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**CULTIVATING IDENTITIES AND DIFFERENCES
A CASE STUDY OF
THE HONG KONG JUNIOR SECONDARY ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC
AFFAIRS CURRICULUM**

LAW YUEN FUN MURIEL

MPHIL

LINGNAN UNIVERSITY

2006

CULTIVATING IDENTITIES AND DIFFERENCES
A CASE STUDY OF
THE HONG KONG JUNIOR SECONDARY ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC
AFFAIRS CURRICULUM

by
LAW Yuen Fun Muriel

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy

Lingnan University

2006

ABSTRACT

Cultivating Identities and Differences
A Case Study of
the Hong Kong Junior Secondary Economic and Public Affairs
Curriculum

by

LAW Yuen Fun Muriel

Master of Philosophy

This thesis studies the junior secondary EPA curriculum and the complex cultural process of teaching and learning of the curriculum. It draws on theoretical frameworks developed in the field of cultural studies and critical pedagogy, particularly works by Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall, Lawrence Grossberg and Paulo Freire. It investigates how the EPA curricular texts attempt to produce the identity characteristic of "rational, sensitive and active citizens" in contemporary Hong Kong through constructing differences that negate the Other. Through analyzing classroom discursive practices, the thesis examines how the curricular knowledge "interpellates" teachers into subject position to talk about the "rational, sensitive and active citizens".

The curriculum is a vast textual world where different and even competing ideological imperatives and discourses coexist and circulate. This thesis argues that teachers' discourses about the EPA curriculum and their classroom discursive practices have contributed to the creation of tensions and contradictions within the curriculum discourse. Such tensions and contradictions, coming from teachers' beliefs and the cultural resources they possess, may delimit the regulatory effect of the curriculum discourse. As a result, the regulatory power of the curriculum discourse on "suturing" subject positions that form identities of "citizens" is subject to negotiation, and critical pedagogies have a role to play to open up dialogues among the subject positions made available in the curriculum.

I declare that this is an original work based primarily on my own research and I warrant that all citations of previous research, published or unpublished, have been duly acknowledged.

(Law Yuen Fun Muriel)

Date: 19 October 2006

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

CULTIVATING IDENTITIES AND DIFFERENCES
A CASE STUDY OF
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AFFAIRS CURRICULUM

by

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Master of Philosophy

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Acknowledgements

I would like to express my grateful thanks to Dr. Hui Po-keung for his incisive comments, unfailing patience and gentle encouragement, which helped keep me on track. I am grateful to Shu Man for his special help and technical assistance which came whenever needed. I am greatly indebted to the teacher participants for their support in the research study. The research study would not have been possible without their participation at the inconvenient time of the semester. I also want to thank teachers and fellow postgraduate students at the Cultural Studies Department for creating an environment conducive to alternative educational practices.

Chapter 1

Curriculum, Identity and Discourse

This research deals with a local school curriculum, the junior secondary Economic and Public Affairs Curriculum (thereafter EPA) for students aged 12-14. The secondary school subject, EPA, consists of a junior curriculum and a senior teaching syllabus that is identical in content with an examination syllabus for S4-5 students as it is the case with many other school certificate subjects at the senior level. The S4-5 EPA is an elective subject leading to the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination by the end of the five-year secondary school course. The junior secondary EPA curriculum has been in the secondary school curriculum for more than five decades with its origin back to the subject Civics introduced in 1950. The basic structure of both the junior and the senior syllabuses and the topics in the current EPA curriculum resembled those of *the 1969 Suggested Civics Syllabus for Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools*. Since its incorporation into the common core curriculum in 1975, the (S1-3) EPA syllabus has had two major revisions in 1984 and 1997 in the course of 30 years. The 1997 version of the *Syllabus for EPA (S1-3)* (hereafter, *the 1997 Syllabus*) has been in use since then. The official S1-3 EPA curriculum runs on the theme *Individual and His/Her Society* and has the specific aims to "produce rational, sensitive and active citizens".

Literature Review

Since the 1980s, there has been concern for the cultivation of citizenship in the wake of a series of political events in Hong Kong, like the introduction of the new indirect election to the Legislative Council, which had always been composed of appointed members. In 1985, people were envisioning a direct election in 1997; the 1984 signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1989 June Fourth Movement in China. From then on, the EPA curriculum and its antecedent began to attract attention of study in the realm of citizenship educationⁱ in response to the call. The literature on the analysis of the EPA curriculum remains a small one, containing a few postgraduate research papers, journal articles and book chapters.

Lee (1999) discusses the development and implementation of civic education in Hong Kong following the two guidelines on civic education issued by the local government in 1986 and 1996 and the EPA curriculum is one of the civic-related subjects under investigation. Among other investigations, Wong (1981, 1983), Choi (1997) and Tse (2000) adopt the framework of political culture from a scholarly work in 1963ⁱⁱ to refer to the norms, beliefs and values within a political system which distinguish "subject", "parochial" and "participatory" political cultures with reference to their orientations towards input, output, system and process (Tse 2000). The objects of investigation in these researches include the analysis of the EPA syllabus contents between 1940s and 1980s (Wong 1981, 1983), content analysis of EPA textbook materials in the transitional period of Hong Kong from 1980s to 1990s and interview data from serving teachers of the curriculum (Choi 1997). Tse also

analyses the curricular objectives, scope and content of the official syllabus, as well as conducts content and textual analysis of textbook representation of the citizenship image (Tse 2000). Lee (1999) utilizes interview data from school teachers and performs content and textual analysis of textbook themes. Yet, the practices of the EPA classroom teachers are largely missing in all the aforementioned works.

These research results sketch a similar picture of citizenship education in Hong Kong offered through the formal EPA curriculum at junior secondary school level. Lee (1999) concludes his investigation with these remarks: "Civic education was rather depoliticized in nature" and "civic-related subjects addressed the structure of the government with not much discussion about politics" (Lee 1999:316). According to Lee, Hong Kong youngsters were weak in both national and international identities as there were no provisions for such discussions. Wong's (1981, 1983) historical investigation of the EPA syllabuses charts the evolution of a particular kind of "participatory citizen" who have knowledge of the economic affairs, competitive but conformative in characters in the specific post-war colonial Hong Kong context where local curriculum development had both local and political considerations and pressure from both inside and outside Hong Kong. Wong argues that the colonial government plays a role in providing for the special kind of "participatory" citizenship education through the EPA curriculum as a way to gain support from the people of Hong Kong.

