

Hong Kong Civic Education Policy in the Political Transition Period: an Archaeological Understanding and a Genealogical Analysis

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Abstract

Hong Kong people never gained autonomy and they were the ruled. What the government intended to educate people always showed the way and the trend of the officials wanted to govern their citizens or subjects. Governmentality of education policy indicated the intentional reasons of making required citizens through schooling. Basically, the de-colonization showed that the policy of domestication was implemented during the Hong Kong transition period where the government patronized and empowered the Hong Kong people gradually through human rights adopted and political democratization from 1984 to 1997. The intentions were quite obvious presented in policy documents and responded to the historical contexts.

Keywords: governmentality, civic education, and de-colonization

Introduction: the Statement of the Problem

Historical factors help to analyze policy proposal or initiation of Civic Education in Hong Kong. From 1984 to 1997, fourteen years include the transition period from the British decolonization and the preparation of governing under 'one country two systems' formula by the People Republic of China. It is interesting to understand citizenship built and its education adopted for this kind of governmental administration.

This policy analysis describes and explains the Hong Kong government's preparations and intentions for our future citizens and masters. The textual concerns give the document presentation to be put on understanding. The other contextual concerns let the civic education policy be laid in historical situation for more plentiful explanation of policy analysis. This article can help to explain the civic education policy of Hong Kong in the preparation of power transfer.

If policy reflects the social and political orientation or re-orientation of Hong Kong citizens, this analysis wants to understand the reality of the government's educational project of engineering or re-engineering student minds. This study is the educational analysis related to the understanding of preparation and implementation of 'one country, two systems'.

Concepts of Citizenship and Education of Hong Kong

Citizenship as a concept is difficult to define. It is used to describe people or things that have an official or important status in a particular town or city, such as Hong Kong. Marshall provides that citizenship is a proper basis for the provision of welfare derives. He formulates three major institutions which constitute citizenship within modern states: the courts of justice of civil rights, the parliamentary system of political rights, and the educational system and welfare services of social rights.

Citizenship is the rights and duties of citizens to each other as members of a political body and to the government. It can also be the study of government with attention to the role of citizens in the operation and oversight of government. It is partly based on the study of democracy and on an exploration of national identity. Citizenship is the particular nationality that you have and the official status, rights and duties that you have because of it, or the fact that of belonging to a community because you stay in, and the things you are expected to do and the way you are expected to behave by the other people in it. How citizenship is seen and understood depends on the viewpoint of the person making the determination. It describes the relation between a person and an overall political entity. It is generally and signifies membership in Hong Kong.

It is generally characterized by some form of political participation, although the extent of such participation can vary considerably from minimal duties such as voting to active service in government. To be more radical and fundamental, people actively engage themselves of being global citizens and sharing the public sphere in the identified civil society.

If Civics as a school subject is the study of the theoretical and practical aspects of citizenship, its rights and duties, then it refers to educating the citizens within a given political entity. The historical factors of Hong Kong were quite special, in that Hong Kong was a British colony under the process of decolonization and had become the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China by the allowance of the Chinese constitution. The spirit and discourse of the policy that rule should be extended prosperity, stably and peacefully during these years of governance. However, the society is unrest where Hong Kong shows the international city so competitive and challengeable that human rights and democracy are the issues for people fighting for during the political transition.

Method: Archaeology and Genealogy

The history of the society and the education system is reinforced by changing conceptions of the contribution of education to the national interest. They are expressed in education acts and reports in Hong Kong. Where understandings have emerged, they are usually clouded by ideological controversy. The analysis is going to uncover the real situations. With referencing to research questions and to textual and contextual analysis, we intent to understand, explain what and why civic education to be implemented in Hong Kong.

