic-nation sense. In light of the autonomy of individuals and the plurality of the community, political socialization as national education is more like a kind of cultural consensus-seeking and participatory process.

In its civic education Pedro school, which adopts the 'whole school approach' (CDC, 1996) and 'life-wide learning' (i.e. learning through a range of activities both inside and outside the classroom in HKEC, 2000: 37; CDC, 2001), turns itself into a participatory and open learning community that features the plural character of a modern society. For example, participants (including teacher groups, student groups and outside agencies) are treated as free and autonomous individuals and group interaction and voluntarism is the guiding rule in organizing the civic learning and in constructing a national identity. The school process of students' national learning very much imitates the pluralistic process in the society in its idealized and conceptual sense in which democracy is a critical component. Also, the government's school civic education guidelines (CDC, 1996) wish school to run like what a society operates in fostering citizenship in students.

As the school is a miniature of the larger society, the civic experience which civic learner has obtained within the school will have significant impact on the quality of one's citizenship. Because of this significance, both teachers and students should be aware of the role and functions that schools play in civic education (CDC, 1996:

It is against this background that the plural model analysis is applied to examine the school's national education.

7.5.3. The school as a plural case: towards a national culture

In the macro analysis of the process of schooling, Anderson (1991) emphasizes the 'transformation' of nation fermented culturally through the imagination of lateral comradeship, the borrowing of nationalist ideas, elite mobilization, communal making of myth, history, symbols and destiny, and the communication revolution (e.g. print-capitalism). The cultural transformation may be government mobilization or civilian movement (see section 7.5.1.). In addition to the context of cultural-communicative factors, Smith (1995, 1991) suggests the conceptions of 'lateral ethnics-- bureaucratic incorporation or state penetration' (or the government side, both local and national in the present study) and 'vertical ethnics-- vernacular mobilization' (or the local groups of various kinds) and the schema of civic- and ethnic- nationalism to explain the complex, interactive and conflicting course of national consciousness development.

7.5.3.1. Lateral-vertical ethnics complex: To begin with, it is clear that the school and teachers know about the idea of the Chinese nation of China when they initiate the civic education programme for their students. China has spelt out clearly its one China position to the world and its pan-Chinese national culture includes an overt, explicit, and expressive political agenda (He and Guo, 2000). According to Chiu (1998) and Chao (1998), firstly it is a Han-centric national culture. Secondly, it is a patriotic socialist China. Thirdly, it aims at a strong and unified China under the Chinese Communist party leadership. In Hong Kong, pan-Chinese nationalism is interpreted as the 'one country, two systems' China which aims to integrate different territorial social systems under the roof of one China national framework, taking into account the unique local political situations. It is the People's Republic of China that the one Chinese nation-state refers to, not the Republic of China in Taiwan or any other Chinese states. One unified China is the shared consciousness of nation despite local differences. In this sense, the central government's national culture is the dominant culture of the lateral

ethnie of bureaucratic incorporation. It is a culture of convergence that diversities will eventually coalesce in a national harmony and unity with the mainland as the center now under the Chinese Communist party leadership.

At the local level, the SAR government allows schools to freely express their feeling about the nation within the confines described above. The findings have shown that the civic group of Pedro school took the one China framework based on the kinship tie and cultural roots suggested by both the state and regional governments. Politically, teachers taught students the CCP' s rule in both the mainland and Hong Kong in curriculum studies. Culturally, the ethnic Chinese elements permeated every subject study and life activities of students in the school. The school for example had initiated the organization of some Putonghua classes, even though it insisted on inheriting the English education in the face of the mother tongue education, which meant using Cantonese to teach. The national symbolic gesture is great. Pedro school was aware that students should learn more about the life and culture of Mainland China if it was to smoothen and strengthen cultural reintegration. The school had arranged China study tours to the mainland and Taiwan in collaboration with associated groups like the parent- teacher association and religious student service groups (P/D/NL/6 & P/D/TT/1). The participation rate was encouraging for example there were more than 110 students joining the five day trip to Shenzhen, about 10% of the student population last school year in 2002 (P/D/NL/6).

At the student level, students shared with teachers the belief that cultural learning about China is the start to knowing the nation they had longed for. To put the two geographical places in a hierarchical structure of unified China (see chapter 5.2.2.), informant students made a creative move in learning a national identity. They treated China as the place where the ancestral homeland lies the first homeland and Hong Kong where they were born and live as the second homeland (see chapter 7.2.2.3.).

In sum, both the government (as the lateral ethnies) and the school (as the vertical ethnies) work on different courses to help build a commonly shared community in students. There emerges a two-tier structure of national identity where cultural commonness is emphasized for the first

tier while for the second tier, local distinctness is allowed. The school's civic education has been seen to put great emphasis on local cultural characteristics but it seems this does not prevent students from learning a shared national identity culturally. Individual interpretations are encouraged as long as they strengthen national cohesion. In this respect, it is not a homogenous culture that the school's civic education aims at. It helps broaden the commonalities while allowing individual specificities. If it is the former, there is cultural convergence but not if the latter is the focus.

7.5.3.2. Ethnic-civic nation complex: The consensus of national China culturally does not necessarily lead to a consensus politically. Nationally, the mainland perceives political China and cultural China as one unity and patriotism means the love of socialist national China (Chiu, 1998; Chao, 1998). The two are separated in its civic education for students in Pedro school.

At the local level, the findings revealed that teachers of Pedro school deliberately avoided political aspects of national China. In curriculum studies, cultural China is primordial China and touches little on the current cultural life and context of China in its socialist aspects. Teachers (as one example of a vernacular cultural leader) choose to de-politicize and de-contextualize the cultural learning, making the national learning half-learning (see chapter 5.6.2.1. & 5.6.2.2.). The Chinese socialist civic-nation is simply dropped. Instead, they teach the western democratic civic-nation (see chapter. 5.5.4.2) inherited since 1985 after the promulgation of the first school civic education guidelines by the colonial Hong Kong government. The school encourages democratic local governance. For example, the civics group helped promote local participatory political development by inviting international non-governmental organizations (NGO) to give talks on the universality principles of basic human rights that will help check the national authority and nationalist political influences over the people (P/D/CE/P-4; W-2). In this respect, Pedro school in effect has revealed incompatibilities between the lateral and vertical vernacular ethnics in civic-political terms. To recall, the national government aims at the central leadership of the CCP.

On the student side, despite tacit consent from the mainland government that the socialist system and policies shall not be practiced locally (Article 5, the Basic Law), student informants for example felt that the central government has ceased to honour its promise by intervening in local governance (I/HK/2/29-30). They said the distinctness of the local liberal- capitalistic system was disappearing and they lost confidence in self-governance under the current 'democratic' practices of the 'one country, two systems' (see chapter 5.6.2.2.). The local government leadership did what the central government said but did not follow the will of the Hong Kong people.

Ethnic identity did not help resolve political differences and regional conflicts. Students and teachers of the school opted for more local democracy rather than deeper patriotic nationalism as advocated by the indigenous pro- China social groups and the local and central governments. On the political row over the national security bill, they held firmly a local perspective that the legislation should not be made at the expense of local political interests (I/HK/2/34). The 'shared' ethnic- national culture so built has been shown to be unable to address the local antagonism of democracy and patriotism which in turn has shaken the bedrock of the 'one country, two systems' national framework. It is for example found that local disputes over civic and political rights will result in weakening the unifying effect of one ethnic China. Students showed support for local democratic development and pointed out that the authoritarian character of the state government is one big obstacle for local democratization (see chapter 5.6.3.). By these very acts, it sees a split from the mainstream national culture and reveals an antagonism of the government and local public behind the one ethnic China.

In sum, Pedro school' s civic education seemingly evolved a hybrid national consciousness of the government in that they shared with it the ethnic China but politically democracy not socialism within the socialist national framework of China. The evasive approaches in teaching of 'one country, two systems' China leave ideological contradictions of China and the local people unresolved. Although the commonality of the ethic base has been enlarged, it is evident that at the same time political cleavages have also been widened. The hybrid national culture would mean the national programme may not perform to achieve the prescribed national

culture of convergence that supposedly embraces diversities to become one unified model. There is a danger that diversities proliferate without majority consensus.

7.5.3.3. The context-value cultural complex: In meeting the Chinese culture with the western culture, China often faces the application problem of whether to put western ideas into the Chinese values context or to put in place the western value structure with which Chinese concepts might coalesce. Lee (2004b) contends that incoming western concepts will be indigenized in the local cultural context of harmony, spirituality and individuality based on Confucian traditions. In the present school case of Hong Kong, Tung' s government (Tung, 1997) strives to put in place a nationalist framework of the 'one country, two systems' China for local people to infuse with western political ideas of liberalism and democracy. The socialist value context is deliberately taken away from the framework, which puts heavy emphasis on the ethnic cultural context instead. At the school level, Pedro school sees a different situation. Inherited from the western liberal practices and customs, teachers of the school confront the notion of the 'one country, two systems' China with the western institutional context and concepts of democracy and the catholic creed (see chapter 4.3.2.3). In so doing, they tend to act as one local popular force to indigenize the national consciousness rather than nationalize local perspectives.

Different approaches might have produced different results that would even contradict each other. For example, teachers and students with the western liberal value framework in mind could not stand any authoritarian and non-democratic practices embedded in the Chinese national values and customs to be practiced in Hong Kong. On the contrary, those who believe in the patriotic model would think it is inevitable for the nation to develop and modernize given the current national and political situations, culture and history. The secession move of Taiwan and separatist movements in Xinjiang and Tibet are often mentioned in this respect.

The national transformation should start from local reality and unique characteristics but not from abstract nationalist ideas or ideals. In civic education, the findings support the view that the civics group of the school has dedicated itself to work in this way and focused on the

civic aspects of nation like the rights of the citizen and the development of civil society in which a citizen has every right to critique and monitor the government conduct and to choose government leadership by direct election and universal suffrage regionally if not nationally. Teachers taught students to believe in a fair system and open and transparent institutional procedures and less reliance on leadership style, dedication and commitment as the mainland government did. They deeply believed that if the indigenous liberal value framework cannot be sustained, integration with the Chinese nationalism will make Hong Kong no different from other coastal cities in the Mainland. Students felt the expansion of ethnic nationalism and patriotism must not be achieved at the expense of a local western framework, democracy in particular. The will of local people should be listened to.

7.5.3.4. Summary of the section

If one China is the goal and is understood as the national value framework that embraces local variations and diversities, then Pedro school's civic education which aims at a local democracy while concurrently deepening the ethnic link between people of the two communities is working towards a national culture. It is however a hybrid culture. It may lead to a culture of tolerance and divergence but not convergence as initially planned that the two communities will eventually merge in every aspect including the social systems and ways of life after 50 years from the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. It presumes that the effects of cultural developments are in both directions and the rights of autonomy are highly respected and that the interaction of the dominant ethnies (i.e. the Chinese mainland government) and minority ethnies (i.e. the local people of Hong Kong) does not presuppose any hegemonic relationship.

Taking all these into account, the one ethnic-nation China with two civic-nation systems will become the dominant trend of national development of China in the school's civic education programme. It is unlikely that one China of the nationalizing state in Brubaker's (1995) sense will occur. Pedro school serves as one example when it is given a free hand to devise a national education for its students. It demonstrates more Smith's 'plural' development, (1995) but not Anderson's (1991) liberal vernacular 'transformation'.

7.5.4. Group differences and conflicts

In a plural nation development, development of national commonalities does not prevent people from working on distinctness. Group differences and conflicts are heterogeneous and the subtlety of group difference may take on an individual basis. The shared imagination of (Anderson, 1991) or daily reproduction (Billig, 1995) of nation by individual citizens are real and insurmountable though they might not be as symbolically creative and distinct as what an intellectual elite do specifically with respect to national objects and culture, and in politics and history (Geertz, 1993; Smith, 1991). 'Individuals' here refers not only to biological people but also to socially created agencies in the political process. In today's democracies, civil society (Kennedy, 2004; Lee, 2004a) has become a political force, which is constituted of numerous autonomous non-governmental organizations (NGO), and acts like atomized individuals in framing the character and future and fate of the nation.