Choi's study (1997) investigates the relations between political development

and curriculum in Hong Kong through textbook analysis. He reveals that the writing style in textbooks shows "the avoidance of affective and evaluative orientations". The content of textbooks demonstrates a high degree of "indifference" towards the political system, inputs, outputs and self as a political actor" and contributes to an "apathetic" type of political culture (1997:64, 66). The political culture described in the EPA textbooks does not reflect the actual change in political culture in the transitional period: "Considering the changes of political culture in Hong Kong, most of the local studies support that the people of Hong Kong demonstrate a shift from subject towards participant political culture in the past decade. Though the general public is mostly political inactive, they are not political apathetic" (1997:70).

As far as citizenship education is concerned, Tse (2000) criticizes the structure of the S1-3 and the senior syllabus as having "small coverage and narrow focus of political topics", "lack[ing] a logical theoretical framework in Social Science to give it a coherent structure" and "was more like a kind of personal and social education, rather than for participatory citizenship or political literacy", with special reference to democratic education. (2000:97). He argues that both EPA textbook contents and the official syllabus "pointed to a rather partial, passive and parochial conception of citizenship" (Tse 200:107). As for the EPA curriculum, Tse continues, it is not specially designed for civic education nor does it cover all aspects required for civic education. "What was transmitted to the students was still a kind of a-political culture detached from politics in the society" (Tse 2000:108). While the ideological critique of the curriculum in terms of the coverage and

the components of the curriculum is useful, Tse's (2000) criticism of the transmission of political culture could be criticized as a one-sided process. Politics, in Tse's view, is power from the top down in the form of state politics. It dismisses the productive dimensions of power of individuals who are "vehicles of power" capable of holding, seeking, circulating and exercising power in active participation in politics (Foucault 1980:98). In a similar fashion, the productive power of teachers in negotiating with the curriculum is also missing.

The critique on the inadequacy of the EPA curriculum in provision for discussions of the participatory citizenship for democratic education is well taken. Some accounts of textbook representation and teachers' responses to the curriculum still hold true today e.g. the portrayal of the government as "social problem solver" (Choi 1997:81), being "helpful and beneficial to the community" (Tse 2000:104), and teachers' notion of "students being too young" to have interest in this and that topic (Choi 1997:86-88). I will return to these and some other criticisms of the EPA curriculum in subsequent chapters dealing with classroom discursive practices. While the studies reviewed try to reveal how the curriculum goals and the textbook materials contribute to (or not to) the formation of citizenship, teachers' autonomy and negotiations with the curricular texts and their ideological perspectives on education, knowledge and the actual interaction with students are largely missing. The aforementioned studies do little to understand how classroom practices and the cultural processes of meaning-making, (re)production and circulation in school and in the wider society inform or disinform teachers'

chosen pedagogy and its effects.

This project attempts to scrutinize the EPA curriculum and its actual teaching and learning, from the cultural studies perspectives, in order to analyze to what extent and in what sense the nurturing of a "rational, sensitive and active citizen", the stated objective of the EPA curriculum, is taken shaped. Through examining the beliefs and attitudes of the EPA subject teachers towards the official curricular texts, this thesis tries to understand the contemporary relations of power in the EPA classrooms and reveals the complexities of the teaching and learning processes in its specific and general contexts.

Research Interest and Questions

My interest in, and concern for, the S1-3 EPA curriculum has arisen from my experiences in teaching the curriculum for more than ten years in a secondary school. Being a frontline teacher before engaging in the present full-time research study, I had been involved in teaching the Secondary 1 to 3 EPA curriculum, writing teaching schedules, revising and supplementing textbook materials for classroom uses. Across years, I witnessed changes in the curriculum contents, the teaching methods advocated in the curriculum and the way textbooks translate issues and knowledge of the outside world into the schooling processes as well as the switch from the Chinese medium of instruction to the English medium for the subject EPA in the school I once served.

After having some basic understanding of the cultural studies perspective from a part-time Master of Arts programme in intercultural studies, I began to look at the topics in the EPA curriculum from different lights. The teaching of identities or citizenship and the way Hong Kong history is being talked about in the textbooks and the curriculum become my concern. Cultural studies perspective of looking at culture as the ordinary way of life has problematized the taken-for-granted textbook discourse about the local history of Hong Kong – before, during and after British colonization from the grand narrative written from the perspectives of China or Britain. With regard to the teaching of identity of the Hong Kong people, the essentialized view of identity as given in the official documents is limiting and monolithic. I began to rethink possible alternative perspectives and pedagogical strategies through looking at our own history and identity in postcolonial Hong Kong. This initial concern about identity in relations to curriculum discourses has inspired this research project.

This research study begins with two questions:

1. How do teachers of the S1-3 EPA curriculum understand the EPA curriculum? What modes of teaching have the teachers adopted?
2. What pedagogical effects do the various pedagogies have on students' understanding of differences and identities?

Value of the Research and Thesis Statement

In the field of critical education studies locally and overseas, there are indeed many researches on how teachers and students as active classroom

participants contest or resist the official curriculum discourses (Comber and Simpson 2001; Bloome 2005; Luk and Lin 2006; Lin et al. in press). However, locally, no research to date has drawn on these theoretical resources to research into the cultural processes of the teaching and learning of the Hong Kong EPA curriculum to understand the issues of identities and differences and the complex power relationships in the EPA classrooms. Similarly, only few cultural studies projects in Hong Kong, if any, have chosen secondary schooling processes as their research focus. This thesis attempts to help fill in this gap, and aims at situating the study of the EPA curriculum and pedagogical processes in the field of Hong Kong cultural studies.

Through analyzing classroom discursive practices, I examine how the curricular knowledge "interpellates" teachers into position to talk about the "rational, sensitive and active citizens" through negating and excluding their "constitutive" other. The research argues that teachers' discourses about the EPA curriculum and some of their classroom discursive practices show that the curriculum is a vast textual world where different and even competing ideological imperatives and discourses coexist and circulate. The tensions and contradictions within the curriculum discourse coming from teachers' beliefs and the cultural resources they possess may delimit the regulatory effect of the curriculum discourse. The regulatory power of the curriculum discourse on "suturing" subject positions that form identities of "citizens" is subject to negotiation. Pedagogies, therefore, have a role to play to open up dialogues between teachers/students and the subject positions made available in the curriculum.

The thesis attempts to contribute to the field of cultural studies in two aspects. First, with the teachers' beliefs and attitudes, their classroom discursive practices and the actual teaching and learning processes as its subject matter, this study focuses on the pedagogical effects on the understanding of identities and difference under a school curriculum framework. In so doing, it brings education back into the center of cultural studies. This is particularly meaningful to the field of Hong Kong cultural studies in which the issues of representation in popular culture and cityscape have been the primary, if not exclusive, center of attention. Second, in terms of research method, this project employs ethnographical methods such as classroom observations and teacher interviews/focus groups to analyse the processes of producing and circulating meanings in the classroom contexts. As such, it helps diversify the well-developed textual analysis methods that have predominated the field of Hong Kong cultural studies.