Foucault presented a form of knowledge about the social world which was first and foremost self-referential. It was not directed towards reconstructing a world out there, but rather ultimately directed at revealing our own previously held assumptions. A series of debates on the rise of postmodern history have provoked, enraged and disrupted much that was taken as a methodological consensus. (Thacker, 1997, p.29) So a new conception of knowledge acquisition aimed at creating distance, revealing and threatening what was hitherto taken for grant. His conception of social structure speaks to a politics of pluralism and focuses upon the new social movement centering around sex, gender, race, age, ethnicity or national identity. Education in all forms is an appropriate focus for such analysis. (Olssen, Codd& O'Neill 2004, p.36) His historical writing relied upon what he called archaeological methods. Social life was seen as an amalgam of signs. The meaning of sign was arbitrary and depended on each sign being different from other signs currently in use. He explains that systems of thought and knowledge are governed by rules which operate in the consciousness of individual subjects and define a system of conceptual possibilities that determines the boundaries of thought in a given domain and period. The meaning of expressions depends on the conditions in which they emerge and exist within a field of discourse. The discursive meaning of an expression is reliant on the succession of statements that precede and follow it.

Genealogy is a historical technique in which one questions the commonly understood emergence of various philosophical and social beliefs by attempting to account for the scope, breadth or totality of ideology within the time period in question, as opposed to focusing on a singular or dominant ideology. The concepts of genealogy by Foucault put forward an anti-essentialist position. The meaning of objects or practices varies according to the context in which they arise.

Making use the concept of power, he conceives of power as intertwined with knowledge. Knowledge is not neutral to power, nor is it simply self-emancipatory. Foucault poses disciplinary questions of power. Power in neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists in action. (Foucault 1976 in Dirks et al 1994, p.208)The definition of genealogy is concerned with the insurrection of subjugated knowledges. Genealogy aims to utilize the perspectival interests of the historian in the present. It is to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of the knowledge tactically today. (Thacker, 1997 p.36)

Policy historiography relates to the substantive issues of policy at particular hegemonic moments and seeks to trace the processes of educational change and to expose the possible relationships between the socio-educational present and the socio-educational past. (Olssen, Codd& O'Neill 2004,p.57)In conclusion, the historical study can become effective because it is able to exercise a perpetual vigilance and skepticism toward the claims of various philosophies to prescribe the meaning of history. It is the history of implementing school civic education under the years of political transition in Hong Kong where archaeology helps to explain the textuality of policy documents and genealogy intents to clarify the contextuality of policy process.

Contents of Study

Generally speaking, the Hong Kong Chinese were perceived as politically aloof and apathetic. They were described as economic men rather than social men. Confucianism of Chinese encouraged submissive attitudes towards authority and the British Hong Kong Government adopted paternalistic views of governance. Hong Kong people could enjoyed a hybrid Chinese and political culture. (Lo 2001, p.129) Even social welfares in a certain extend were provided in the 1970s. People appreciated the relative rights and freedoms which they had under the British where civil liberties were not existed. (Lo 2001, p.132) However, without political rights, citizenship was weak for most of the colonial period in Hong Kong.

Under the context of Sino-British Joint Declaration signed, the British Hong Kong Government initiated their decolonization project with different aspects. The civic education policy of Hong Kong underwent continuous changes during political transition. It was because the policy makers intended to implement their soul engineering projects at different context. In order to have clearer understanding and interpretation of this issues, the paper extents to an archaeological understanding and a genealogical analysis. At one hand, we have the analysis of knowledge of content of which civic education was included. On the other hand, we want to know about the contextual change which might make the transformation of education policy.

Initializing step as the Guidelines on School Civic Education in 1985

Despite British reservations about Chinese rule, the two states signed the Joint Declaration in 1984 where Hong Kong was determined to handover from Britain to China in July 1997. The Hong Kong's society was basically described as bureaucratic hegemony and executive led governance. However, the British initiated its project of Hong Kong de-colonization in a certain extent that empowered Hong Kong people some rights. Valid school knowledge was substantially influenced by the impending transfer of sovereignty and the resulting crisis of legitimacy. (Morris & Morris 2002, p.50) The colonizer, if you believed it was, helped the colonized to equip with the taking over of sovereignty by the Communist China.