In the present case of Hong Kong schools, the inter-group differences are complex and multiple and the factors are intertwined with each other to form composite groups so that no one single factor can predominate. For analytic purpose, several group differences are identified, for example territorial (e.g. the center-peripheral), ideological (e.g. socialist-capitalist), political (e.g. socialist authoritarian-liberal democratic), national (e.g. patriotic-individualistic), cultural (e.g. Chinese oriented-western oriented), historical (e.g. traditional-contemporary), economical (e.g. developing-affluent) and educational (e.g. elite-mass). It is worth noting that the ethnic difference is insignificant in the sense that the overwhelming majority of Hong Kong people are Han Chinese, the same ethnic origin as the dominant ethnies in China. The critical group actors are then identified in functional terms and in the case of Pedro school, it consists of the government, school and teachers, students, student organizations and past students, parents, the mass media, and related groups of outside bodies.

7.5.4.1. The government: It represents the 'lateral ethnies' culture of the Beijing state government. Taking into account the emotion and reality of the locality, it focuses on an ethnic-cultural identity of the nation and cultural patriotism. Socialist politics is deliberately avoided. The official curriculum is basically de-contextualized and

depoliticized learning of China without highlighting the history and politics of the Chinese Communist Party. Instead, it reminds students of working together to build a strong and unified new China as national patriots. Through local government authorities, it advocates a national identity and public responsibilities and leaves democracy aside for its first five-year stage of the new curriculum reform (CDC, 2001). It strives to broaden the ethnic base of the nation in order to embrace different local civilian and social groups under the commonly shared national culture. For example, in recommended secondary school textbooks, the transformation is described as a smooth, harmonious re-integration with China and steady, gradual progress of local political development under the rule of law, mentioning little about problems and difficulties, and conflicts and tensions of different social groups.

At the school level, the government adopts the free-hand approach and lets individual schools organize their own civic education programme for students within a loosely structured national framework, which lays down only broad principles and guidelines. It leaves local schools with plenty of political space to develop a liberal model that can satisfy the prescribed conditions and requirements of the 'one country, two systems' China. For example, Pedro school receives no mandatory instructions to organize celebration events on the October First national day but it knows well that it now becomes inappropriate and improper to arrange any formal activities for the Taiwan's Double Tenth national day in Hong Kong after the sovereignty transfer to Mainland China. In a word, the government is keen on the one-China stance and it is the Chinese state in the mainland, territorially, historically and culturally speaking. With this logic, for example, one informant student (Tracy) tried to explain the historical cause for Mainland China to take Taiwan:

Student (Tracy): Culturally, people of Taiwan, Mainland and Hong Kong are all Chinese because their forefathers all come from the same Central Plain. In other words, they had the same past history. Regret is that Hong Kong was leased out, and the Nationalists left the mainland to settle in Taiwan. China was then separated into three territories, politically speaking (I/CH/1/18, in Chinese- my translation)

It is the Chinese political history that whoever takes the mainland is the ruler of the Chinese. It once was the Republic of China, now in Taiwan and for the present days it is People's Republic of China, Communist China.

7.5.4.2. The school and teachers: The traditional role of socializing agent as described by Smith and Anderson has been more taken up by the modernized role of socializing agency (see section 7.5.5.3.) as revealed in the official civic education papers which talk about the 'civic context' (CDC, 1996: 19-25) and 'learning opportunity and environment' (CDC, 2001: 68) of school for students, as autonomous and independent learners, to reflect upon the values and attitudes embedded particularly in their 'life- events' (CDC, 2001: 25). For example, the teacher of Liberal Studies turned the class into a forum where students were asked to discuss the local affairs and the center- peripheral relationship (C/8/LS/30-30-38). It is an ideal that with authentic discourse, students will capture the emancipatory truth (Habermas, 1972) about controversial politics locally and with the central government.

Also, the agent role the school plays is not the traditional role as government's socializing agent. The findings have shown that the school does not follow blindly the government policy. At times, it acts even contrary to government's actions (e.g. on issues the national security bill and the mother tongue education). It is particularly true when democracy is concerned. The school basically inherits what was described in the 1985 school civic education guidelines about representative government in colonial times. For example, the organized student life, present or past, are managed democratically. In this respect, the school develops the civic- model of democratic nation more strongly than the ethnic- model of patriotic nation as the government does. Anderson's 'creole pioneer' thesis (1991:47-66) might help explain the situations that many teachers in Pedro school have experienced a struggle in the local democracy movement during the last years of the colonial rule. They received western university education and were soaked deeply with ideologies of democracies and acknowledged the values of liberal education with the Catholic traditions (see chapter 4.3.1.2.1.; 4.3.1.2.2.; 4.3.1.2.3.). They collectively supported the insistence on the English education and democratic education in the early years of

sovereignty transfer. Obviously, the institutionalized school life has been seen to be grounded more on liberal principles than that of a nationalist framework advocated by the government. Teachers of the school choose to fuse national China with western liberal democracy instead of implanting the Chinese socialist model of nationalism into the civic education curriculum. Within the liberal school context, students' voluntarism in national identification is encouraged and channeled by setting up the national affairs society through which for example, students organized patriotic activities like putting the national flag and anthem onto the intranet web service and sharing among students about current Chinese politics (P/D/CE/W-2).

In sum, the indoctrination role of the school seems not to appear. On the one hand, the school delves into the agency role. On the other hand teachers of the school in a sense act as significant cultural leaders of nation building in support of the local popular movement by putting in place a democratic education setting for students' learning. They help advocate a liberal democratic variant of the 'one country, two systems' China which is characterized by for example encouraging students to learn a national identity in their own way. It remains to be seen whether the consensus of the ethnic- model of nation (as discussed in early sections 7.5.3) can help check and balance the oppositional growth of civic-democratic model versus the civic- socialist authoritarian model in students' national consciousness formation. Pedro school helps make a unified China yet is taking different political routes to achieving it. It is democracy, not socialism which is at issue.

7.5.4.3. Students: Students are educated as active citizens (Saha, 2000a) and in the findings they are found to be autonomous not passive learners. The civics group of the school also aims to help them to become critical and independent learners who are competent and confident enough, as Kennedy (1997) suggests, to making value judgments through participating in complex everyday life civic reality. In the findings, student informants have shown that they supported China to take Hong Kong back because Hong Kong was Chinese territory leased to the British (I/CH/1/4). In this respect, they did possess a sense of national consciousness. Having said this, it does not mean they are nationalistic. For example, student informants did not oppose the Taiwan Chinese from

severing from China to build an independent nation-state if it is the democratic will of Taiwan people (I/TA/1/40-43). One student informant (Tracy) believed that the ineffable primordial traits as Chinese would never change despite any regime change since China had experienced several splits and unities in its long history. Students were seen to base analysis mostly on a democratic frame of reference which was locally biased against the authoritarian model of the Chinese government (see chapter 5.4.1.4.). For example, one student informant (Yvette) said the government needs to listen to its people even it does good to people (I/ND/3/3). Sovereign rights of people and democracy seemed to become the high values. Students tended to put universality of democratic rights of individuals above nationalist principles and state interests (see chapter 5.4.2.2.).

Obviously, this kind of ideas about the civic- and ethnic- nation is different from either the government or the school. Students are more future- looking and speculated about the nation-to-be with its expanded realization of individualistic freedoms and liberty, democracy and basic civic rights, material betterments of life, and sustainable developments of the collectivity they lived in (see chapter 5.5.4.2.2.). They represent another source of local popular movement of political realism and individualistic liberalism in national and local politics (see chapter 6.2.2.). Individual citizens act independently and do not follow every word told by any political party. A comparable example can illustrate this point more clearly. There was a mass rally of half a million Hong Kong people in July 1, 2003 and 2004 in response to the call of pan-democratic groups to protest against the government, which pushed through the Article 23 legislation and against mismanagement which prevented them from gaining the majority seats in the Legislative Council election that

followed in September 2004 (Mingpao Weekly, 18.9.2004, p.26). With this logic of thinking, the dynamic and discursive milieu of the 'one country, two systems' China has nurtured the politics of people power which itself has its own soul and destination.

Students as individuals represent an emergent force in the Hong Kong society, that they are autonomous and active participants and that they are the citizens whose consensus needs to be sought or negotiated in government's governance. As independent individual citizens, their decision on cultural/ value choice about the nation and politics will change the course of societal development. The advent of the communication revolution and information technologies for free access of information and simultaneous collective action empower students and other ordinary individuals to make the shared imagined community real. For example, Mr. Leung Chi-hung, nicknamed 'Long Hair', whom students knew as a radical social activist of poor classes (e.g. see 4.3.2.1.4 & C/3/CL/8-9) won convincingly in the latest election to the Legislative Council as independent candidate without any political party support. Students learnt him mostly from the mass media which often had a wide coverage about him confronting the government about its controversial policies. The media effect was great in his ascendancy to the power echelon of the local government in a popularly elected politics Hong Kong now experiments.

The classic leadership role of elite intellectuals and officials will change to consensus-seeking in politics, competence in which marks the quality of democratic leadership in a plural nation. In school learning, informant students had similar ideas when they reflected on the student union election campaign. They said that communication and coordination is vital if they wished to win the election (I/ND/2/3). Moreover, they would like to have their fate determined by their own commitment to democratic governance in institutional terms (see chapter 5.5.4.2.2.). For example, they would act when they thought that school treated them unfairly, e.g. the floating class incident and the mobile phone issue.

Democratic governance ranges from the class club level to the student

union and the alumni association after graduation (see chapter 5.4.1.1; 5.4.1.2.; 5.4.1.3.). Student informants (I/ND/2/1) remembered that there were five candidate cabinets to run the campaign in the latest student union election. They said they could imagine that senior students in other schools would act similarly, trying to attain some democratic leadership experience in their secondary six year. Their very routine organized life each day has reproduced a democratic culture of the school community, which will transform into a democratic consciousness in the governance of Hong Kong and the nation at large in the future (Saha, 2000a; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). In a plural society, individuals do not only have a democratic consciousness to be imagined but act it out and this will change the existing system and culture by constituting new ones with these very acts.

7.5.4.4. Parents and family: Parents as socializing agent have a dual role to play in the present study. First, they act as primary socializing agent at home and they help develop the close kinship tie in students. For example, parents of some student informants (e.g. Sara) would take them along to visit the hometown and relatives in China during long holidays like the Lunar New Year or summer vacation (I/CH/2/10-12). She enjoyed close relationships by paying visits to the homeland and meeting relatives. They (e.g. Sara & Carol) said they would do the same when they had children (I/CH/2/11). Furthermore, parents of other informant students (e.g. Yvette & Tracy) would talk about contemporary Chinese history like the Sino-Japanese war to them (in I/CH/2/12). Student informant (Sara) reflected that her parents could supplement the conceptual learning about China in school with details (I/CH/2/12).

Also the parent role as secondary socializing agent is also felt as reflected in parent participation in the parent- teacher association which assists the school to provide the whole person education to students. In national learning parents accompanied students to visit neighbouring provinces of China with clear educational goals. For example, they helped organize the five day programme of the youth military training camp in Shenzhen (P/D/NL/6). Ethnically, parents performed as the catalyst of building the substantial link of students with China, the kinship tie in particular.

With respect to civic developments, the family offers the web of life for students, which in fact is the mix of western and Chinese culture. Parents send students to attend western education while the home life remains basically Chinese. For example, student informants (I/HK/1/12-13) said they celebrate the Chinese festivals by having a feast together with family members. These traditional festivals like the Lunar New Year are the time of family union. But as for western festivals like Christmas and Halloween, these are the party time for people of the young generation meeting friends outside. The cultural impacts of generational gaps were evident. One student informant (Yvette) said her parents would ask children's idea when the family planned to dine outside but her grandfather-in-law never did this and just told them to follow his decision (I/ND/1/21). She felt in general she was respected as an individual and member of equal importance in the family. She conceived this equality treatment as the 'western' way of doing thing. On the other hand, her grandparent liked to decide about the daily life routines for junior members of the family without seeking their consent. She said her grandparent was 'old fashioned' and she learnt from him the Chinese authoritarian ways of doing things. As Bourdieu (1977) argues, 'the habitus acquired in the family' (p.87) helps shape individual structuring of life experience. Students tend to take those experiences that provide them with the space of individual freedoms as western and those that infringe individuality and individual freedoms as Chinese. The younger the generation, the stronger the tendencies they adapt to the western liberal cultural orientations. This is the way of life of the Chinese Hong Kong people living in the free capitalist society of Hong Kong.