Research Design, Methods and Data Collection

Qualitative data from teacher interviews and lessons observations form the core of the present investigation. The teacher interview phase began in late June 2005 and it was followed by an eleven-week lesson observation from late September to late November 2005. Five teacher participants, through invitation at different phases, took part in the research project. All five of them joined the teacher interviews and the lesson observations, except one whose school stopped offering the S1-3 EPA curriculum to give curriculum time for a new school-based curriculum.

The teacher participants were selected on the basis of their diverse backgrounds. Selection criteria include the academic standards of the students they teach, the medium of instruction they use in the EPA classrooms, their teaching experiences and level of engagement with the teaching of the junior EPA syllabus at their serving schools. These participants were my former colleagues, colleagues of my college of education course-mate and a course-mate at the present tertiary institution that I am studying at. They have taught for at least ten years at the secondary school sector and some hold senior posts at school. They received different disciplinary training and have different experiences in teaching the S1-3 EPA curriculum but most of them "minor in teaching" EPAⁱⁱⁱ.

All interviews were conducted in Cantonese with semi-structured open-ended questions. Most of the interviews were conducted during term time and took place in the participants' school campuses after lesson observations. For the interviews conducted during the summer 2005, we met at a university campus. One interview was done in late November through telephone. All participants were informed about the purposes of interview and the questions to be discussed in the interview sessions in advance. The aim was to orientate the participants and help them define the interview situation. Confidentiality is maintained through the use of fictional names for all participants and the schools.

The purposes of the teacher interviews were two-fold. The first concerned

the use of the S1-3 EPA curriculum. Participating teachers were invited to comment on the goals of the EPA curriculum, the structure and content of the official teaching syllabus and to share views on the pedagogies they adopted (or not adopted). The second purpose of the teacher interviews was to solicit their views on learning materials related to the theme of "social conflict" in the curriculum. The data collected were utilized to examine teachers' conceptions of controversial issues.

To facilitate discussion in the teacher interviews during late June 2005, selected textbook materials concerning the teaching of identities and identity-related issues were first examined and then were used as the facilitating texts in the discussion. A teacher focus group of three members from two schools was initially formed and met twice between June and July 2005, to discuss the selected materials. Two of them, teachers W and C, from school A, stayed with the lesson observation part of this research, and the other one, teacher H, dropped out as the subject EPA in his school was replaced by a new school-based subject a year ago. Discussion about teaching and pedagogical concerns went on after lesson observations. For the purpose of broadening the contextual studies of the teaching and learning of EPA, two other teacher participants, teachers P and D, from school B were invited to join the study project in late September 2005 for both teacher interviews and lesson observations.

The lesson observation phase began shortly after the academic year 2005-2006 began. My major concern with lesson observations is on the

actual teaching and learning processes. As a researcher, I took a non-evaluative, non-participating position in the classroom observations, observing teachers and students, scribbling notes in my field journal, rather than asking questions, making comments or offering feedback in the classrooms. Teachers W and C in school A were visited twice between late September and early October 2005. Two lessons were observed from each teacher. School visits and lesson observations to school A stopped upon the request of the two teachers who found that the overall teaching progress was lacking behind and would not deem possible to accommodate more class visits. Teachers P and D in school B were visited five times between late September and late November 2005. While the first visit was for me to introduce the study and to brief the participants on the research methods, the focus of the lesson observations and the teacher interviews, the other four school visits were for lesson observations, post-lesson discussions to solicit teachers' views on the official goals of the EPA curriculum, the structure and content of the official teaching syllabus and the pedagogies they adopted (or not adopted). Four lessons were observed from each teacher.

While the lesson observation period was set between late September and late November 2005, the topics and the lessons to be observed came from the teacher participants' suggestions. As the subtopics 'Identity of Hong Kong citizens', which was the initial concern that inspired this research study, was the first topics to be done in the first semester of the Secondary One EPA syllabus, I managed to observe one lesson from teachers C, W and D on the "Rights and Duties of Hong Kong Citizens", with their own emphasis and use

of materials. The analysis of the classroom discursive practices in the subsequent chapters was contextually defined as such. Each classroom discursive practice was specifically defined in the specific classrooms and the specific choice of teaching materials from the teachers and the input from both the teacher and the students.

The Sites

Permissions were granted to access the two sites by their respective school principals. School A is an English medium school located in east New Territories, while school B is a Chinese medium school in north New Territories. Both schools have been established for 20 years or more. All lessons observed and teacher interviews in school A were videotaped and audiotaped respectively. For school B, the school principal was concerned about the copyright issue of the school and suggested that the research study would better be done at a low profile at a "private" level between the researcher and the individual staff members. The researcher could conduct school visit, class observations and teacher interviews, but video-/audio-recording of those activities would deem inappropriate. All school B lesson observations and teacher interviews within the school campus were recorded in pen and paper. To ensure the validity of the data collected from school B, the lesson observations and teacher interviews recorded in the field logs were translated into English and sent back to the participants for cross-checking.

Data collected from the teacher interviews were analyzed to look into the frontline teachers' discourses about the EPA curriculum. We shall see later

that teacher participants have different conceptions of the curriculum goals and value, as well as the mode of teaching and learning. Classroom discursive practices, together with the texts in use in the lessons, were contextually analyzed to understand the ideological conventions behind them. The purpose is to situate the specific forms of curricular knowledge circulating in the classroom both in the past and present to examine "why and how particular aspects of the collective culture are presented in school as objective, factual knowledge" (Apple 2004:12-14). It aims to problematize the educational knowledge by asking where knowledge comes from, whose knowledge it is, what social groups it supports.

Identity, Difference and Discourse

"Identity" has been a central theme in the S1-3 EPA curriculum as the curriculum runs on the theme *Individual and His/Her Society*. One of the learning objectives of the EPA curriculum is to enable students "to understand the *identity as a Chinese citizen as well as a resident of Hong Kong* and have developed a proper attitude towards citizenship" (my emphasis CDC 1997:19). This thesis tries to explore the concept of "identity" that the EPA curriculum used in producing students as "rational, sensitive and active" citizens and to investigate the subject positions made available in the curricular knowledge for teachers to talk about such kinds of identities. In this section, I will outline the discussion of Hall's theory of discursive construction of identity and the relations between identity and difference to lay the groundwork for discussing "identity" in the EPA curriculum in the subsequent chapters.

Hall (1996) has argued that identity is a discursive construction. Identities are "constructed within, not outside, discourse" (1996:4). For Hall, our sense of unity and continuity must acquire over time through language and culture.