The Hong Kong government initiated the political reform with application of the concept of representative government. The Green Paper of *the Further Development of Representative Government in Hong Kong* was issued by the Hong Kong Government in July 1984. After two months merely, the *White Paper* was confirmed that Hong Kong initiated its political election with Hong Kong people equipped with a very limited extent of political rights. The Legislative Council, Urban Council and many district Boards were introduced with elective elements. Hong Kong people could generally use their votes to elect their leaders to represent Hong Kong. But these parliamentary political reform contained many members who are either indirectly elected or officially appointed. The democratic compositions were actually limited and quite dominated by the British Hong Kong Government. The target was to introduce elements of democracy and to empower political participation. Even through its political power was quite bounded. It could help to fill the British bargaining chips during negotiation about Hong Kong people's future.

The Joint Declaration was declared in September and signed in December 1984. During and after the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed, it outlined the process by which Hong Kong would be handed over to the Chinese in 1997. Under this agreement, China pledged to establish a 'one country, two systems' approach. Hong Kong started to experience its political transition. Suddenly, the Hong Kong government was found suffering from not educate the youth to be voters for this political system reformation. Citizenship education was called for preparing and teaching our future's citizens to be rational. The *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* was issued by the Curriculum Development Committee of the Education Department in August 1985.

The realization that Hong Kong would hand over to Chinese sovereignty affected the curriculum. The first sentence of the "foreword" stated that the 1984 White Paper on the *Further Development of Representative Government* in Hong Kong recognized the need for the public to be educated more effectively to cope with the implications arising from proposals for developing the local system of government and noted the role which the Education Department would pursue in promoting civic education through the school curriculum. (cited in Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.i) The need to develop political and civic awareness among pupils was spelled out. (Morris & Morris 2002, p.50) However, the guidelines caused disappointment. Public expected that an independent and compulsory subject should be required in order to enhance, strengthen and promote students' political education to cope with their future when China's ruling over Hong Kong. It should differ with the 1950s' implementation of Civics which was an examination oriented subject at primary and secondary levels.

The Education Department confirmed the interdisciplinary approach only. The guidelines included a framework for teaching civic education, specifying the civic education should be merged into the widest possible programme of interdisciplinary or integrated studies. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.25) This form of curriculum orientation should require that existing subjects should broaden their goals to achieve the educational aims. Teachers of social subjects would continue to play a central role in the school's civic education programme but teachers in other areas of experiences should be aware of the social and political dimensions and incorporate these in their teaching. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.25) This approach could be supplemented by extra-curricular activities which could give practical expression through community services projects to classroom concepts. It was recognized that the hidden curriculum should be a potent influence on pupils' development. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.i) The government did not intend to adopt civic education as an independent school subject obviously. Teachers were demanded to integrate elements of citizenship education into their existing school subjects. Unfortunately, the pragmatic examination oriented Hong Kong education system made it be unlikely dedicated to citizenship education. It was because education examination in Hong Kong was highly selective and competitive.

It was accepted that here was a special need in Hong Kong's social and political development for schools to give their commitment to the preservation of social order and the promotion of civic awareness and responsibility. The Guidelines repeated to foster the capacity for assuming a responsible role in society and to be that schools had a duty to develop pupil's understanding of the community. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.1) The *Guidelines* reflected the strongly held view that civic education was everybody's responsibility. It should not be treated as just another subject. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.4) The guidelines strategy expected output was citizens of the future, possessing expected knowledge, skills and attitudes. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.5) The proposed general aims of civic education in schools were to promote a grow understanding of the nature and working our community-based instruction and organizations and appreciation of the values, disposition and principles which were characteristic of a democracy community and to develop the social and political skills necessary for a rational appraisal of the basic issues which affect the life of the community and to encourage the formulation of opinions and judgments rooted in a respect for reason and individual autonomy. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.10) The guidelines also stated that many of the statements made and views expressed were conflicting interpretations. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.6) The political education versus political indoctrination was explained by the guidelines as well. The guidelines stated:

The nature of politics is interpreted in different ways by different people at different times. ... There is no point in trying to distinguish civic education from political education since civic education must essentially be political in nature. ... Democracy means different things to different people. ... There are many brands of democracy in political arena – some pluralistic, some centralist. ... Civic education with the promotion of social responsibility as its main aim becomes a method of political socialization. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, pp.7-9)