In sum, parents help constitute a local habitus which is characterized by combining the civic life of western liberal values with the Chinese traditions with ethnic roots laid in the mainland. They provide a space and an opportunity for students to choose which values will be more preferable or advantageous out of the cultural mix.

7.5.4.5. The mass media: According to Anderson (1991), the effects of 'mass ceremony' (P. 35) in the mass media are significant in nation building. He shows that the print revolution and marketization have allowed the elite, like religious and political leaders, to exploit the

printed book and newspaper: 'cheap popular editions, quickly created large new reading publics... and simultaneously mobilized them for politico- religious purpose' (idid: 40).

In Pedro school, the newspaper has a noticeable role to play. The school encouraged students to read daily newspapers (I/HK/2/25), knowing that every newspaper has its position and purpose and readership in a free open society like Hong Kong. The findings have shown the subtlety of the school in selecting newspapers (see chapter 4.3.2.2.2. & I/HK/2/46). The school's preference reflected that the subscriptions were those which conveyed a local popular viewpoint in support of democratic local governance. These newspapers were inclined to a development of the civic-model of nation. They were in favour of further development of democracy under the national framework of one China, ethnically speaking. They were distinctive from pro- China or patriotic newspapers, which put national patriotism first over local democracy and these were not the choice of the school.

Student informants also showed their preferences for those, which spoke for the interests of the local public in relation to both the local and national government. One student informant (Sara) added a few more popular local newspapers that were not included on the subscription list but widely read among themselves. She said, despite being tabloid by nature, they shared local popular viewpoints (I/HK/2/46 & I/CH/1/22). Student informants (Carol, Clark) said these newspapers would provide them with other angles for looking at public affairs (I/HK/2/52; 55). These newspapers in fact served as a platform where students learn different arguments on how the 'one country, two systems' notion is implemented given the local context. The discourse will have shown them that it is the struggle of the local liberal viewpoints versus other political tendencies, inside or outside the society, from which emerges a populist public culture as negotiated consensus that can satisfy the needs of different social groups in view of nation building. In this sense, newspapers at school serve as the mobilization agent of the local popular democratic culture. As indicated by Billig (1995), the genre of reporting news stories in highlighting 'we' as local public and 'they' as government officials of the mainland each day by these local newspapers would have produced and reproduced a local consciousness, which will be

exclusionary. For example, students felt unhappy with the central government forcing its way through to enforce the unpopular policy of national security locally. Yet, sometimes, a local consciousness generated through newspapers would produce positive effects toward the nation. Student informant (Carol) felt newspapers have achieved their national role for example in reporting with wide coverage of the news about the first flight of a Chinese astronaut in outer space.

Student (Carol): It but only induces me to think about that piece of news story from other angles. Because if I merely use the local angle to look at the flight of the Chinese astronaut, I' ll say it is none of our business (I/HK/2/54) (In Chinese- my translation).

Moreover, among the school subscriptions, is included an English local newspaper. Interesting enough, it was for this English newspaper that most students placed an order, not the Chinese ones (P/F/N/33). Although student informants said they bought it for use mainly in doing the home assignment, they agreed that the English newspaper would give them another horizon for looking at local and national affairs (I/HK/2/53). They said from reading the English text of local issues, they would have developed some international sense that, for example, they would think that having a democracy locally is everyone' s basic rights but not merely a bilateral relationship of self-government between Hong Kong and the central national government. An effect of tertiary socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Byram, 1990 & 1992) is obvious and the discourse of democracy and nationalism are beyond the national level conflicts.

7.5.4.6. Outside bodies: Pedro school' s civic education programme is not a closed programme and the school opens to and works with outside bodies related to education, community, social and public services, recreation and sports, civic and public affairs, church and pastoral care, etc (P/F/N/84). To seek outside bodies for collaboration, the school is cautious not to pick up those with backgrounds of extremism and radicalism in political, social and patriotic terms. For example, with respect to civic-legal rights locally, the school had organized talks in collaboration with Amnesty International and the Catholic youth center on democratic rights and sent students to join an outside programme on young parliamentary leadership training organized by politically neutral

bodies like the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (P/D/CE/W-2). In understanding China, the school focused on deepening the ethnic link of students with the mainland by accompanying the United Nations Children's Fund to visit children of poor regions in China (P/D/CE/W-2). Students themselves would also take initiatives to join outside body activities for example the student union joined the Federation of Student Unions at its school district.

By deliberate choice, teachers of the school tried to maintain a balanced networking related to the personal growth and social development of students (CDC, 2001: 45) and 'students' ownership' of the community (CDC, 2001: III-1). This helps promote the school's conception about China which is cultural, humanistic, civic-legal and participatory. Students learned this as the local frame of reference with which they reflected on values and attitudes towards China. Seemingly, this will not be equivalent to what the central government wishes to advocate from the nationalist or patriotic viewpoint. One girl student informant (Carol) said Hong Kong is not in a system where students are taught to sacrifice one's life for the nation by joining the army (I/HK/5/28). Another student informant (Sara) explicated the local situations.

Student (Sara): I feel we are different from mainland students. They are taught since early years of age about patriotism and to love the country. We are not members of the Chinese Communist party. We are not mainland students. We are not told to love our mother country, our nation in that way (I/HK/5/27) (In Chinese- my translation).

7.5.4.7. Summary of the section

The above discussion has shown various influences of different social groups on students' national learning. The effects are heterogeneous and sometimes conflicting. The acculturation in political education is seen more as a process of communication and interactions of these groups through which national consciousness emerges and is not imposed (Gellner, 1983; Billig, 1995; Anderson (1991). With unrestricted communication among members of the national society, it is believed that some commonalities will have become national either invented in Gellner's

terms or reproduced in daily life in Billig' s or imagined in Anderson' s terms. For, whatever the case, the traditional role of school as the transmitting agent (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) has to be changed when communication means exchange both ways and allows subjective interpretations by autonomous social groups. In the present school case study, there is communication and exchange between students and various actors in the school in acting out the civic education programme with students being guided to learn as voluntary and autonomous and active learners. On the other hand, the school' s national culture is both the context and communication with characteristics of openness and tolerance, which allow activities of these people (including outside bodies) to take place. They behave as autonomous individuals and interact and intertwine with one another in such a way that some attributes of China can be identified as common while others are distinct and different. In a plural model of nation, nationalizing for homogeneity by the government of the dominant ethnies (Brubaker, 1995) is not characteristic. The national society so constructed or imagined depends on how various autonomous groups react to the issues. It gives more a plurality rather than dominating phenomenon as at first appears.

7.5.5. Difference, conflict and balance of opposites

7.5.5.1. Revisiting Smith' s pluralist view on the public culture

In his plural model of nation, Smith (1995) contends that nationalism as an ideological political framework and mobilization has its paradoxical functions in a free society. On the one hand, it sustains diversity and division and exclusivity among its constituent ethnies (In the case of Hong Kong, because both Hong Kong and China are of the same ethnic origins, it seems more relevant to define ethnies as 'functionary' groups (Anderson, 1991:115; Smith, 1995: 99) and/or social groups in the political sense of the civil society (Lee, 2004a) which appear to jeopardize national unity and solidarity. On the other hand, there is at the same time the growth of a unified national framework within which different social groups consent to live together and coalesce relative to other national societies on the globe. In light of this, Smith' s public culture can be subdivided into two parts, the public culture of differences and the public culture of commonality. Smith (1995: 113 -115) further explains that within the national society, there is competition or interplay of social groups from which a public culture is derived.

Unlike Anderson who argues in terms of the rise of the political ideology of the dominant group, Smith however sees the working of a single public culture which tends towards embracing different group interests and ideas. With this view, he argues that this very nature of the public culture is politically necessary (ibid: 154) to ensure the popular will; socially functional to a fraternal and collective identity (ibid: 155); and historically embedded in an ancestral homeland for its destiny (ibid: 158).

7.5.5.2. The case of Pedro school

It has been argued in the earlier section (see section 7.5.3.) that the school taught students that the mainland and Hong Kong communities work on the cultural commonalities for a common national culture and in another section that they (see section 7.5.4.) each maintains their own territorial distinctness under the innovative national framework of the 'one country, two systems'. It has been shown that Pedro school has produced an example of a democratic variant of civic- nation taking into account the school's unique characteristics. Participatory citizenship in a free and plural society is learned with an emphasis on rational and critical discourse.

Applying Smith's public culture thesis, the school shows that there exists two facets of development of the public culture of the nation in students' citizenship learning, one is the public culture of commonality which lies in general consensus, and the other is the public culture of difference which stresses group differences. For situations of both categories, it is assumed that the value differences of the dominant and minority groups and/or among various groups do not cause open value conflicts and if they do, the confrontations and conflicts can be avoided or resolved by democratic consensus. In fact, the school findings also reveal that there are un-reconcilable conflicts of values, like democracy, freedoms and other human rights issues on the one side, and nationalism, collective loyalty and commitments, socialist dictatorship, communism and patriotism on the other side. Anderson (1991) hypothesizes that the political process is the hegemonic struggle of ideological dominance of the ruling authority (i.e. the lateral ethnies) and the ruled people (i.e. the vertical ethnies), or in national consciousness terms, to replace one national ideology by the other. The extreme case is Brubaker's (1995)

view of the nationalizing state, that it will be a national policy of cultural homogenization of the dominant ruling group. The school case however more resembles Smith' s view, that it is more in an interplay of different participant forces that antagonistic national views coexist and a balance of opposites operates to give a composite view that safeguards against the dominance of one view over the other. In a sense, Smith' s plural model of nationalism is counter- hegemony, contrary to Anderson whose group analysis is basically hegemonic in both action and value terms.

7.5.5.3. The agency role of the school revisited

While students were still confused by the perceived ambivalent agent role of the school as refraining from teaching socialist national ideology (see chapter 5.5.3.3.) on the one hand and on the other hand advocating local democratic governance (see chapter 5.4.2.), the school itself has rapidly developed an agency role in civic education (see section 7.5.4.2.). As revealed in the findings, the school has tended to provide a variety of civic learning opportunities for students to acquire the necessary civic competences (e.g. organize a series of external civic activities, see P/D/CE/W-2). Also, it turns itself into a civic habitus (e.g. organizes a series of internal civic activities, see P/D/CE/ W-2) where students can experience life events at different levels in which they reflect on positive values and attitudes (see CDC, 2001: II & III). The school is at times a place where critical and rational discourse in citizenship learning will be conducted (see P/D/CE/P-1) so that students will learn to become Saha' s (2000a) active citizen so that they will act for and against the government, depending on what the issue is. The school is more an open learning community where many groupings of people, like social, religious, services, community, civics and human rights are involved in one way or another as the curriculum reforms of life-wide learning and society- wide mobilization prescribe (HKEC, 2000: 37 & CDC, 2001: 94-5). Viewed from the angle of these social groups, they would like students to take their underlying group beliefs, ideas and values as the majority group culture in the community value building with respect to their 'competitive' groups.

7.5.5.4. A public culture of differences and a balance of opposites

A public culture of differences engenders a group consensus different from

a public culture of commonality the latter of which simply enlarges the cultural commonalities among various social groups. For the public culture of difference, the situations look much more complicated as revealed in the 1996 school civic education guidelines where an agreed notion of nation came up after a prolonged heated discourse which was believed to be based on the balance of polarized views (Lee & Sweeting, 2001). An idealized nation and universal principles were drawn which were commonly agreed by different groups with different underpinning political philosophies and value orientations. It is more the consensus of balance than commonality among groups at stake in the making of a national culture which is in fact public by Smith's conception. In Pedro school, the civics group had the civic aims and objectives borrowed directly from the 1996 guidelines so that they taught students about critical, objective and rational appraisal competencies on the one hand and on the other hand about social values of tolerance, openness, plurality, justice, harmony and mutuality (CDC, 1996: 12-19; see chapter 4.3.2.1.; 4.3.2.2.; 4.3.2.3.; 5.4.1.; 5.4.2.). The 'leveling-off' and 'differences in harmony' seem the innate qualities of a modern Chinese citizen in the Hong Kong context that the school wished to inculcate into students. Lee (2004) points out that individuality development is always the central concern of Hong Kong civic education and of Chinese moral education tradition. Acrodia (2000) echoes Lee's view by reviewing Confucian contributions to the modern citizenship debates:

The Confucian notions of the ideal person and the ideal society form a well developed model of effective citizenship. The role of the citizen is to be well developed morally and intellectually, possessing the variety of qualities and skills that would enable him/her to challenge oneself and others to promote societal harmony (p. 69).