I use 'identity' to refer to the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us ... Identities are, as it were, the positions which the subject is obliged to take up while always 'knowing' ... that they are representations, that representation is always constructed across a 'lack', across a division, from the place of the Other, and thus can never be adequate – identical – to the subject processes which are invested in them. The notion that an effective suturing of the subject to a subject-position requires, not only that the subject is 'hailed', but that the subject invests in the position, means that suturing has to be thought of as an *articulation*, rather than a one-sided process, and that in turn places *identification*, if not identities, firmly on the theoretical agenda.

(original emphasis, Hall 1996:6)

Hall's theorization of "identity" as a discursive construction points out a number of features about the identity project. It is a project about the identification that works on an individual's sense of self. The process is an active one where the individual invests in the subject positions that made available in the discursive practices for the individual to take up. The individual categorizes and attributes meaning to the self and the other through articulation. Articulation, as Hall explains, is "the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions" (original emphasis 1986:141). Such a form of connection, Hall contends, is by no

means necessary as in the case of an articulated lorry where the front part is coupled with its back. "The two parts are connected to each other, but through a specific linkage, that can be broken" (1986:141).

The principle at work is the notion of difference as the questions of identity are issues of self/other relationship constructed across a 'lack' from the place of the Other". Hall (1997) reminds that "difference" "is both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of language and culture, for social identities and a subjective sense of the self as a sexed subject" (1997:238). With the S1-3 EPA curriculum, we shall see later how the notion of difference is employed in the official curriculum goals and the issue-based inquiry approach to define the identity of citizens of Hong Kong in relations to China and among Hong Kong people themselves. Hall's view of identity as a discursive construction is not an essentialist but a "strategic and positional one" as it accepts that

identities are never unified and ... increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions (1996:4)

We shall see in the subsequent chapters what the EPA curriculum attempts to do is otherwise, that is to construct essentialist identity.

The EPA curriculum as a Discourse and a Textual World

In this research project, I conceptualize the EPA curriculum at two levels, the discursive level and the intertextual level. At the discursive level, the

curriculum in and by itself is a set of plans with ideas, information and activities determined in advance for implementation in the classroom where teachers and students give meaning to the objects of study laid out in the curricular knowledge to understand the world. The EPA curriculum and the textbook materials set parameters for the teaching and learning of concepts and ideas of subject knowledge in classroom and the wider school settings (Goodson and Marsh 1996). Such parameters are discursive in nature. The curricular knowledge provides ways of talking about who we are (in "Identity of Hong Kong Citizens"), the history of Hong Kong (in "The Development of Hong Kong"), the government (in "The Importance of a Government") and the society of Hong Kong (in terms of "needs, services and problems") (CDC 1997:15), to name just a few, through "cluster[s] of ideas, images and practices" (Hall 1997:6). The real world acquires meaning through discourses, through particular curricular knowledge selected and privileged for particular topics. As Britzman argues,

every curriculum, as a form of discourse, intones particular orientations, values, and interests, and constructs visions of authority, power, and knowledge. The selected knowledge of any curriculum represents not only things to know, but a view of knowledge that implicitly defines the knower's capacities as it legitimates the persons who deem that knowledge important (2003:39).

To understand the discursive nature of the EPA curriculum is, therefore, to understand the EPA curriculum as a form of discourse in and by itself that "intones particular orientations, values, and interests, and constructs visions of authority, power and knowledge". In a sense, the EPA curriculum

structures the way the lesson and the teaching that teachers have to take in the classroom. It creates the condition for teachers to talk about the selected knowledge from certain subject positions within the discourses circulating in the curriculum and in the classroom.

Yet, the regulatory power of curriculum discourse and its constraints and impacts on the teachers are partial. Marsh and Willis (2003) contend in their book, *Curriculum: Alternative Approaches, Ongoing Issues*, that "the curriculum is not a single thing" (2003:2). Beginning with this basic assumption, Marsh and Willis argue that the curriculum is better understood as "a composite of what is intended for the classroom (the planned curriculum), of what happens in the classroom (the enacted curriculum) and of how what happens in the classroom influences individuals (the experienced curriculum)" (2003:iii). In this sense, Marsh and Willis go on, curriculum questions concerning "how planning takes place for education intended to enrich the lives of students, how those plans are translated into practical classroom realities, and how those realities are experienced at the deepest person levels" render no easy answers (2003:iii). The concerns of these curriculum questions would be as multiple and changing as the nature of curriculum in relations to classroom realities. It is not the intention of this research paper to go into the debate about the complexity of the nature of curriculum, but Marsh and Willis' reminder invites us to situate curriculum work in classroom space, taking into account the dynamics between curricular knowledge and teachers and students within classroom realities.

This is how I situate the analysis of the teaching and learning of the junior secondary EPA curriculum in this research project to discern teachers' conceptions of the curriculum and how their conceptions inform their pedagogical practices. For the purpose of this research study, I adopt a working definition of curriculum from Marsh and Willis that subsumes the terms "syllabus" and "course of studies", and these terms will be used interchangeably referring to "an interrelated set of plans and experiences that a student undertakes under the guidance of the school" (2003:13). It places both the teacher and his/her classroom practices in the centre with the assumptions that the teacher has certain autonomy and authority in curriculum planning and implementation, that classroom realities are constituted of social relations between teachers and students, as well as students and students, and that students' realities need to be factors of consideration in the planning and implementation processes.

At the intertextual level, teachers of the EPA curriculum are the actual readers and users of the syllabus. They are engaged in the reading process to select how the curricular texts are to be read and used and what meanings to extract or screen out for their EPA classrooms, as well as whether supplementary texts from other areas of life e.g. the media, the lived experience of the students or the teachers are to be used. The vast number of topics in the curriculum, ranging from matters political like the sovereignty of HKSAR and rights and duties of citizens to things economic like the media and government's role in the HK economy to things social like juvenile delinquency and the media, did pose challenges for me back then when I was

a classroom teacher. The teacher participants of this research project did express difficulties with teaching some topics as we shall see in chapter 5. They, however, "make tactical journeys and crossings" in the EPA textual field, in Couldry's words (2000:73). What matters to the textbook authors and the curriculum developers may not receive equal attention from the teachers. In this sense, teachers of the EPA curriculum are co-producers of the curriculum with their own cultural resources. The curriculum means different things to them and the different meanings of the curriculum suggest to us the way the EPA lessons are to be conducted in the classroom.