Politics and democracy were the most prominent. Based on this explanation, the meaning of democracy was ambiguous. "Education for democracy should be should be introduced solely as an intellectual, academic exercise in conceptual analysis." (Tsang 1998, p.245) It only revealed the government's dismissive attitude towards education for democracy. (Tsang 1998, p.245) Those curriculum contents were judged to be political correct to be taught by schools. Hong Kong was a center of ideological debate. The government avoided antagonizing China and maintaining Hong Kong's stability. Since the guidelines were written at the very beginning of the Sino-British Agreement, a tone of harmonious relationship and emphasis on stability and prosperity was used.

Basically, the guidelines did not put the China factor as a prominent role. It was seldom mentioned. Of course it was an inevitable item so that basic understanding of the growth and development of China, China's cultures, physical environment and human activities and Hong Kong's link with China were mentioned at upper primary level. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, p.19) The history of China, its geographical setting and culture heritage, awareness of political and economic development, and cultural, political and economic link with China was the contents of Civic Education at secondary level in Hong Kong. (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, pp.30& 36) The educational authority ensured minimal disruption prior to 1997 by revising the content of school curricula to encourage students to understand and appreciate Chinese cultures and the opening up policy of Chinese recent development.

The huge counter balancing contents were related to the Hong Kong government, the citizen rights, freedom and responsibilities (Curriculum Development Committee 1985, pp.17-21 & 26-41) which played the prominent role in the adopted contents of required citizenship education in Hong Kong. The contents of Chinese History, as it was an independent subject in Hong Kong, should avoid promoting Chinese nationalism. The Hong Kong history was remote from the historical context of Hong Kong people experienced which might direct to Hong Kong's self-determination. Students were discouraged from identification with their vernacular cultures.

Citizenship education had actually been marginalized in the school curriculum for two decades. It was reappeared in the midst of political turmoil. Civic Education had its focal position at exactly the time when the 1997 handover came true to be inevitable fact (Tsang 1998, p.222) and the political reform was proceeding. The situation confirmed "the discourse concerning school knowledge as socially constructed reality and reflected the modes of social control" and "socio-political configurations prevailing" (Tsang 1998, p.222) in Hong Kong. The guidelines suggested that schools should make use of every learning opportunity to promote civic education. As a matter of fact, the Hong Kong government did not respond wholeheartedly to the initiative by the introduction the guidelines for Civic Education proposing the inculcation of responsible Hong Kong citizens. The school subjects were so a-national and a-political in nature that these did not foster teacher with the opportunity to provide political and democratic citizenship education easily. Leung said that the emphasis of civic education was neither on the development of democratic individuality why might urge for further democratization nor on the development of national identity which might further atrophy for the declining authority of the British rule. (Leung 1995, p.292)

The phenomenon was easily seen that the article 96(1) of Education Regulations which was revised in 1986 still kept in stating that:

If in the opinion of the Director the behavior of any pupil is undesirable or improper or contrary to the good of the school or the other pupils, or if any pupil participates in processions, propaganda or political activities or in any dispute between an employer and his employees or in any disorderly assembly, he may, in his absolute discretion, require the supervisor and principal to expel such pupil from the school or to suspend him for such time and under such conditions as the director may specify.

The other article 98 was about political propaganda and symbols at schools.

- (1) No instruction, education, entertainment, recreation or propaganda or activity of any kind which, in the opinion of the Director, is in any way of a political or partly political nature and prejudicial to the public interest or the welfare of the pupils or of education generally or contrary to the approved syllabus, shall be permitted upon any school premises or upon the occasion of any school activity.
- (2) No salutes, songs, dances, slogans, uniform, flags, documents or symbols which, in the opinion of the Director, are in any way of a political or party political nature shall be used, displayed or worn, as the case may be, upon any school premises or upon the occasion of any school activity except with the permission of the Director and in accordance with such conditions as he may see fit to impose.