The above is not the only expressive form of the balancing act found in Pedro school. It takes other different forms albeit implicitly and subtly, knowing that civic education in the school like most schools in Hong Kong as depicted by Morris & Morris (2001) 'relies on a permeated approach, especially through less formal or explicit aspects of the curriculum' (p.14). First, open conflicts of value differences of various social groups in a way remind people of keeping the balance that is being

endangered by the views of the group in ascendance in this or that particular area of concerns. In the school, there is the growth of certain 'balancing' values to guard against any values for primacy. On the student side for example one informant student (Yvette) said it needs democracy to check against the authoritarian tendencies of the central government over Hong Kong at the local level (I/ND/3/3, see also 5.4.1.4.). At the national political level, students (e.g. Yvette, & Tracy) often compared the situations with Taiwan and thought of Taiwan's democratic governance which showed great respect for the will of people that might counter-balance the authoritarian paramountcy of Mainland China in the learning of the center-peripheral relationship (I/ND/1/7; I/ND/1/9; see also 5.4.1.4). On the government side, culturally, the advocacy of a national identity by the Education Department will challenge the over-identification with the locality of students. About local politics, government and society and the school would like to foster active participation to replace political apathy and passivity of young students in developing Hong Kong as a pluralist society. Rational and critical understanding is advocated rather than emotional and passionate love in acquiring a national identity. On the liberal group side, for example, ideologically, democracy is learned instead of dictatorship of the Chinese Communist party when implementation of the policy of the 'one country, two systems' is concerned. In short, a public culture of agreed differences emerges with the balanced growth of conflicting values.

Furthermore, the balance of opposite views may work in a way that not all critical ingredients of different group values are touched upon. For example, the school's national learning of the public culture has reflected basically the patriotic group's national sentiments towards China without communism and socialism (see chapter 5.5.3.3.). Politically, the learning reflects the local liberal social groups' participatory democracy without direct election to the chief executive and the legislature (see chapter 5.4.1.1. & 5.4.1.4.). Hopefully, the school learning of individual opposite values of this kind produces effects of minimizing radicalism or extremism and maximizing a healthy growth of heterogeneity of the society.

Very often, an eclectic approach is taken, note Leung and Print (2002). The 'one country, two systems' notion itself is one example. In the

school's learning, the opposite views and values are juxtaposed or put together to form a composite notion that all conflicting values will be taken care of, in one way or the other. For example, the 1996 Guidelines talk of 'rational, active and responsible' citizenship in light of the transition to the twenty-first century and the sovereignty resumption of China (CDC, 1996: 1). In Pedro school, the education for the new citizenship has seen fostering a civic-democratic notion of nation (see the aims of civic education programme, P/D/CE/P-1). Both democracy and nationalism or patriotism will be taught, unlike in the colonial past, where patriotism was missing. Culturally, it reflects more civic freedoms and human rights as individual citizens promoted by rights group and the local media yet at the same time takes up some moral responsibilities towards the collectivity and nation as advocated by the governments, both local and national. From learning from the life experience, it also reflects that students (and people of Hong Kong) are anxious to preserve and make progress on the current way of life and the capitalist social system while they know the central intervention in local affairs on case-to-case basis is the reality that they cannot escape. Students learn that conflicts of values especially in politics are unavoidable but they would like to have a balance of differences on which the principle of coexistence should be focused, instead of mutual exclusiveness. For example, in a class discussion about the one-person one-vote in the selection of the chief executive of the HKSAR (C/8/LS/SA-4), students came to the view that they understood that the central government would like to have a local chief be selected from the patriotic groups, but in a society of capitalism under the 'one country, two systems' practice, the local headship should be elected by a universal suffrage. In the society, the compromise seems to focus on how the nomination is made. They negotiate for a resolution that the candidate will be nominated by an enlarged selection committee which is under great government influence but popularly elected by a local universal suffrage.

To conclude, the national learning is one particular focus for Pedro school in political education studies. Looking at the conflicting aspects, the public culture of differences has shown the balance of opposite views at work so that the society strives for a consensus of difference and mutual existence that would safeguard from any rise of hegemonic dominance. The school serves as one example of reflecting this kind of development

in the national learning that makes it unique, characteristic and localized on the one hand and on the other hand volatile, dynamic, changing, complex and political. Different forms of balance emerge which have become the demonstrated characteristics of the school's civic education programme. How to resolve conflicts and build a harmony out of diversity and diversification in their different life aspects and levels are the basic questions that students have to learn to deal with under the bold innovation of the 'one country, two systems' Chinese nation. In this respect, Smith's pluralist version of nation enriches Anderson's revolutionist version of building an imagined national community.

7.6. Summary of the chapter

The civic education of the school comprises both the civic- and ethnic-national components in the nation building unlike the colonial past which focused mainly on civic- political developments. The ethno- national ideas are newly developed and tried out in the inherited western democratic context of the school. The national learning is not imposition top-down from external authorities. The nation- making is more an interactive and constructive process where the subjective cultural psychological aspects at the micro level of learning and the objective social political process at the macro level are identified. At the micro individual level, the nation-of-past is renewed and reinterpreted for its present-day significance and at the same time the nation-to-be is focused on, imagined and invented to broaden the national base of cultural unification and identification. At the macro institutional level, there is the interplay of social groups and with the government and it sees the tendency towards a 'public' national culture based on a consensus of cultural commonalities and of balance of conflicting views among participant groups, the latter of which has made the nature of public culture fluid, dynamic, contextual and political.

In the present study, the school is seen as being a place where a public culture rooted in western and democratic values has been institutionalized and contextualized for nationalism ideas to foster. Since the school civic education is an open programme in the sense that various social groups can participate, the present national content is likely to be the composite result of negotiated consensus of both common and different or opposite views and values. In concrete terms, in addition

to kinship tie and ethno-culture, the territorial distinctness, the civic consciousness of universality of citizenship, the heed for autonomy and self-governance, the distancing away from political learning of Chinese socialism and communism, the active participations of autonomous social groups are all contributory to the formation of national consciousness locally.

As explained in the discussion, political learning is more a consensus-seeking process and the pan-Chinese national identity advocated by the central government is reinterpreted and reconstructed likewise. In Pedro school as one example, its interpretative construction is based more on local characteristics and western liberal frame of reference adopted by the school, students, parents, mass media and other related groups to give a distinct local national education. If Anderson's theory of nationalism is right that national consciousness has a cultural base of mass imaginations, it is now more than imagination or reproduction. It appears then there is a political process of cultural consensus-seeking through class activities, open discourse and rational critique, reflection on participation, social groups interactions etc. Civic education is more than a cultural learning of a national identity. It in fact is the creation of national culture by making of political decisions about culture. Culture now is an active and creative political process that reflects people power in response to life situations, now made more transparent, and real-time immediacy with free access to knowledge through information-communication-technologies development on the one hand and the rise of plural and participatory models of democracy on the other. In other words, Anderson's conception of 'simultaneity in homogeneous empty time' has been made realizable and provided the concrete base for ordinary people to participate in 'cultural' decision-making and action. Furthermore, as pointed out by Anderson, the institutional structure for cultural communication is crucial, print-capitalism in his analysis. In the present school case, it is democratic-liberalism and pluralism and of course the open information market in the new era of information-technologies-communication revolution.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion and implications

8.1. Lines of development

The chief aim of the present study is to examine the civic education programme in Pedro school in connection with the nation building after the sovereignty change in 1997. The focus is how the notion of the 'one country, two systems' China is interpreted or constructed in the school. (see the section of the study in chapter 1). It shows an example of political socialization of a democratizing society at the school level.

There are several lines of arguments which emerged in the narrative. First, regarding the civic education programme of the school, it is argued it is a localized national education (see chapter 4.2.1.1.) in the sense that it is not the imprint of the pan-Chinese nationalism advocated by the national state government in Beijing. Student learning of the nation demonstrates the characteristics more like a plural national state model (see chapter 7.5.1.; 7.5.3.) which is more an interactive process of parties involved in the given school context and communication. A democratic variant civic-nation model is locally distinct taking into account the one unified national framework of China which is applied across the whole country, including Taiwan, which is however now undergoing a de-sinicization movement.

Another line of argument is about how students learn the civic education in the school. It is basically the learner-center approach with which students reflect on values and attitudes towards life events they experience and this is in fact the consequence of the joint efforts of school, teachers, parents, media, peer groups, related outside bodies, and government in particular (see chapter 4.3.1.1.; 4.3.1.2.; 7.5.4.). The study has shown that this approach focuses on voluntarism and autonomous learning of students. As individuals, student informants for example developed personal values and conducts which were largely focused around civic-legal aspects of nation like rights of individuals and popular sovereignty of people, rule of law, and citizen responsibilities and commitments towards society, thus making school civic education not merely moral and civic education but also political education of its local uniqueness. At the community and national level, the core value base for individual growth has reflected a value system of liberal individualism

and free capitalism, plus ethno-cultural nationalism (see chapter 5.4.1.; 5.4.3.). This appeared however distinct from another indigenous pro-China or patriotic line of thinking which puts national patriotism first before western democracy. The discourse about national and patriotic sentiments locally seemed to polarize people into the liberal or patriotic camp, which is the unique feature of the group politics development in the plural and heterogeneous society of Hong Kong. In the school the mainstream development is liberalism and democracy. As long as individual autonomous participation is focused, the school's civic education is more a kind of values education of inclusiveness and diversity rather than exclusivity and convergence in Brubaker's (1995) sense of the nationalizing state. The civic-legal aspects development is more prominent and appears more like Saha's (2000a) education for active citizenship in which civic learners in future will support or oppose the conduct of government, depending on the nature of the public issue.

The making of the school context for students' national learning constitutes the third line of argument. The school civic education can be seen as a competition of primacy among different social group values where the 'context-concept thesis' (Lee, 2004b) is more relevant (see chapter 7.5.5.1.; 7.5.5.2.). Competition needs not be mutually exclusive in Anderson's (1991) sense that one dominant ethnic either the lateral bureaucratic or vertical vernacular will eventually dominate. It is rather integration and fusion of contested values into a plural model that commonalities expand while distinctness remains (see chapter 7.5.5.2.). The school's civic education has developed a public national culture based on a consensus of cultural commonalities and of balancing values of group differences. For example, the democratic variant of civic-mode of nation in Pedro school has enhanced the growth of nationalism towards diversity and tolerance, moving away from the development of convergence and uniformity. Voluntarism and autonomous individual participation are more apparent the characteristics in students' national learning than public obligation and responsibility suggested by the national government. The school civic education has revealed that it is not the mode of 'foreign western concepts in local Asian context' as Lee (2004b) hypothesizes. Rather, it puts in place the western liberal and democratic institutional context for the Chinese national concepts to grow. It is in fact a new adventure in Chinese history because looking from the

national political angle, the communist China experiments with western capitalistic and participatory democracy in a place of Hong Kong now under the reign of the Chinese oriental and socialistic collectivist state (see chapter 7.5.3.3.). In the school, there is vigorous values interaction of various social groups, and the main trend of tendency is the emergence of a public culture based on the commonalities and specificities and a value balance of contested views.