To conceive the (S1-3) EPA curriculum discourse as a vast textual world implies that multiple, and even conflicting, discourses can coexist. The ways teachers of the curriculum negotiate with the curricular texts and the way they implement them in their classroom reflect what cultural resources they possess, how their curricular goals differ from the curriculum developers and what institutional logics of the schooling process is like. By cultural resources, I refer to language, reading conventions and experiences that the teachers use to make sense of the world and the curricular texts and give meaning to their students' cognitive ability and experiences. These cultural resources would equip teachers to read and understand the subject positions and to inform or shape the ideological effects on the teachers themselves and on their students. In revealing teacher's cultural resources and in describing the curriculum discursive conditions, I attempt to focus on how teachers' pedagogies open up dialogues with, or impose the subject positions made available in the curriculum to attribute meanings to, the Other in the discursive

construction of identity. The project aims to understand the processes going on in categorizing identities and to reveal how the notion difference is at work as a principle in constructing identities in the S1-3 EPA curricular knowledge. While it is clear to me that curriculum work does not concern only the teaching and learning issues, this research will focus on EPA teachers' views towards the subject and how their views inform their classroom practices.

What Comes Next

In chapter 2, I will examine how the concept of difference is at work in designing the official curriculum goals and the pedagogical design of issue-based inquiry mode of learning advocated in the official document. With the discussion of a textbook exercise produced by a commercial publisher, I reveal the teachers' conceptualization of "difference" that governs the way they discussed the textbook case. The chapter also reveals how the frontline teachers of EPA view the curriculum goals and contents. In chapters 3 and 4, curricular texts used in the EPA teachers' classroom and the teachers' discursive practices are analyzed to reveal how curricular texts construct identities through differences and how difference is practiced and regulated in the classroom. Chapter 3 draws on teacher D's (from school B) discourse of history and teacher C's (from school A) lesson on pre-colonial history of Hong Kong to address the question of the teaching of "history" of Hong Kong in the EPA curriculum to establish Hong Kong people's identity as Chinese national. Chapter 4 concerns the issues about "good citizens" and "conflict of interest". The "issue-based" model of inquiry approach employed in teachers C and W's lessons is further problematized. Chapter 5 examines

the contextual backgrounds that give rise to classroom discursive practices of individual teachers. It discusses the complex relations between the institutional constraints and logic, on the one hand, and teachers' choice of mode of teaching and the way they handle the curricular text, on the other. Through examining how teacher D, one of the participants, engages in a dialogic pedagogy in her S1 EPA classroom, I discuss how such dialogic pedagogy opens up dialogues with the subject positions made available in the curriculum and/or being brought into the classroom by the students.

Chapter 2

The EPA Curriculum Discourses: Matters of Perspectives

Five teachers of the S1-3 EPA curriculum, teachers W, C, P, D and H, were interviewed to understand their actual use of the EPA syllabus and their views on textbook materials about social conflict. The interview phase began with the teacher focus group formed by teachers H, W and C. The composition of the pilot teacher focus group was deliberated on the diverse backgrounds of the participants in terms of the schools they teach, the medium of instruction they use, their teaching experiences and level of engagement with the teaching of the EPA syllabus at their serving schools. During the summer of 2005, then followed by the interviews with teachers D and P from late September 2005 to late November 2005. All of them, except teacher H, took part in an eleven-week classroom observation, coupled with informal interviews conducted during the post-observation discussions from late September to late November. While the time frame for class observation was set by me, the classes and the lessons to be observed were suggested by the teachers who found it appropriate for my visits.

These five teachers have taught for ten years or more at the secondary school sector and some of them hold senior posts at school. They received different disciplinary trainings and have different experiences teaching the S1-3 EPA curriculum. Teachers W and C teach at the same aided^{iv} co-ed^v

EMI^{vi} school (thereafter school A) in east New Territories. The school has been established for 21 years and has adopted the EMI policy since 1998. W teaches EPA for more than ten years. He is the chairperson of the EPA subject panel and also teaches Economics at senior secondary level. C teaches S1 EPA for about seven years and teaches S2 EPA for the first time in the academic year 2005-06. She has been responsible for teaching English Language at senior secondary level for more than ten years. Teachers P and D teach at the same aided co-ed CMI school (thereafter school B) in north New Territories. The school has been established for 20 years. Currently, it is planning to adopt EMI for its senior secondary students in the coming one or two years. P teaches EPA for about five years and is mainly responsible for teaching English Language at senior secondary level for about ten years. D teaches EPA for five years and "majors in teaching"^{vii} History subject proper at senior secondary level for around ten years. Teacher H teaches at another CMI Boys' school in east Kowloon. He headed the S1-3 EPA subject panel for three years before the subject was replaced by a new school-based curriculum, Liberal Studies, which H suggested has borrowed a lot of the topics from the EPA syllabus. For this reason, H took part only in the teacher interviews between June and July 2005 without joining the lesson observation in September 2005. H majors in teaching Computer Studies at senior secondary level for more than ten years.

In this chapter, I attempt to answer the question: How do teachers of the S1-3 EPA curriculum understand the EPA curriculum? Through examining the official curriculum goals and the rationale behind the issue-based inquiry

learning endorsed by the official syllabus, I examine how the notion of "difference" is at work in "intoning" the official EPA curriculum with particular problem-solution orientations, values and interests, and constructs visions of disciplinary government. Then, drawing on selected pieces of learning materials from a commercially published textbook, I reveal the ways these EPA teachers conceptualize controversial issues used in the S1-3 EPA curriculum in Hong Kong. In so doing, I lay bear the tensions and contradictions inside the individual teachers' discourses that come from the ideological perspectives and cultural resources they invest in the curriculum.

The EPA Curriculum That is Not One

Each teacher participant has their own experiences with the EPA curriculum and with their students, and they attach different values to the curriculum. Teacher P, informed by her experiences with her senior students in the English classroom, would like the junior secondary EPA curriculum and the EPA classroom to provide grounds for civic and moral education to build the moral character of students at the junior secondary level.

P: ... There should be more case studies of moral issues in S1 EPA lessons so long as S1 students are still willing to express opinions at their age. It is hard to get the senior students to talk. I recalled discussing Nicholas Tse's drink-driving case^{viii} in a Secondary Four English classroom. Some students commented that it was no big deal having someone else to claim the responsibility of the car accident as long as there was no injury. They did not see that it was wrong to pervert the course of justice.

(my translation 21 October 2005 teacher interview)

She does not entrust the textbook materials for doing the job, though. Her

colleague D shares similar criticisms about the EPA textbook. We shall see later that she and D are relying on some news reading exercises to do the job.

D knows that the official EPA curriculum aims at educating law-abiding people, but thinks that it fails to do so. She sees the problem in the following way:

D: ... It [the EPA chapter on "Identity"] clarifies for the S1 students their identities as well as those of the ethnic groups as Hong Kong citizens but the perspective offered in the textbook is limited to official documents. (my translation 29 September 2005 teacher interview)

... I can see that the EPA curriculum tries to educate students to be people who understand the society and who are law-abiding. It tries to convince them [the students] to respect others etc. ... The curriculum definitely cannot achieve its official objectives [of producing rational, sensitive and active citizens], or else I won't be bothered by the mischief of S1 students, as you [the researcher] can see from the EPA lessons.