The matters were about prohibiting schools from exercising political activities at that moment. It was the fact that politics was still not welcoming behaviors in Hong Kong. Prohibiting political education in Hong Kong was originated from the policy of preventing the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party from using Hong Kong's schools as arenas of conflict. Unfortunately, it was still an existing education policy in the early transition stage in Hong Kong history. Policy kept on the preservation of the status quo. Education regulations forbade teachers to talk about politics until 1990.

The 1987 Review of Developments in Representative Government was published in May 1987. It caused Hong Kong people into controversy whether the direct election of Legislative Councilors should be introduced in 1988. The greatest alignment was the Joint Committee on the Promotion of Democratic Government. They demanded an active role in governance. Its target was to strive for direct election for the 1988 Legislative Council. Hong Kong people's participation was quite limited. The democratic movement was weak and the power of civil society was obviously immature and not strong enough to enforce the British Hong Kong government to adopt the 1988 direct election. So, the White Paper entitled *the Development of Representative Government: the way forward* was issue in February 1988. It carried out minimal measures for enhancing democracy. The result was direct elections postponed until 1991 and the government was conservative and cautious in generating political participation.

The proposal indicated the government intended to maintain the status quo. The attitude towards citizenship education was in congruence with the stance concerning political reform in Hong Kong. Even so, the introduction of more citizenship education was inevitable at that moment. The government enacted a range of administrative reforms by more localization and enhancing the consultation process. Hong Kong people started to talk with their human rights and politics. Many issues were so political that the social movement in Hong Kong started to mobilize more freedom for rights and expression.

The introduction of Government and Public Affairs in the school subjects by reforming Economic and Public Affairs was done in 1987 which became a requirement for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination in 1989. In the section Government and the People, detailed expositions on topics such as right of citizens and representative government were found. (Tsang 1998, p.246) The contents of fundamental rights and obligations of citizens included civil rights, political rights and obligations. About representative government and elections, the curriculum drew into meaning and characteristics of representative government, meaning and role of elections, accountability of government, direct and indirect elections and their relative merits, comparing liberal democratic which was the model for western advanced countries and democratic centralism which was the model for communist governments, and the development of representative government in Hong Kong. (Hong Kong Examination Authority 1987, p.202)

The long neglected essential aspects of citizenship were incorporated obviously. They were citizens as political actors and citizens' political inputs. (Tsang 1998, p.246) The social citizenship was adopted as public policy instead of the administrative outputs and patronage granted by the government. Pedagogy was changed as well and a reflective and participatory approach was adopted. The study of China was introduced as well. There were topics of relationship between Hong Kong and China, political institutions of the People's Republic of China, and recent developments in China and the impact on Hong Kong. (Hong Kong Examination Authority 1987, p.202)

Entering into a decolonized period, the school curriculum resulted in politicization. This was the first time that these contents could be included in curriculum in Hong Kong. A wide range of concepts and principles could be discussed in classrooms, such as the Sino-British Agreement, the "one country, two systems" and the state institutions of the People Republic of China. Basically, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment were undergone changes as the switching on the project of decolonization. However, civic education still would not be the subject taken to be examined or independently taught.

Finalizing Last Tango as the Second Guidelines on Civic Education in 1996

Hong Kong people's attitudes towards the Chinese Communist Party were not favorable. In defiance of China, two mass rallies were held in the support of democratic movement of Beijing's students in May 1989, in which one million of Hongkongese took to the streets. People's Liberation Army tanks rolled into *Tiananmen* Square in June 1989, crushing a student-led democracy demonstration. But after the 1989 *Tiananmen* tragedy, the British Hong Kong government regained some public trust while the Chinese government suffered seriously a vital loss of confidence after the 4th June event in 1989. On the other hand, it sparked the formation and rearrangement of political parties in Hong Kong. The struggles of education were conducive to an inherent conflict between the bureaucratic orientation of the authorities and dramatic social change.