The fourth line of argument is that Anderson's theory of nationalism in its modified version based on Smith's pluralism can in many ways shed light in understanding the school process and the making of a nation-to-be that is unique and distinct in comparison with the mainland schools. With Anderson's concepts, it is argued that school civic education is the construction process of national consciousness among participants in which two aspects can be identified namely the micro-interactive and macro-social process of development (Smith, 1991, 1995; Anderson, 1991) (see chapter 7.3.). In the former, suggests Anderson, the human psychological subjective activities are vital. The focus is on autonomous individuals and the influences of an elite in poetic creation as well as mass participation count. In the latter, the cultural rules and patterns of group politics and pluralism in the school process are crucial. The school case has shown that the consensus seeking among the elite (e.g. lateral-bureaucratic and/or vertical-vernacular) and the masses (e.g. students and local NGOs) for a national culture seems apparent, the influence of the latter becoming increasingly more important for experimenting with a plural model of nation. The cultural process in a way is political as it involves a continual process of choice making of values among participant groups about the nation-to-be, i.e. the destiny of nation, an important component in the national identity. The plural national cultural politics has revealed an interplay among different groups as atomized individuals which has made the public culture volatile, dynamic and situational. National culture is more than an imagination as Anderson suggests it is politics and it is decision and action about future, not merely reflection or replication of the past (e.g. see the summary section of chapter 7.5.4.7. and 7.6.).

The fifth line of argument is developed in the discussion of the strength and weakness of the school's civic education programme. It contends that

an open and free society is the prerequisite for a plural and democratic system or a national system with plurality (see chapter 7.5.1.). The advent of communication revolution along Anderson's tradition of free and market capitalism seems a viable option. In the present study, free and effective flow of information seems the current trend of development with the view that regional plurality and diversity not cultural homogeneity and uniformity is the aim of the school's civic education programme. Some limitations have been found, as for example the school has not been open enough about access to media and information (see chapter 4.3.2.2.) that may not help students to grasp a better picture about China in its national learning, particularly about the civic-democratic versus civic-socialist mode of nation. It may limit student understanding about the development of commonalities among different social groups towards national reintegration (see chapter 5.5.3.3.; 5.5.3.4.). Radical emotions against the government's conservative attitude towards local democracy were felt among students in the school's national learning. A plural society of Hong Kong needs a plural civic education based on informed consent and free communication. Tolerance without openness and transparency is fictitious or rhetoric. Democracy (or nationalism) without adequate information and communication and exchange among students in the school (or members in the society) is undesirable because it slips easily into misunderstanding and mistrust which in turn opens the way for polarization of extreme ideologies one example of such phenomenon had been pointed out by Lee & Sweeting (2001) in the drafting of the 1996 school civic education guidelines.

Last but not least, the sixth line of argument is how the Chinese nation is interpreted in the school. The study has shown the rise of a two-layered loyalty in localized national education in the school territorially and ethnically speaking (see chapter 5.3.). This culturally unifying hierarchal structure of national values which shows characteristics resembling Hughes & Stones (1999) multi-level citizenship seems to be the creative innovation of the implementation of the notion of 'one country, two systems' China in the plural and inclusive Hong Kong society. However, there is a mounting trend from the inside that the universality principles of democratic rights of individuals rise to confront nationalist values and principles as the superior values in the values hierarchy. Until and unless there is a re-interpretation of popular sovereignty in China and

there is found for individualist democratic rights a position in Chinese collectivist traditions, the conflicts and antagonism of democracy and nationalism will remain problematic in the school which, like most of schools of Hong Kong, tries to fuse Western and Eastern values together to form a democratic unified nation under the one China framework. The school has shown that an ethno-cultural approach to enlarge the shared communal base of people of different political beliefs and values and confine regional political strife seems a viable option of plural national development of diversity and heterogeneity.

8.2. Implications and significances

In light of the above lines of development in the school's civic education, we can draw from the school study the following implications that are significant for individual schools and the education system of Hong Kong.

Firstly, the case of Pedro school has shown that civic education can be seen as a political process of cultural decision making by democratic consensus. Democratic means that the civics group works to make a democratic civic-political culture for which there is no comparison in the cultural past of China, except Taiwan. In the school, democracy is found integrated into students' life routines which have recently seen a revival of the Chinese traditions and values components with intent to enlarge the commonly shared ethnic base of students of Chinese decent. Group interaction is a kind of democratic process and discourse, which is noticed with respect to its possible convergence and divergence, commonalities and differences, and balancing and conflicting activities. Through democratic procedures such as those the school advocates, students learn to make cultural decisions that may mean a departure from the Chinese authoritarian national cultural traditions with an established practice of a western liberal and democratic values framework for its nation- and state- building locally. It reflects mainly the civic-legal aspects of a democratic nation. The civic-legal approach as stipulated in the 1996's Civic Education Guidelines is commonly adopted in many of the local schools and in this respect the case of Pedro school can be read as Denzin's (1989b) 'universal singular' that it contains some universal themes that schools with similar situations can share with in practice.

Democratic also means that it reflects the democratic way of life in the school's national learning. Teachers of academic groups for example focus on the communal consensus of the ethno-cultural aspects of nation, specifically the respect for traditions and attachment to kinship ties. Through subject studies, there is revealed the strong revival of Chinese traditions and inheritances of which democracy has occupied only a little portion if any. Having said this, it does not mean that the democratic way of life as common consensus, tolerance and mutual respect and equality will not be practiced. The school findings have revealed that the political process of general consensus is about the freedom and ways of presenting the national culture and identity. Heterogeneity of expression seems to prevail over the official mode of the modern Chinese nation which is in a sense socialistic. The official expression basically includes concerns for the livelihood of people by the ruling authority and social stability and harmony under the central leadership and government mobilization. The school's expression of the modern nation however has its tone and colour greatly influenced by western ideas and values like the respect for civil community and the will of people and a democratic style of governance and voluntarism. In the school, students for example are encouraged to express freely their national inclinations in whatever modes.

Secondly, the school case reflects an indigenization of national education. As explained in the chapter five, the national curriculum of national learning has been modified or trimmed to suit the local needs and environments in such a way that the notion of nation so developed is divergent instead of convergent to the official central government version. Politically, the legitimacy of governance is based on democracy and the rule of law, not on the communist revolutionary ideology and socialism. Culturally, the Hong Kong identity and perspective are developed from which students learn about themselves as individuals, Hong Kong as their home and China as their nation. The conflict of local and national identity becomes increasingly frequent when local affairs are affected by central government intervention. The two-tier loyalty so derived in the school's localized national education programme is both the solution and source of the problem which entails the inherent contradictions of integration of the capitalistic Hong Kong society with

the socialist authoritarian nation of China. The case of Pedro school can be studied as a microcosm (Geertz, 1993: 21) of the society's civic education in that it aims at a China-Hong Kong identity for local people applying the 'one country, two systems' principles. The cultural rules and dilemma which emerged in the teaching of national identity in Pedro school may be significant in interpreting the civic educational practices of other schools.

Thirdly and methodologically speaking, a pluralist interpretation of Anderson's imagined community theory enables us to reconsider the role of students as one group in the school and society contributing to the construction of the nation. Students are no longer taught passive or obedient citizenship but critical and active citizenship so that participation guided by their imagined and creative construct of the nation helps shape or even change the course of the nation building locally. As argued in the discussion of the present case study, the school does not indoctrinate students but plays the greater role as an agency of socialization of various social groups, including students interacting with each other to constitute a public culture that satisfies and/or balance interests of various sides. On the civic aspects of national development, the fact that students went to the democratically elected student union to initiate a policy discourse with the school on the incident of floating class (I/ND/2/17) and jointly with the parents via the parent-teacher association on the issue of student use of the mobile phone in school (I/ND/2/20), can be seen as notable examples of the change of students who are transforming into a participatory culture.

8.3. Concluding remarks

From all these lines of development and implications in the school's civic education, I can observe that the ethno-cultural base of nation has been enlarged and deepened in the direction of the revival of the Chinese legend of collectivity and communalism based on territorial kinship ties. Nevertheless, the revival of Chinese cultural traditions does not stop people from making vigorous and innovative decisions about modern political culture that are unique and distinct from the mainland in the past or in the present. In this case-study school it has been demonstrated that the practice is based on democratic or majority consensus about what is to be imagined as communal or national in a

pluralist sense. Obviously, what the school strives to present to students through the civic education programme, is the collaborative efforts of various socializing agents like government, teachers, parents, media, past students, outside bodies and students themselves. Taking all these into account, we can conclude that there are more consensuses than differences for putting democracy and nationalism together to help develop in the school a national education for reintegration. It is more realistic to see a national education programme with a broadening base in the ethno- culture and a tolerance of regional distinctiveness and, in the case of Hong Kong, western pluralism. Furthermore, looking with a historical perspective, the selective infusion of foreign values and ideas into the Chinese mainstream culture has often taken place in the history of China. Western liberal democracy may be a new attribute for the national culture of China in the mainland, but it is not for Hong Kong society which has had local customs and practices deeply westernized. A democratic national education in the school will then be a new invention in China's national cultural development but it remains to be seen whether it will be a national programme of cultural divergence or convergence or midway between. What is clear is that it is the diversity not homogeneity the school promotes which makes its national programme localized.

Having said this, the present school study needs to be understood in light of the fact that there are limitations to the particular methodology and techniques employed, the coincidence of events, objects and participants to be observed or interviewed in a specified time period and the subjective perception of the researcher in his cultural understanding, not to mention the uniqueness of the school itself which provides a Catholic and English education learning environment for students. While the school civic education programme was conducted in a rational and critical manner, it could not hide the strong indigenous emotions of students triggered off by political events like the 2003 national security bill and the July First mass rally that followed which overwhelmed them when they saw the center-peripheral relationship and led to a resistance in their national learning for integration. Despite the limitations, the authenticity of data and views of various actors, specifically the school and students, concerning the concept of nation were contextually revealed through the use of non-participant and participant observation, ethnographic

interview, and documentary research. Individual views and perspectives on nationalism and democracy were unraveled together with specific contexts and positions and an elaboration of conflicts and compatibilities, and effects and consequences in the nation formation.

In addition, by studying students' interpretations of the school's civic education, I have gained many insights from examining the school's national teaching as a researcher and teacher. For example, the objectification of data has revealed that students are autonomous and active learners no matter how hard they behaved as obedient and passive students in class and in other school activities for most of the time. They tended to interpret and reconstruct what they were taught about the nation by the school, reflecting on certain political value frame(s) deeply embedded in them in their life, and this happens more frequently the more senior they become. To them, the school's national education programme was merely one of their learning experiences albeit a significant one. In the findings, it is clear that other important socializing agents were parents and the mass media. This new view of students has guided me to write the accounts throughout without falling into traps of reporting what is prescribed by the school in its civics plan, in curriculum studies of various academic subjects and interests as students' national learning. The subtlety and delicacy of basic conceptions like socialism, communism, popular sovereignty, democracy, human rights, nationalism and patriotism etc. would mean different things to different people at different times. With hindsight, I found the learning of the 'one country, two systems' China notion is more creative and complex than it in its initial design, given the particular context and particular people and particular time periods. I was deeply impressed that the preconceptions of nationalism and democracy are in many ways a liability rather than an asset in making a national reality that embraces theoretically contradictory political values or concepts such as democracy and socialism, capitalism and communism, national and regional or individual interests, nationalist and universality principles, traditions and modernity. By opening one's mindset to informant students' interpretations of the Chinese nation, by listening to how they see the relationships between democracy and nationalism, by observing how they reflect on values and attitudes towards political events about the nation, students in effect helped me to capture in their learning a notion

of local national culture which is characterized by a democratic institutional structure being put in place for national and other values to permeate, and a two-tier territorial loyalty to emerge. As the civic education unfolds itself, besides democratic consensus as earlier discussed, a consensus of pluralism will naturally come into play when the school repeats these cultural practices everyday. In a word, the school has an emerging democratic national culture which is local.

8.4. Suggestions for further study

To recall, my present school case study of post-1997 Hong Kong school civic education is a kind of naturalistic inquiry and exploratory study (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000). Being an experiential understanding as such it is always important for 'added experience' (Skate, 2000) for use in theory development. In addition, as a matter of fact, the present study is a beginner ethnographer's work done with a bundle of constraints, and further studies thence can help enrich or discover more new features of students' national learning in the local school context.

First, studies of the civic education in other school settings, for example schools without any religious affiliations or government-run schools or patriotic schools are deemed necessary. With comparison and contrast, the present study can stand out more distinctively with its civic qualities of commonality as well as difference. Particularly relevant is the examination of the relationship of catholic education and the western culture of liberalism and democracy in the school's political learning.