(my translation 29 November 2005 telephone interview)

She sees the EPA classroom useful for developing analytical thinking alongside with History subject proper, which she is mainly responsible for teaching. Both P and D view the EPA curriculum from the need of the students and find that both the EPA curriculum and the textbook materials not so reliable for practical advice to meet students' real needs.

C sees her task with the teaching of EPA in helping students master the texts in English. For her, the EPA curriculum provides texts for the study of the English language and the society.

C: I treat it [the subject EPA] as texts for teaching English terms, mainly

teaching English language. ... I feel that ... within the whole academic year, I really feel that I'm teaching the English language (laughing). But students would give me some positive feedback in S1 English lessons [sic: C refers to the same S1 students to whom she also teaches English language]. Once the term SAR^{ix} came up in an English lesson, they immediate said that they learnt the word in the EPA lesson. They would respond like that. (pausing for a while) Yeah. I feel I owe the subject, treating it as English lessons.

(my translation 24 June 2005 teacher interview)

C enacts the EPA curriculum the way she does with the English curriculum. Her concerns are to take care of the gist of the content matters laid out in the textbook and teaching syllabus, as well as to ensure students' understanding of the subject matters (13 July 2005 teacher interview).

W, with the experiences of editing a Chinese EPA textbook series, sees the EPA curriculum as providing students with basic knowledge about the Hong Kong society for further inquiry at the senior level. He believes in the use of controversial issues in the EPA classroom. Yet, "history" in the EPA curriculum is not meaningful to the students, he thinks.

W: ...These issues [political events] do not matter much to them [the students]. What is the significance of events like 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and 1997 sovereignty handover to us, Hong Kong people of year 2005? Students cannot relate to these events.

... So, sometimes, I find historical and factual stuff like the government structure, the four developmental stages of Hong Kong economy not meaningful for the students at this moment in time. But when they grow older and get more mature, they will know the 150 years of development of Hong Kong before the handover.

(my translation 24 June 2005 teacher interview)

For H, EPA supplies factual information for students to understand the economic and public affairs of HK, which forms the basis for students to inquire into the society in a critical way.

H: I can see that the subject content of EPA aims clearly at the economic and public affairs of Hong Kong. It covers topics like the government structure and its functions. I have no problem with that. (my translation 24 June 2005 teacher interview)

... If you ask me, topics about the economic and public affairs of HK are something indispensable in the curriculum. This is what [the subject] EPA is made up of. Students have to know these e.g. students get to know the three or four franchised bus companies, the areas each of them serve. Then some controversies can be put into it. Why the franchised buses can pull their stops somewhere while the private coach cannot? These are controversial issues and they are everywhere around us. ... So, I'll say, students need to know the basic information. What follows is critical inquiry. (my translation 13 July 2005 teacher interview)

As Marsh and Willis (2003) have reminded us, the curriculum is not a single thing. The teachers' comments on the EPA curriculum come from their experiences with implementing the curriculum in the classroom, their assumption of what counts as knowledge and their views toward their students' cognitive ability and social realities.

The Marking of Difference

In this section, I examine the official curriculum goals and the rationale behind the issue-based inquiry model of teaching endorsed by the curriculum. I argue that the official EPA curriculum intones a strong ethical orientation that constructs a vision of disciplinary governance. The curriculum works to define citizens of Hong Kong in relations to China and among Hong Kong

people themselves through constructing differences in which Hong Kong is the other defined in relations to China by negativity. The identity characteristic of "rational, sensitive and active" citizens in contemporary Hong Kong is defined across points of difference from within the people of Hong Kong and its relations with China.

From 1970s to date, the Curriculum Development Council of Hong Kong has issued three S1-3 EPA syllabuses in 1975, 1984 and 1997, denoting the curriculum aims, content and guide for the subject. The 1997 official syllabus (thereafter CDC 1997) has been in use up to date. Since the 1975 interim syllabus, the EPA curriculum has always been aiming at achieving the general aim of education of "produc[ing] rational, sensitive and active citizens". The 1997 syllabus regurgitates the stated aim by situating EPA in context, arguing that "[a] person's rationality, sensitivity and sense of responsibility are meaningless unless when viewed in the context of his/her activities in relation to other people in society. Economic and Public Affairs provides intellectual training especially related to his/her existence in that context" (CDC 1997:6).

The social, economic, political and cultural context of Hong Kong that lays out the "rationale" behind the aims of the EPA curriculum is described in length in the official syllabus. From there, we can see how the curriculum marks the identities of Hong Kong in relational terms to other cities in the world, China and within Hong Kong:

Social consideration

Like other metropolitan cities, Hong Kong is not immune to *social*

problems. ...it is necessary to have a proper sense of *social awareness* and *value judgement*. ... should aim at the provision of a *positive attitude* towards life and a *sense of responsibility* for one's role in the *family and community*. ... [students] would hopefully develop a *sense of concern* for the *community* in which they live and a *respect* for other people.

Economic consideration

... Hong Kong Special Administrative Region has grown into an industrial, commercial and financial centre of the world. ... to equip students with good general knowledge, and the ability to *think logically* and to *make rational decisions*, in order to *become* useful and *responsible* residents of Hong Kong.

Political consideration

In recent years, people enjoy greater freedom, more rights, and in return, they are expected to assume greater *public responsibility* than before ... to help students develop *social and civic awareness*, a *sense of civic responsibility*, and the power of *analytical thinking* and making *rational judgement* ... *political and social awareness* and acquire greater *understanding of China* through both the formal and informal curricula.

Cultural consideration

For historical and practical reasons, Hong Kong is very much influenced by Western culture; but ... maintains a very strong *Chinese culture* because large majority of its population is Chinese ... students should be helped to develop an *appreciation of the Chinese culture*, *respect* for all peoples and their different cultures, and *acceptance of the differences* in values and ways of life.

(my emphasis, CDC 1997:9-10)

With this "rationale" behind, the official curriculum aims of EPA are characteristic of a number of features. The curriculum gives Hong Kong the image of a metropolitan city which is susceptible to social problems. The city of Hong Kong is defined in relations to other "metropolitan cities" and economic centres across the global. Hong Kong is susceptible to "social

problems" all the same as the other metropolitan cities, despite its humble background as a special administrative region. The idea that "people enjoy greater freedom, more rights and, in return, they are expected to assume greater public responsibility than before" seems to suggest that people of Hong Kong are not only responsible for the problems in the city but are held responsible for them. It gives the junior secondary EPA curriculum a particular ethical orientation, which aims to produce citizens with rationality, sensitivity and sense of responsibility to face and tackle problems in the metropolitan city of Hong Kong. Along this line of thought, the discourse of the EPA curriculum invests the values of "rational decision making" and "sense of responsibility" and "concern and respect for others" (CDC 1997). The curriculum appeals to the sameness of Hong Kong city to other metropolitan cities in the world in terms of its vibrant economic activities as well as its "problems".