At first, Governor David Wilson (1986-1992) was convinced that any major attempt to empower Hong Kong people would provoke conflict with China. (Lo 2001, p.134) He shied away from the issue of further political reform in his October 1989 Policy Address. China adopted the Basic Law in April 1990, a legal document that outlined the structure of Hong Kong government in future. A secret agreement was reached with the People Republic of China on the pace and scope of political reform in Hong Kong. The democratization process would be accelerated under this agreement. The originally planned 10 seats to be directly elected in the Legislative Council could be increased to 18. On the other hand, the British Hong Kong government produced the Hong Kong Bills of Rights in 1990 and passed in 1991. It transposed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and superseded conflicting laws in Hong Kong to protect human rights. The issue of the handover Hong Kong from British to China actually radicalized the political scenery of Hong Kong. Citizenship education could proceed itself.

After the student movement in *Beijing's Tiananmen Square* crackdown, the Hong Kong Government adjusted its education policy. The education regulations' concerning political control was amended in 1990. The abolition of education regulations against teaching politics could be treated as a sign of democratization. Citizenship education enhanced by a number of measures including revision of History syllabus at different levels and the introduction of new subject Liberal Studies which included the controversial contents of Hong Kong Studies and China's Today. The structure of the Economic and Public Affairs syllabus was reconstructed in 1992. There was the section of the individual as a citizen. The institution approach was replaced by the role approach where the subject was presented as outcomes of activities and roles performed by consumers, producers and citizens. It was a central position that the actors should own the rights and obligations. The most detailed exposition of citizenship rights was presented ever. (Tsang 1998, p.247)

Citizenship should be put into implementation. Before its departure, Britain did try to introduce more democracy to Hong Kong. In 1992, with the arrival of new governor, and the last, Chris Patten, British officials attempted to introduce more democratic reforms in the territory. In 1995, direct elections were held for 20 of the 60 seats in the Legislative Council. And the nine new seats of the Functional Constituencies were allowed all working labours to elect their representatives which were classified as the changed phase of direct election. To understand this participative citizenship, Lo carried studies and the results told that the number of voters was drastically increased under Patten's political reforms. (Lo 2001, p.136) The number of votes in the District Boards election increased 42.6% with figures from 393,932 in 1991 to 561,943 in 1994 and in Urban and Regional councils elections increased 63.5% with figures from 423,923 in 1991 to 693,233 in 1995. The votes of Legislative Council election increased from 772,385 in 1991 to 1,355,989 with 75.5% net increases. (Lo 2001, p.138) Patten reduced the voting age from 21 to 18. Many student become voters suddenly. Schools were inevitably required to introduce more citizenship education for these political elections. Chinese officials would have no choice but eventually disband this legislature, setting up its own lawmaking body in 1997.

School education in Hong Kong: a Statement of Aims was published in September 1993. Aim (12) Social, political and civic awareness stated that schools should help students to become aware of Hong Kong as a society; to develop a sense of civic duty, responsibility to the family and service to the community; and to exercise tolerance in interacting with others. This should include the constitutional changes accompanying the transition from British Hong Kong to the Special Administrative Region of China. Education of political awareness would involve not just an understanding of Hong Kong's system of government, but also a willingness to make full use of the opportunities for democratic participation.

Following with the Education aims, rewriting the civic education guidelines was recommended and the ad hoc working team was formed in March 1995. Political parties formed in Hong Kong split along pro-Beijing and pro-democracy lines during this period. Opinion about the basic principle of Civic Education was controversial as well, followed ideologies of their political orientations. Following the 4th June event, civic education was advocated by pro-*Beijing* groups as a means of diluting counter-Chinese sentiments in Hong Kong. As moving was closer to 1997, changes should become more obvious. In 1995, it was observable by the Documents Collects of the Sixth Whole Conference of the Preliminary Working Committee of Preparing the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. The Appendix 8 Opinion about the basic principle of Civic Education was drafted by the Culture Working Group Report of the Secretary of the Preliminary Working Committee of Preparing the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The reported stated that the main target of Civic Education was to mould students with state national consciousness, social responsibility, respect for and obey the Law, equipped with moral ethic notion and personal integrity, recognition of the state and the community and the national citizens of occupying ability in participating with state and social affairs. It aimed to nurture the required characters of safeguarding social institution and social order. Thus, this kind of Civic Education was the main task to construct social order, stabilize national people, nurture the state and society required talent.