Second, the present study is basically a narrative of the school's civic education programme from the perspective of students. It is found that students have a strong sense of indigenusness from looking into the identity issue. More civic education studies should be done from the school viewpoint and/or from the viewpoint of government in order to have a comprehensive or balanced understanding of the complexly constructed reality of the 'one country, two systems' China.

Third, the present study is focused largely on the senior student group and it is desirable to examine the heterogeneity of the student sample group that will add depth to the cultural understanding of students'

national learning.

Fourth, it is understandable that on-going studies with an extension of length of study period can add nuance and subtlety to the themes emerging in the course of change of time and school situations. It is particularly important to have an investigation of how the cultural decisions are made in the school process in the context of how the nation is imagined by various participants. The meanings and perspectives of students and teachers as well as parents and the government are equally relevant. The richness of data requires not only intensive study but also extensive study over time.

List of Appendixes:

Appendix One:

It is about the record of various field-work schedules

Appendix Two:

It explains the code of reference used in the report of the study

Appendix Three:

It includes relevant records of documents about conducting the field-work in the school. The first part is about the school requests and the second part is about conducting the ethnographic interview: a sample of the personal particulars of a student informant and the interview questions

Appendix Four:

Excerpts from field notes/journals

Appendix Five:

Excerpts from interview notes

Appendix Six:

An excerpt from a class observation

Appendix One: Record of Field-work Schedule by type:

This Appendix contains the schedule of work for first the field visits, second the ethnographic interviews and third the class observations. The excerpts of all the three kinds of fieldwork are given in the subsequent Appendixes. In these records of studies, the names of people and places and organizations are used anonymously or withheld in order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

1. Field-visit:

Visit	Date	Day	Time	Hour	Place	Sch Event	Remark
1	20Jan03	Monday	0900-1230	3.5	School	C, R, L	AM
2	21Jan03	Tuesday	1400-1630	2.5	School	C, O	PM
3	21Jan03	Tuesday	1700-1730	0.5	SS office	TALK w/ SS	PM
4	22Jan03	Wednesday	0900-1300	4.0	School	C, R, L	AM
5	23Jan03	Thursday	0800-1115	3.5	School	B, A, C	AM
6	23Jan03	Thursday	1500-1630	1.5	School	C, O	PM
7	24Jan03	Friday	0800-1130	3.5	School	B, A, C, R	AM
8	28Jan03	Tuesday	0800-1130	3.5	School	B, A, C, R	AM
9	29Jan03	Wednesday	0935-1130	2.0	School	C, R	AM
10	29Jan03	Wednesday	1330-1530	2.0	School	C, O	PM
11	04Feb03	Tuesday	1000-1130	1.5	School		Holiday
12	06Feb03	Thursday	1125-1230	1.08	School		Holiday
13	07Feb03	Friday	1100-1230	1.5	School		Holiday
14	10Feb03	Monday	1015-1130	1.75	School	C, R	AM
15	11Feb03	Tuesday	1430-1630	2.0	School	C, O	PM
16	12Feb03	Wednesday	0830-1130	3.0	School	B, A, C, R	AM
17	13Feb03	Thursday	0830-1100	3.0	School	B, A, C, R	AM
18	17Feb03	Monday	0830-1100	2.5	School	B, A, C, R	AM
19	19Feb03	Wednesday	1030-1200	1.5	School	C, R	AM

B: Day-Begin R: Recess AM: AM session
A: Morning assembly L: Lunch Beak PM: PM session
C: Class O: Day-Off

SS office: The school supervisor' s office

Talk w/SS: Talk with the school supervisor

Pre-visit preparation began at December, 2002. Excerpts of field observation notes and journals can be found in Appendix Four

2. Ethnographic Interview:

Code	Date	Time	Duration (min)	Meeting place	Topics	Student Informant
I/CH/1/-	16Oct03 (Thu)	17:00-18:00	60	1/F Hall Block	China	Y, T, S
I/CH/2/-	17Oct03 (Fri)	16:05-16:45	40	1/F Hall Block	China	Y, T, S, Ca
I/HK/1/-	22Oct03 (Wed)	11:00-12:00	60	Canteen	Hong Kong	Y, T, S, W*
I/HK/2/-	23Oct03 (Thu)	16:15-17:10 17:10-17:30	55 20	Canteen	Hong Kong	Y, T, S, Cl Y, T, S, Z, Ca, Cl
I/HK/3/-	24Oct03 (Fri)	15:30-16:15 16:15-18:00	45 45	Canteen	Hong Kong	Y, T, S, Z, Z, Cl
I/HK/4/-	29Oct03 (Wed)	14:30-15:30	60	Canteen	Hong Kong	Y, T, S, J
I/HK/5/-	30Oct03 (Thu)	14:00-15:20	80	Canteen	Hong Kong	Y, S, Ca, J, Cl
I/TA/1/-	07Nov03 (Fri)	15:00-16:00 16:00-16:30	60 30	Canteen	Taiwan	Y, T, S, W* T, S, J, Cl
I/ND/1/-	20Nov03 (Thu)	14:30-15:00 15:00-15:40	30 40	Canteen	Taiwan Nat/Demo	Y, T, S Y, T, S
I/ND/2/-	24Nov03 (Mon)	10:45-12:00	75	Canteen	Nat/Demo	Y, T, S
I/ND/3/-	11Dec03 (Thu)	14:00-15:30	90	Canteen	Nat/Demo	Y, S, M

- Interview hours: 790 min (>13 hours)
- Students: 9 (6 girls and 3 boys):
All from Secondary 6 except one (Wendy*) who repeats Secondary 5
Girls from Arts stream; Boys from Science stream
- Boy students: J-Jim; Cl-Clark; M- Mark
- Girl students: Y-Yvette; T-Tracy; S-Sara; W-Wendy*; Ca-Carol; Z-Zoe
- Nat/Demo - Topics about Nationalism and Democracy

Excerpts of interview transcriptions are given in Appendix Five

3. Class observation:

Code.	Date	Time	Duration	Class	Subject	Teacher
C/1/LS/-	10Dec03 (Wed)	09:45-10:30	45min	S6 (Science gr.)	Liberal studies	Mr. W
C/2/CN/-	11Dec03 (Thu)	10:45-11:30	45min	S5 (Science gr.)	Chinese	Mr. W
C/3/CL/-	12Dec03 (Fri)	09:00-10:30	90min	S7 (arts gr.)	Chinese Language & Culture	Mr. W
C/4/CH/-	09Mar04 (Tue)	02:55-03:40	45min	S. 3D	Chinese History	Ms. L
C/5/CH/-	10Mar04 (Wed)	02:10-02:55	45min	S. 3A	Chinese History	Ms. L
C/6/CH/-	12Mar04 (Fri)	2:10-2:55	45min	S. 1A	Chinese History	Ms. L
C/7/CC/-	18Mar04 (Thu)	10:45-12:15	90min	S. 1E	Chinese Composition	Ms. L
C/8/LS/-	18Mar04 (Thu)	02:10-3:40	90min	S6 (Arts gr.)	Liberal Studies	Mr. W

An excerpt of class observations is shown in Appendix Six

Appendix Two: Code of indexing

This Appendix explains the approach taken to indexing in recording the data.

1. Participation observation

Type	Sub-type	Data	Page
P (participation observation)	F (Field)	N (Note)	1
P	F	J (Journal)	2
P	D (Document)	CE (Civics Edu.)	3
P	D	NL (Newsletter)	4
P	D	TT (Taiwan tour)	5
P	D	BD (Board Display)	6

(e. g. P/F/N/1)

2. Ethnographic interview

Type	Area of concern	No. of session	Page
I (interview)	CH (China)	1	2
I	HK (Hong Kong)	2	3
I	TA (Taiwan)	2	4
I	ND (Nationalism/Democracy)	1	5

(e. g. I/CH/1/2)

3. Class observation

Type	No. of observation	Subject studied	Page
C Class Obs.	1	LS (Liberal Studies)	2
C	2	CN (Chinese)	6
C	3	CL (Chin. Lang. & Culture)	3
C	4	CH (Chinese History)	8
C	7	CC (Chinese Composition)	7

(e. g. C/1/LS/2)

Appendix Three: Conducting the field work

This appendix shows relevant copies of documents about conducting the fieldwork in the school: school requests and student interviews.

1. Making School Requests:

- 1.1. Failed attempt
- 1.2. Successful attempt
 - 1.2. a. Request letter
 - 1.2. b. Follow-up message
 - 1.2. c. Request letter for the second round of Field-work

1.1. Failed attempt

寄件者: LAI, Pak Sang
寄件日期: 2003年1月6日星期一 PM 4:17
收件者: David@hkicable.com'

Dear Principal David,

Right now I approach an English school for its assistance regarding my fieldwork. So I'll not bother you at the moment. I'll go for you again if needs arise.

Grateful and appreciate very much for rendering me help and assistance in the past months.

With warmest regards,

LAI

- 1.2. Successful attempt
- 1.2. a. Request letter

Mr. Principal,
Pedro School

7 January 2003

Dear Principal,

I am writing to seek consent of your school to volunteer as a sample case in my research study, which will be part of my thesis writing.

I am the candidate of doctoral degree at University of Durham, U.K. and my thesis supervisor is Prof. M. Byram, former course director of Doctor of Education, School of Education. My thesis is about education for citizenship with the focus on how the tense relationship of divergent or even conflicting civic values is addressed in school. The main purpose of the study is to examine the strength and limitation of the rationalist approach and design of the school civic education guidelines. This will be an ethnographic study, which will comprise various methods like observation, interview, documentary search, etc.

I would be very grateful if your school could offer help. I can assure that complete confidentiality is ensured and the school as well as individuals who participate as informant in this research, their names will be kept in anonymity.

Looking forward to your favourable reply and I can be reached by Email: pslai@ied.edu.hk or phone: 9268-XXXX or the following correspondence: EPA Dept., HKIED, 10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, New Territories, HKSAR.

Yours sincerely,

LAI, Pak-sang

1. 2. b. Follow-up message

寄件者: LAI, Pak Sang
寄件日期: Friday, March 14, 2003 10:14
收件者: LAI, Pak Sang
主旨: FW: Observation record for information and retention

-----Original Message-----

From: LAI, Pak Sang
Sent: Monday, February 24, 2003 3:53 PM
To: Pedro@Message.ed.gov.hk
Cc: LAI, Pak Sang

Subject: Observation record for information and retention

Dear Mr. Principal

First of all, I would like to extend my hearty thanks to you for receiving me and allowing me to start the fieldwork in your school.

Since late January, I have spent quite some time in your school doing passive participant observation. To keep you informed of my field activities, I now attach the observation record to you in this mail. I'll come to you later, probably a week or so, after I finish assembling the field data and prepare for the start of next stage of research. At that time, I hope that I can explain more clearly to you with a focused and specific theme.

Once again, thank you for your generosity and valuable help in my study.

Yours sincerely,

LAI Pak-sang

1.2.c. Request letter for the second round of Fieldwork

The Principal,
Pedro School

Date: 15th September 2003

Dear Mr. Principal,

Request for launching the new round of field study at Pedro School

First of all, thank you very much for allowing me to conduct the phase one field study at your school early this year. Although the field study is interrupted by the unexpected SARS attack on the territory in the middle of the year, my study does not stop and now it comes to the second phase in which interviewing students will be the main task.

I sincerely hope that you may allow me for the second time to come to your

school and interview some of your students. According to my plan, I' ll focus on interviewing Form Six students. The interview will be a group interview. Each time, I would like to meet three to four students and ask them some open-ended questions for a time of about 30 to 45 minutes. If possible, I' ll meet them two times for each topic. The second meeting may be shorter. I hope the second phase of the field study will last for a month or so, depending on the availability of both the interviewees and interviewer. As you know, the main theme of the study is about the citizenship learning of students. At this stage, I would like to inquire into what students as Hong Kong citizens say about Hong Kong and China from their perspectives.

The above is a brief of the second phase of the field study. May I here request your permission on launching the new round of the study? Look forward to hearing your favourable reply soon.

Yours sincerely,

LAI, Pak-sang (Mr.)