The discourse of the official curriculum constructs a vision of community as the locale where individuals are to learn to show concern and respect for other people, to shoulder "civic responsibility", to dedicate in "appropriate" activities and to "become useful and responsible residents of Hong Kong" (CDC 1997). It orientates students towards appreciating government efforts in establishing social order and prosperity. It sets the tone for "[I]ndividual, group and government efforts in solving social and economic problems" to be appreciated.

Problematic Vision of Knowledge and Authority

The syllabus content of the junior secondary EPA course is composed of "core topics" and "optional topics" for each grade level. The "core topics" to be taught in each grade level from S1 to 3 are organized into three main components, namely "The People", "The Government" and "The Economy", and form the core contents of EPA.

In '*The People*', students should be able to outline the basic features of the people living in the society (e.g. age, sex, geographical distributions; importance of a census). *Rights and duties of the residents should also be taught in details* such that students can develop into responsible citizens.

In '*The Government*', students are expected to be able to *describe the relationship* between the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the HKSAR, how the HKSAR is governed as well as *the importance of law and order in the society*. Students should be trained *to have appreciation on the work of the government for the provision of stability and prosperity to the society*.

In '*The Economy*', students should be able to list *causes why HK can develop into an industrial, trade and financial centre*. Students should also have a basic understanding of the 'economic cooperation and interdependence' of the economy of HK so that they can recognise the characteristics of the economy.

(my emphasis CDC 1997:14)

For "optional topics", teachers can choose two or more from the five topics available for the level they teach. All of these five optional topics are structured as "social needs, services and problems" in another component called "The Society". The official syllabus lists out the teaching objectives for the topics as follows.

In '*The Society*', various types of *social need, service and problem* will be discussed. Objectives in teaching these topics are:

- understanding how the issue *affects life* in the community;
- identifying the present situation;
- *recognising* the existing *problems*; and
- *identifying* and suggesting ways government and individuals can help in *tackling the problems*.

(CDC 1997:15)

The whole 1997 syllabus content, when putting together both the core and the optional content, describes three sets of relations: relations between Hong Kong and China as in the components "The Government" and "The Economy"; relations between individual citizens and its community in "The People" component, and relations between Hong Kong government and the social economy in "The Government" and "The Society" components. These sets of relations tell us how issues of identity, pedagogy and governance are conceptualized in the EPA curriculum. They reflect the vision of knowledge and authority the curriculum intones, which teachers of EPA do not necessary share as data from teacher interviews have shown.

About Hong Kong and China, the official syllabus considers topics on the political and economic development of Hong Kong and Hong Kong's status as the Special Administrative Region since July 1997 the "basic knowledge". These topics describe the relations between Hong Kong and China and are core topics that teachers are "required" to teach it before other core topics. "This is why the topic "The Development of Hong Kong" is put in the beginning of the Syllabus" (CDC 1997:14). Teacher interview data, however, show that teacher participants do not attach the same importance to these

core topics. This part about the development of Hong Kong is being understood differently by the teacher participants. There are divergent views towards the same topics even among the teacher participants themselves. In general, teacher participants and their students generally consider the chapters on the political and economic development of Hong Kong uninteresting and factual. Teacher W commented that subtopics like the Sino-British Declaration and Basic Law under the topic political development of Hong Kong were the most difficult and the least interesting to teach and learn. As we have seen at the beginning of the chapter, W questioned the relevance of historical events like the signing of Sino-British Declaration in 1984 and the sovereignty handover in 1997, to Hong Kongese in 2005. He concluded that the study of government structure, the four economic developmental stages of Hong Kong was not very relevant for the present immediate understanding and knowledge construction, but was good for students' future studies at a more mature stage of life (24 June 2005 teacher interview). To W, "history" is purely knowledge of the past and has no relations to the present. However, to make sense of this irrelevance of "basic knowledge" in the core topics of the EPA curriculum, W justified its place in the curriculum as providing the foundation for more complex issues and higher order thinking to take place at a senior level of studies.

Teacher H also found subtopics like the Sino-British Declaration and Basic Law difficult. The topic on government structure of HKSAR was the most difficult for students, according to him. He perceived that it was the concepts and the relevant principles behind the workings, say, of the Sino-British

Declaration and Basic Law, that made the topic conceptually demanding and, hence, difficult for students to grasp. In response to W's view of dismissing the study of historical development of the HKSAR government, H argued that without such knowledge and understanding of the signing of Sino-British Declaration in 1984, it would be difficult to see how the HKSAR government could come about (24 June 2005 teacher interview). For teacher H, "history" is not exclusively associated with the past and is connected to the present.

Teacher C found topics about the economic development of Hong Kong interesting to teach. C saw the value of studying the political and economic development of Hong Kong as it helped students revise what they had already learnt from two other subjects, History and Chinese History. These historical events were not totally "unrelated" to the students, C believed, as they recorded the transformation of Hong Kong and were the very thing that distinguished Hong Kong from the mainland. To expect students to feel for themselves or identify with the old Hong Kongese, however, would not be easy as it was remote from their lived experiences (13 July 2005 teacher interview). C shares some of H's view of "history" as it serves to link Hong Kong's past to the present. She is reading "history" of Hong Kong as denoting a "process" of change. We shall see in a later chapter how C attempted to handle the life of people during the pre-colonial Hong Kong through the use of role-playing activities in one of her lessons.

For D, there was a wide coverage with the EPA curriculum e.g. history, economic affairs, housing etc. The pre-colonial Hong Kong history

overlapped with those in the subjects Chinese History and History, she said. What she would normally do was to finish off with those historical facts fast. Then she would focus on the discussion of British contributions in Hong Kong as a way to balance out the prevalent discourse from China that the treaties were done on an unfair basis (29 September 2005 teacher interview). D has probably noticed that the curricular knowledge about Hong Kong's colonial history that presumes to tell history in an "objective" manner is in fact intoned with particular "orientations, values, and interests" from the Chinese side and implicated in it "visions" of China as the victim of war and of unequal treatment. Teacher D's attempt to bring in the contribution of Britain in the curriculum makes clear to us that divergent discourses and orientations to the same piece of history that construct different visions of authority, power and knowledge will be circulating in the classroom.