They actually criticized at the earlier time in 1994 that civic education had been under-emphasized in Hong Kong. The report by the Preliminary Work Committee recommended the formation of the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong that the content of civic education at the first priority should be the state concept and national consciousness. To combine with the study of state history and Geography, Civics would help to introduce the concept of state, and to have sense of attribution and glorious of a Chinese.

The second one would be the knowledge of the Basic Law which would be the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy. Teaching independence would not be allowable, such as Taiwan and Tibet issues. The document agreed the Special Administrative Region could make civic education as an independent school subject. They adopted the nationalistic and patriotic approaches as Hong Kong citizenship education. They considered civic education to be the most appropriate subject to strengthen the sense of belonging to China and national identity. Students were assumed their knowledge about China quite limited and confidence in the future lacked. It was contradictory that there was an indigenous culture and a strong sense of Hong Kong identity. Requests for more national or patriotic education were made, mixed with anti-colonial sentiments. They emphasized to help students to understand China, the "one country, two systems" strategy and to cultivate a sense of belonging of China and pride in being Chinese as the state project of nation building. These were antagonism with strong emotions of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. (Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.109)

On the other hand, the British Hong Kong government made civic education by organizing Hong Kong community. The ad hoc working group actually "accommodated different interpretation of civic education and bypassed the debates and disputes about orientation and the struggle for priorities of civic education." They were appointed to draft new Civic Education Guidelines which was expected to transit across 1997. (Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.107) The whole venture was political enough that the drafting process enhanced the possibility of public participation. Publics were informed of the progress and had opportunity to put forth their view so as to influence the direction of the Guidelines. (cited in Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.108) The corporatist strategy was adopted in the drafting process of guidelines. It triggered heated debate on nationalistic and patriotic education against democratic and human rights protected education. The second guidelines on Civic Education was issued and consulted in 1996. This product was inevitably a document of compromise. (Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.112) The foreword of the guidelines expressed that it was prepared for Hong Kong to be the Special Administrative Region of People's Republic of China. Schools should have the mission to equip young people which could help them become contributing citizens to society, the nation and the world and meeting challenges of the twenty-first century. (Curriculum Development Council 1996, p.i)

The Introduction chapter of the guidelines gave the ideas that there should be a special need for schools to strengthen civic education with the resumption of the exercise of sovereignty by China over Hong Kong 1997. The document could be got with a view to preparing students to become rational, active and responsible citizens in facing challenges arising from the changes. (Curriculum Development Council 1996, p.1) The new strategies adopted in the second guidelines were the sections of Reflection and Action. It highlighted only by internationalization and practice that civic education could be made meaningful. (Curriculum Development Council 1996, p.i)

It was the learner's perspective which made the student as a civic learner. (Curriculum Development Council 1996, p.1) Students were expected to experience a change in civic attitudes, to participate actively in civic affairs and to be ready to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens. (Curriculum Development Council 1996, p.1) It was recognized in the first guidelines in 1985 that schools had implemented civic education.

The aims and Objectives of civic education in the second guidelines specially told the responsibility of developing not only the basic political knowledge, but the skills, attitudes and competence necessary for students to observe their civic rights and responsibilities, and to become rational and responsible citizens. The aim could help students understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law. It also could develop in student critical thinking dispositions and problem solving skill and analyze social and political issues objectively. (Curriculum Development Council 1996, p.2) The key concepts and values recommended were given in Table 1. This curricular reality could provoke teachers and students to consider what should be the ideal individual, citizen and society. Pedagogy was optimal methods of conveying and appreciating these concepts and values. (Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.101)

Table 1: Concepts and Values Recommended by the Guidelines in 1996

Universal Core Concepts and Values: Individual		
Sanctity of Life	Human dignity	Liberty
Truth	Rationality	Affectivity
Aesthetics	Creativity	Individuality
	Courage	
Universal Core Concepts and Values: Social		
Equality	Freedom	Justice
Benevolence	Common Good	Betterment of Human Kind
	Mutuality	
Sustaining Concepts and Values: Individual		
Self Reflection	Self Cultivation	Self Determination
Self Regulation	Principled Morality	Openness
	Well-being	
Sustaining Concepts and Values: Social		
Plurality	Common will	Equal Opportunities
Due Process of Law	Patriotism	Culture & Civilization Heritage
	Tolerance	Human Rights & Responsibilities