2. About the ethnographic interview

2.1. Particulars of Student Informant: (sample)

Date:	Time:	Venue:	Group size:	Remark
		Pedro school		

Name: ___Yvette___ Age: ___17___

Sex: M F Class: F.6 F.7

Stream: Arts: Science
 Others Please specify: _____

Source of students:

Progress from the same school X

Progress from outside school:

Official position in student/school activities:

Level Group name: office bearer: highest Elected years

School	Red Cross; Choir; Wind Band	Member		98-04
House	Red House	House Secretary		03-04
Form	Chinese Society	Chairman		03-04
Class	F4 & F5	Monitor		01/02; 02/03

Are you eligible to vote in public elections?

No X

Yes District Board election Legislative Council election

Have you ever been to Mainland China/ Taiwan?

No

Yes Number of times: _____ 8-9 _____

Where: Zhongshan; Guangzhou; Shanghai, Shenzhen

Recent visit: Date: _____ Summer, 03 _____

Place: _____ Zhongshan _____

(all the personal particulars will be destroyed after use)

2.2. An excerpt of Interview Questions:

A) Domain Question: About China

1. There is a display of student paint works showing their feeling about school life and study at the open ground on the first floor of the School Hall Block. On one picture, a student draws a five-star national flag to symbolize China, which shows her identity of her mother country with the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC). (see photos of C4) Do you share this similar kind of feeling? Do other Chinese people have different kind of viewpoints? If yes, what are they? Would you please tell me in greater details your understanding about China as a modern nation? What does the school do to help you better understand China? Do you feel the school has done enough to help you in this? Please describe it with examples wherever possible.

(National China: nation building; political China: state formation)
(School' s civic education program)

2. I also found on the display boards around the open ground at the School Hall Block that the titles of the Past Students' Society and the Chinese Drama Club are written in simplified Chinese characters. Words in Pinyin are also found in the Geography Society displays on the first floor of one of the teaching Blocks. (see photos of C1) As you know, Standard Chinese characters have long been used in Hong Kong. How do you like this kind of trend change in the Chinese language? Do students use two types of characters in their writings? What will be the role of Standard Chinese in these changes? Do you conform to these changes as part of modernity movements of China? What do you think of the role of school in these changes? Can you explain your answer in a little more details? (Cultural China, modern and traditional China) (School' s civic education program)

3. There is a literary game of word puzzle (歇後語) organized by the Chinese Society. Can you distinguish which regional cultural origins these literary cues base on? (see photo C3) Do you think that you have many things different from a Mainlander? What do you feel when people from the North say people of Hong Kong are the Southerners (南方人), i. e. Chinese from the South? Don' t you feel so? If so, why? What exactly is Chinese meant when you talk this to a Chinese friend

from the Mainland? Does school help clarify the notion of Chinese in this respect (Ethnic & Regional factor) (School' s civic education program)

4. I often saw students reading newspapers at the rest time in the campus. (field observation) What sorts of newspaper do you read? Do you get a habit of reading newspaper everyday? Which kinds of current news of China do you read? Please explain this with examples? Do you know how newspapers are distributed to students everyday? Do you think that school has done enough to encourage students to know more about China through newspaper reading? Please give a little bit more details. (China now in its local as well as global settings) (School' s civic education program)

5. There are some foreign priests living in school. (field observation) Suppose you meet one of them at the backyard in the campus and have a chat together about China and its people. What would you say to your western friend about what being Chinese means? Please illustrate your answer with examples. Do you think that school has taught you enough to make you feel competent or confident enough to explain this to a foreign friend? (inspiration of Prof. Byram, Interview-p.5) (Notion of Chinese-ness) (School' s civic education program)

6. When we say Chinese, we just only refer to the Han race. Do you agree to this? Do you think that it also includes other race groups (種族、少數民族)? Why or why not? Who are they? Please name some examples. Do you learn it from books or teachers? (Multi-ethnic China) (School' s civic education program)

7. Hong Kong is now part of China, which things you wish to learn to become more a Chinese? What sort of country you wish China to become? What would you like school to teach to help you better understand China? Please give specific examples. What would you say to people, for example, from Tibet (西藏), Xinjiang (新疆) and Taiwan (臺灣) who wish to de-link from China? (Greater China & cultural China & political China) (School' s civic education program)

Appendix Four: Excerpts from Field Notes/journals

1. An Excerpt: The field note dated 23 January, 2003

10:10am: I returned to the 'base' at the backyard and took a rest for a minute or two. The English teaching voice was again heard. At times, there were sounds from playing a tape with a tape recorder. A worker did daily cleaning work in the canteen and the backyard. It was the same middle-aged woman worker who did the cleaning job last day. When she came to my place, she spoke to me, "Here you are, again." "That is right. Good morning," I replied. She did not continue the conversation. She did her cleaning job with other tables at the backyard. From the backyard, I looked out and saw what events were taken on other school blocks. I saw a teacher talking to two students on the corridor near the general office, the main block. I noticed that the corridor was often used as the provisional meeting place for teachers to discuss daily operations and general routines with students or fellow teachers. Sometimes, they met with parents there.

10:15am: The bell rang. It was another lesson. Some student activities took place at the canteen and the backyard. I saw two boy students coming down to the backyard. They took a round table, not very far away from me. They first put down their books on the table and then went to the canteen to buy a drink. Next there came another four girl students. They stopped at a bench at the far end of the canteen near the library block and brought out their reading materials and some exercise books from their school bags. They got a seat and started discussion without wasting any time. Five minutes later, a girl student appeared and went to join the first group of boy students. She gave them one English newspaper of SCMP and one Chinese newspaper. I could immediately identify that the Chinese newspaper was Ming Pao when the boy student held it up. He fast read the headlines and at the same time chatted with the girl student. They only spent 10 minutes or so at the backyard and left. The group of four girls was still working hard on their study. I saw one girl student wrote on her notebook and the other three students seemingly discussed things with the textbook.

11:00am: I walked around and at last stopped in front of the School Prefects' notice board near the exit of the passageway, which cut across the library block to give a sort of a tunnel pass. On both sides of the tunnel walls, there were other students' notice boards, which I would come to them later. On the notice board of the School Prefects, (P/F/N/34)

there showed the route chart of how to become a student leader in school. The chart- exhibit was unfortunately not kept in its good conditions. The traces of wetting by rain were obvious. Some photos about their formal and informal group life were missing. Seemingly, it was done by strong winds. The wind had blown away one or two photos pinned on the board.

On the route chart, it read: In every November of the school year, there was a selection exercise for school prefects. Potential students were nominated by teachers to sit for a selection interview. In December, the results were announced and the students selected would receive certain trainings before they registered formally as a school prefect. In January, after training, they had a barbecue together which signified that they belonged to a big family of prefects and became close members and intimate fellows. All the seniors and the representatives of the school authorities, like the disciplinary master and his team members, attended that social gathering. Next, they would take an onsite practice beginning in the second half of the school year. In July when the long summer vacation began, there was a summer camp arranged for them. The camp was an occasion for student prefects to take a rest and more importantly to plan for the work of next academic year (Note: journeyed experience of communal building of elitist leadership). It would be a long journey to become a student leader and it was programmed. It was not easy for an ordinary student to be selected by the school and take up the leadership role and become a student leader. The hand picking process was serious and institutionalized by the school. Once they succeeded, they became part of the school administration and were honoured by the school and entrusted with the tough task of keeping the order and discipline for the school (Selection not election).

(P/F/N/35)

2. An Excerpt: The field journal dated 23 January, 2003 (Night)

Learning of democracy as a way of life in school: The School had instituted a democratic structure into student bodies. The practice of democracy was clearly an essential component of organizational ethos of the school. I saw a complete set of institutional design on democratic organizational practices in the Alumni Association of the school (p.32). The past students were believed to receive good education of democracy during their school years and made democracy a working organizational principle when they were given a chance to organize themselves within the school institution. I strongly believed that current students would have their student bodies democratically organized at the various levels in Pedro school. My knowledge about Hong Kong schools had substantiated my observation that most of the local schools would let their students to try some experience of democracy in managing themselves during their school years. I believed that Pedro school was no exception and the question was only the extent, i. e. how much and how well democracy was tried. Many schools were found eagerly to train students of democratic leadership through students' association activities. In some schools, democratic elements were also introduced in the traditional school prefect system, which was a student elite institution with members selected by the school authorities to assist in managing the school affairs. In Pedro School, school prefects were not generated by student election but by teacher selection (p.34-5). Student appointed needed to go through a long training process before they came to serve their fellow students. I did not know whether there was any internal democracy among the school prefects. I did not know if they could earn the respects from their fellow students with this kind of appointment exercise. Anyway, elitist leadership by democracy was surely a new option to the appointment system. It was particularly more important when we talked about autonomy and self-management. External appointment did not gain much the sense of belonging and commitment to the community. Authoritative and patriarchic governance, which would help jeopardize the individuality and autonomous self, would not be the only norm of school governance. The inscriptions of emotional expressions of individual students and student surnames on the House notice boards could partly reflect student discontents over the conservative management style and dwarfing of their identity by the school's imposition. (p.35)

(P/F/J/9)

Appendix Five: Excerpts from the interview

Excerpt 1: About China:

Student informant: Yvette; Tracy; Sara

Code	Date	Time	Duration	Place	Topics	Student
I/CH/1/	16Oct03 (Thu)	17:00-18:00	60min	1/F Hall Block	China	Y, T, S

訪： 希望同學逐個講，如果唔係，錄音會有啲麻煩，我主要係問，佢係學習入面，點解要畫支中國國旗，有無其他旗可以代替到呢？

Tracy： 我覺得，中國國旗就係五星旗。都可以畫隻雞表示，中國版圖似一隻雞。

Yvette： 國旗係個標誌，好似校徽咁，你無其他可以代替校徽，要就畫間學校出來。

訪： 你覺得同學學習國家嘅時候，佢會選擇用中國大陸國旗。係咪話代表國家就用呢支國旗？可唔可以再講多少少呢？你剛才好似講比喻，咁樣有無其他可以比喻呢？

Tracy： 有好多可以代表中國的。旗袍可以代表中國，外國遊客來到中國選民族服裝，都會著旗袍。

訪： 你哋都會有一個感覺，表示國家的時候，就會用五星旗。

Sara： 應該咁講，以五星旗為主。好似剛才比喻說旗袍，其實，可以講飲食、文化，都可以代表。但可能國旗比較重要些。

訪： 但你有無覺得，不用旗袍用國旗，有乜嘢唔同？你哋知唔知道國徽係點樣？

全部： 有啲麥穗圍住，中間都有 5 粒星。

訪： 裡面嗰 5 粒星，同學又知唔知道佢嘅意思呢？

全部： 都忘記咗，唔記得喇。

訪： 學校有教，還是你哋在外聽到？

全部： 學校有教。

Tracy： 不過不屬於考試範圍。(I/CH/1/2)

Excerpt 2: About Hong Kong

Student Informant: Yvette, Tracy, Sara, Wendy

Code	Date	Time	Duration	Place	Topics	Student
I/HK/1/	22Oct03 (Wed)	11:00-12:00	60 min	Canteen	Hong Kong	Y, T, S, W

訪： 你覺得香港係唔係你“鄉下”？

Tracy: 都覺得嘅，但有啲分別。

訪： 嘅覺得點？

Tracy： 我覺得香港唔係正宗我鄉下。因為我 daddy 係大陸落嚟，咁所以香港應該唔係我鄉下。但佢係我生長、長大嘅地方，好多嘢都係呢度發生。我始終覺得，“鄉下”呢樣嘢，應該係跟番上一代，例如，佢地係大陸落嚟，大陸應該係我鄉下，即我條根係嗰度。

訪： 頭先你講話出生地。我之前講過，係你爸爸媽媽佢哋嘅出生地，佢哋當係鄉下，無問題。但你哋係香港出世，頭先你講到根，應該你哋嘅根係香港。

Tracy： 我諗出生地嘅意思，係指祖先嗰一度，由祖先好耐落嚟嗰度。

訪： 好似我咁，我係客家人，咁客家人，好明確就係客家。當我填表，填籍貫時，我填廣東省某一地方。好似你咁講，近啲嘅祖先係廣東，但我都講唔出，我原初嘅鄉下係邊。你哋父母嗰代係大陸出世，你哋就係香港出世。所以我上次問，假若你哋結咗婚，有仔女嘅時候，而仔女又係香港出世。而你哋話你鄉下係指中國嘅鄉下。你啲仔女會當你哋話中國嘅鄉下，係佢哋鄉下？定或指你哋出生嘅地方，係佢哋鄉下呢？你點話俾佢知，佢鄉下係邊一度？