The guidelines described the curriculum in terms of knowledge, generic skills, values and attitudes. Students' reflection, action beliefs and competencies should be cultivated and nurtured. There was the emphasis on patriotism, national identity and Chinese values other than human rights and obligations. The guidelines would be agreed as an eclectic treatment of multiple aims of civic education. (Tse 2007, p.163) It was the conceptual framework underlined a complementary view of collectivism and individualism with the multi-locality contexts extending from self to global community. Actually, Civic Education represented either a tautology or an oxymoron (Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.101) in Hong Kong. As schools had their autonomy, the guidelines could not be compulsory to be adopted as school curriculum. It was comprehensive enough that school might use the guidelines as the references to design their own curriculum for school based teaching.

However, the debates did not stop. It was a real document for reference, comparison and criticism. The relatively rational conclusion was made by the Professional Teachers' Union to say that the guidelines' conceptual framework was comprehensive and clear. It could emphasis on Chinese History without falling into narrow nationalism and affirm patriotism but emphasis critical thinking as well. (Lee & Sweeting 2001, p.113)

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper explores the government's civic education policy in Hong Kong. The Sino-British Joint Declaration resulted in concerns and calls for the strengthening of civic education. However, the first guidelines of civic education revealed the government dared not to implement political rights education in 1985 when the Sino-British Joint Declaration was just signed. Hereafter, the civic education was actually implemented with different paths. This was a vehicle for promoting Chinese identity with the focus on one country. The discussion of politics became more acceptable components of education. Active citizenry could ensure Hong Kong's separate identity.

The transition period was long from 1984 to 1997. It did not like "those states which emerged from the break-up of the Soviet Empire" or from the withdrawal of the colonial powers. (Morris et al. 2000, p.244) "Hong Kong did not emerge as an independent state." (Morris et al. 2000, p.244) No independence movement occurred. Hong Kong people began to take an interest in political issues during these years. The so-called decolonization process was implemented merely through empowering human rights and ideology. The conception of promoted citizenship education established its legitimacy and maintained stability. (Morris et al. 2000, p.244) The last moment of the political reforms introduced by Patten were "a belated attempt to promote a more democratic political system and a greater degree of citizen participation." (Morris et al. 2000, p.244) Hong Kong people have no problem being culturally Chinese, but because of their history, many of them see themselves as Hong Kong Chinese first, differentiated from mainland Chinese. National identity was a highly sensitive agenda in Hong Kong. The change in civic education policy indicated the spectrum of politics. Hong Kong matters not only because it is a vital driveshaft of the global economy, transmitting the raw power of China's manufacturing capability into a worldwide system for distributing consumer goods.

The city matters because it is a unique experiment that will probably succeed but could possibly fail. It should help to the creation of a free, international city within China. Educational and curriculum reforms before 1997 served a primarily symbolic function rather than intending to produce actual change. Civic education was essentially advisory and optional statements of policy intentions. (Morris & Morris 2002, p.21)

On 1 July 1997, [sovereignty of Hong Kong was transferred](#) to the [People's Republic of China](#). The [Basic Law of Hong Kong](#) is its quasi-constitutional document which the framework of a political system is dominated. Hong Kong became a [Special Administrative Region](#) of the People Republic of China with a high degree of autonomy in all matters except foreign affairs and defense. But its policy was changed and ebbed gradually. Economic and political crisis in the aftermath of 1997, cultural conservatism, ideological nationalism and political patriotism were introduced as official hegemony by the ruling to show loyalty to the Chinese government. The officials played these key roles in creating national identity in Hong Kong. The curricula for school subjects have been revised in order to encourage pupils to understand and appreciate their Chinese cultural heritage and the workings of economic and political system of the People's Republic of China. However, it was not an easy task but always causes controversy in Hong Kong after 1997 to now.

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