Sara： 帶佢哋番去囉！咁因為中國係以家族為單位，話俾佢知爺爺係邊度邊度。

訪： 咁我慘啦！講唔到自己原籍係邊一度。咁問番你係咪客家人，定係廣東人？

全部： 我哋係廣東人嚟架！

訪： 舉例，香港嘅原居民，好多都係以前搬落嚟，但當講到籍貫時，佢哋話係香港。

Tracy： 咁我哋都係搬落嚟，本身鄉下係大陸嗰度。

訪： 我哋會用乜嘢去講邊度係鄉下，土地、出生，祖先？

(I/HK/1/1)

Tracy： 一定係祖先。

訪： 你想唔想香港係你自己嘅鄉下呢？

Tracy： 我覺得，邊度係鄉下無咩所謂。因為鄉下嘅過去，而家生活先至嘅最重要。

訪： 同埋你有無感覺到，我哋成日講鄉下、故鄉時，呢個係指咩呀？係指鄉村？

全部： 係。

訪： 我哋講‘鄉下’，因為中國以農立國。英文講‘hometown’，‘hometown’係話城市，即係你自己個地方，好少用‘home village’。咁而家好奇怪，香港係一個城市，成日講鄉下，其實你哋所指，鄉下就唔可以係城市。

Wendy： 我覺得唔係囉！鄉下係唔可以等同話唔係城市，係指一個你祖先住嘅一個地方。講番香港，佢80年前係一條漁村，係類似鄉下嘅地區，佢有發展。或者佢哋鄉下係上海，而家上海係一個高科技城市。

訪： 即慣常用‘鄉下’個個字？

Wendy： 係！

訪： 問番‘鄉下’個個問題。你成日話你媽咪帶你番鄉下，你所指嘅鄉下，係咪媽咪嘅鄉下，定係你爸爸嘅鄉下，你當邊度係你個鄉下？

Wendy： 我爸爸媽媽都係同一個鄉下。

訪： 同樣隔離村，咁你簡單啲。

Yvette： 我填表，填我daddy個鄉下。

Wendy： 應該係填爸爸個個。

Tracy： 跟都跟阿爸姓啦！又唔係跟阿媽姓。

Wendy： 傳統嚟講係。我阿爸阿媽都係寶安縣，只不過係地方唔同，寶安縣係好大。

訪： 無錯，再仔細啲，其實有分別。

(I/HK/1/2)

Excerpt 3: About Taiwan

Student Informant: Yvette, Tracy, Sara, Wendy

Code	Date	Time	Duration	Place	Topics	Student
I/TA/1/	07Nov03 (Fri)	15:00-16:00	60 min	Canteen	Taiwan	Y, T, S, W

訪： 剛才，有同學話去睇風土人情，如果要你揀一樣，你會睇台灣乜嘢，去邊度，除咗去 shopping？

Tracy： 食嘢啦！

Sara： 我去買漫畫啦！因為我鍾意睇漫畫。

Tracy： 睇吓台灣作者嘅書。

Sara： 因為日本啲漫畫先去台灣，再嚟香港，咁我係台灣買，又平又快，18元一本，香港賣 28 元。

Tracy： 咁清楚！

Sara： 我原先想係暑假去嘅。

訪： 咁你變咗去台灣睇日本嘢？！

Sara： 所以我暑假時，轉咗去日本囉。

訪： 宜家係，你去台灣，鍾意睇台灣乜嘢？

Tracy： 台灣最出名係夜市，整條街都係，街頭好多特色。

Wendy： 街頭小食。

Tracy： 我鍾意行啲街，小食啲排晒出嚟，好多嘢賣。

訪： 但會唔會係，因為你哋睇到啲宣傳，鍾意啲嘢，咁會變咗旅遊心態囉。可能你都唔知風土人情會係點樣。

Sara： 完全唔知嘅時候，你就唔會想去啲個地方囉。你當然係睇過少少嘢，有啲嘢幾吸引，你先會諗想去。

(I/TA/1/16)

訪： 會唔會似係旅遊，有嘢玩、有嘢睇？

Tracy： 所以咪有嘢玩，先至去囉。

訪： 會唔會睇吓啲歷史古蹟？

Sara： 台灣啲歷史，我無乜興趣㗎。

全部： 讀歷史嘅人或者會有啲興趣嘅，我哋無乜興趣。

Sara： 台灣啲歷史，唔係好多嘢好睇㗎？

訪： 台灣都有歷史。仲有乜嘢呢？

Yvette： 台灣都有好多遊樂場。

訪： 有乜嘢遊樂場係出名嘅？

Tracy： 以前睇過有個水上樂園。

(ITA/1/17)

Excerpt 4: About nationalism/Democracy

Student Informant: Yvette, Tracy, Sara

Code	Date	Time	Duration	Place	Topics	Student
I/ND/2/	24Nov03 (Mon)	10:45-12:00	75 min	Canteen	Nat/Demo	Y, T, S

訪: O.K.。咁問選學生會啦。想問吓嗰個過程上高，你哋覺得點樣？有啲咩嘢感覺？開心呀，唔開心呀，諸如此類嘅嘢，公正唔公正呀？同埋係選學生會個概念係點樣樣？

Tracy: 可唔可以問多次啊？

Sara: 選完學生會之後個感覺？

訪: 唔係。要記住，你哋而家唔係答我嘅問題，而係你哋就住選學生會呢一段時間裡面，你哋自己有啲咩有啓發到？或者反思到，又或係自己感覺到。

Yvette: 我覺得，同啲同學相處，會睇到好多同學嘅性格，會比較清楚同深入啲囉。佢個人爲人係點，你會深入啲去睇到，每一個都係囉。

Tracy: 睇到佢做嘢嘅態度啊，或者做嘢嘅手法。

Yvette: 會了解佢多啲。

Sara: 唔會淨係話 friend 就 friend 咁樣。以前會覺得玩得埋就係。但係，你唔知道原來講起做嘢，就完全唔掂囉。

Yvette: 係喇，做嘢係...係囉...。做嘢，要識得分配或者溝通。學到另一樣嘢，溝通係好重要。

Sara: 我覺得十幾個人，睇落好似好多人，但係做嘢就得幾個人，

(I/ND/2/4)

真係邊度做得晒咁多嘢呀。但係如果你發現，真係俾廿個人你，你又都唔知點同佢哋溝通好，打電話都打晒啲時間。

Yvette: 係啊。同十幾個人一齊，已經都有啲困難囉。可能會係一堆堆咁，只係兩三個人係 friend。

Tracy: 有啲又小圈子囉。

Sara: 有啲話咁樣做，嗰個又話咁樣做。咁同一時間做起出嚟，結果有兩份嘢，人哋都唔知你想點樣。

Yvette: 即係十幾個人，已經有小圈子。已經...。

Sara: 係啊。

訪: 除咗係事務上，喺第二度方面呢？本身係咪有好多嘢？

Sara: 我覺得好煩啦。又要你有時候唸啲活動，嗰活動又要唸佢嘅可行性。

Yvette: 我覺得要有好多準備功夫囉，做啲宣傳單張呀，poster 呀。

Tracy: 其實佢做學生會個啲，最緊要都係個宣傳，會點樣去拉票。

訪: Sorry 啊，咁頭先你哋講個個例子，即人際間點樣相處，係點樣樣呢？因為你哋頭先都講得好 general，舉一啲實例呀？

Yvette: 有陣時，有啲事件啦，佢覺得咁樣咁樣做，但係另一個呢...。

訪: 舉例，係一個咩嘢事件？例如係選舉策略，或者係做某一個活動咁。

Yvette: 好似嗰張傳單咁啦。有啲人話用半張 A4 紙一張傳單；有啲人話四份一 A4 紙一張傳單；有啲又話摺埋；有啲話唔摺埋。好混亂，又好難有共識囉。同埋係，就算十幾個人，都好難可以一齊開會。咁呢，變咗有五六個人傾咗一款，另外嗰五六個又傾咗另一款，嗰份傳單，就出咗兩份唔同款嘅出嚟，咁點樣呢？

訪: 但相對於個內容呢，頭先所講嗰啲係大細，我唸就係小事者，反而，內容上高，有無意見唔同啊？要配合嘅係啲咩呢？

Sara: 都有架。因為可能係學生會裏面，選嗰陣時自己有 group 啦。有啲性格同，有啲性格唔同嘅，有啲鍾意無咩意見嘅。所以有陣時去定我哋有啲咩福利，有啲咩康樂，都係幾個人定晒，有啲人就照跟去做咁樣囉。變咗好似無咩溝通，得幾個人去決定晒所有嘢。

(I/ND/2/5)

Appendix Six: An excerpt from a class observation

It is the excerpt of the second class observation.

Class observation Two:

Date: 11 December 03 (Thursday)

Time: 10:45am to 11:30am

Duration: 45min

Place: D302

Class: F.5 (science group)

Size: About 40

(C/2/CN/4)

Subject: Chinese

Teacher: Mr. Teacher (T)

Topic: An ancient literary article: Paying a tribute to the historic battlefield

Objective: Appreciation of the literary work written by a great literary writer

Strategy and activities:

Teacher helped students to understand the article written in the old Chinese while explaining the historic significance and implications for the present time. Students were asked to recall history examples or contemporary events in order to learn the lessons from the article for the present day use.

Focus of observation:

The way students learned the Chinese literature and the lesson drawn from the literary article.

10:45am:

T: Let me first ask you about the main theme of the article as a revision?

Students:

T: Just short answer to my questions.

Students:

T: Can' t you?

Students: Yes, give answer to your questions.

T: Good. If no, we' ll lose face. We have guest with us today.

Laughs from students.

10:50am: Teacher read out a paragraph.

T: You all just attended the Physical Exercise. Cold outside? Chilled and deserted. A kind of mood like standing in the middle of the Battlefield? It was in the North and was in the winter time.

Students: Ha. Ha.

T: Do you remember what you learnt of the ancient history in Form I - the Western Han Dynasty? The Emperor led the army to fight against the enemy from the north.

Students: ...

T: The battlefield was cold and dry and windy. Frozen fingers. Skin was dried and torn.

Teacher read out the sentences.

T: War was no good. People suffered. My teacher told me his story in war. He

(C/2/CN/5)

joined the army and suffered a lot during the war. War was no good.

When Teacher stopped explaining, he asked students questions. When a name was called, that student stood up and answered the teacher's questions. They were very obedient and respectful. The teacher was the authority figure in class. It saw the tradition of Chinese learning culture, respectful teacher and obedient students. When teacher explained, students jotted down what the teacher said on the textbook. When students were asked questions, they stood up and answered. Strangely enough, they all gave right answers. The teacher used many historical stories to explain the meaning of the text. He even drew sketches on the blackboard to help clarify the points to students. The stories had the implications on how to look at the life of the ordinary people, from the ordinary people's perspective.

11:05am

T: Imagine what the war did on the soldiers?

S: (Andrea): Many died and injured. Some were surrendered.

Teacher read out another paragraph.

T: The author focused on those who injured and surrendered. War means bloodshed. Blood everywhere, flowing like streams. In Chinese history, it recorded so many devastations done by battles and wars. In late Ming, for example, disorders and fights, slaughters and bloodshed. People suffered a lot.

Students wrote down what Teacher explained.

Teacher read out another sentence.

T: What do we mean by 'the noble' in the article?

S (Beverly): The generals.

T: Thanks. What about the skulls and bones?

S (Duke): The soldiers.

T: Imagine what the soldiers felt and did when they lost the battle.

S (Jennifer): They were afraid that the enemy would kill them. Many fled and got some place to hide.

T: That is right. In the Sino-Japanese war, in the notorious Nanjing Slaughter, for example, the Japanese army would use the blade to pierce the dead body to see if

(C/2/CN/6)

there was any soldier pretending dead. The lived body dared not move despite pains. War is cruel and inhuman.

Students: It is terrible.

(C/2/CN/7)

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