The five teachers have varying notions of history, different ways to teach and use history in the curriculum. In chapter 3, I will examine the curricular knowledge in the textbook materials that describe Hong Kong's political and economic development. I would argue that the curricular knowledge of the past of Hong Kong is not simply an "organized knowledge of the past", in Williams' words (1983), but an attempt to "recover" the identity of Hong Kong as Chinese national. The part where divergent and conflicting discourses about Hong Kong's relations with China and with Britain produce subject positions aiming to interpellate both teachers and students into position to talk about Hong Kong as the Other to the British colonizer and/or the modern China.

About individuals and its community, the official curriculum emphasizes that "[r]ights and duties of the residents should also be taught in details such that students can develop into responsible citizens" (CDC 1997:14). Under the topic "The Rights and Duties of the Residents of Hong Kong", both teachers C and D found the subtopic dealing with the distinction between Chinese citizens and others in the HKSAR and that between permanent residents and non-permanent residents helpful to the students. C found that students were confusing with their identities and nationality and with the various official documents they can possess like BNO^x (13 July 2005 teacher interview). Both teachers said it was an interesting topic for themselves and their students. According to teacher D, her students were excited to see the Basic Law booklet physically for themselves as they could read the rights and duties denoted in it e.g. the rights entitled to the New Territories indigenous people in the Basic Law. However, D found the chapter insufficient as the identification of Hong Kong citizens was restricted to the official documents they possess (29 September 2005 teacher interview). There are ethnic minorities in the school district where D's school is in. The chapter helped clarify for the students that some of these ethnic groups were in fact citizens of Hong Kong as some of them were born here or some have lived here for more than seven years, D said. The curriculum, criticized D, addressed difference between ethnicity superficially and students did not understand much about these ethnic minorities' identities (21 October 2005 teacher interview).

Teacher D has rightly commented that the issue of identity is more than the relations between the rights and duties of the citizens and official documents

that they can possess. It concerns the relations between the individuals and their community. Gilroy (1997) maintains that "identity is always particular ... It marks out the divisions and sub-sets in our social lives and helps to define the boundaries around our uneven, local attempts to make sense of the world" (1997:301). This is also how the official EPA curriculum locates the individuals within the community. In the following section, my discussion will focus on the relations between Hong Kong citizens and its community. I attempt to problematize the form of "issue-based inquiry model of teaching" that uses "conflict of interest" as the focal point for inquiry into community affairs.

Problematizing the Issue-based "Framing" of Community

With this official curriculum goal of producing "rational, sensitive and active" Hong Kong citizen, an issue-based model was first introduced in the 1984 syllabus and is further embraced in the 1997 syllabus. According to the 1997 syllabus, the Issue-Based Model "in which students' direct involvement with real life applications of important concepts" is valued as a means to acquire new knowledge and skills (CDC 1997:7). The aim is:

to foster a spirit of inquiry, to facilitate the acquisition of skills, to promote self-reliance *in learning*, to encourage social participation, and to develop those concepts and generalizations which will encourage such attitudes that may lead to better human relationships (my emphasis CDC 1997:7)

According to the curriculum, such inquiry is for social participation to develop active citizens and for the promotion of critical thinking. In the 1997 official S1 EPA syllabus content, a new subtopic "The Role of the Individuals in

Realizing the Rights and Duties" is included under the core-topic "The Rights and Duties of the Residents of the HKSAR". The guidance notes stipulate the focus of the chapter:

1. Skills and attitudes in the decision-making process e.g. rationality, objectivity, critical thinking.
2. The balance between the rights of an individual and the interest of the community as a whole (CDC 1997:25)

The official curriculum suggests that teachers should "[d]iscuss with students about their choices in different scenarios which involve a conflict of interest between the individuals and the community" (CDC 1997:25). The teaching and learning of decision-making skills and attitudes is to be facilitated by the issue-based teaching model. Issues/problems that we have to face in our society are expected to be the focus of inquiry so as to "promote critical thinking and to make sound judgement" among learners (CDC 1997:83 Appendix B). According to the syllabus, what characterizes the learning objectives and outcomes of the issue-based approach are the students' capabilities "to think more independently", their willingness "to seek alternatives, to assess and evaluate opinions put forward by others", and an open-mindedness to take in others' views or "to maintain their own views" "on good grounds" (CDC 1997:83 Appendix B). In short, it is an approach to cultivate "rational, sensitive and active citizens" (CDC 1997:6).

In order to see how the guidance notes in the curriculum are translated into teaching materials, a textbook chapter from a commercially produced textbook is studied for the purpose of discussion in the teacher interviews.

The *HK & Me 2001* textbook chapter entitled "Procedures and Skills of Decision-making" translates the decision making process in the official curriculum guide notes into a 3-step "procedure", namely "understand[ing] the community", "identify[ing] facts from opinions" and "separat[ing] personal interests from community interests" (*HK & Me 2001:115*). (Please refer to Appendix 1 for excerpts from the textbook chapter.) Community affairs are the focal points through which students are directed to understand the community and the possible "conflict between personal and community interests" (*HK & Me 2001:115*). The textbook chapter draws reference to our everyday life happenings "such as bus fare adjustments, the selling of pirated CDs and changes in educational policies" (*HK & Me 2001:114*) to illustrate that we are all living in a community where "conflicts of interest" are always with us. So, "[w]e need to think carefully when we make personal comments or decisions" (*HK & Me 2001:114*). Life scenarios, which seem to have involved a conflict of interest between the individuals and the community, are being included in the textbook chapter. The protest against an urban renewal project that I have chosen to discuss with the teacher participants is one of those scenarios. Other examples are the competition of the right of road between roadside hawkers and pedestrian, a student's choice of which particular student leader to vote for at school, and residents' opinions about the approach to traffic congestion in an urban area.

While the effectiveness of the issue-based teaching approach recommended in the official syllabus will be discussed in the subsequent chapter with the analysis of the classroom practices, the reduction of controversial issues to

issues involving "a conflict of interest" between "the individuals and the community" should render our immediate attention. This form of issue-based model of inquiry is organized around issues involving "a conflict of interest". It reduces controversies to issues of conflicts which are narrowly defined in a simple binary oppositional framing of "community interests" v.s. "personal interests". The dichotomized notions of "personal interest" and "community interest" is the basic framework through which community affairs are studied and understood. The narrow definition of these notions engages students in the dualistic mode of thinking. A simple binary oppositional framework is employed in the textbook to enable students to conceive community affairs and develop "critical thinking" in problem solving. The identities of students as critical thinkers and problem-solvers are constructed across difference in a reductive binary oppositional setting. It thins out the possibilities of understanding controversies as controversies are framed only in terms of conflicts of interest. The process of group decision making is likely to be conceived as a process of exclusion rather than inclusion and negotiation.

Construction of Differences and Identities Through Conflicts

So far we have got a glimpse of how difference is at work in the curriculum goal and content to set identity in community affair through constructing categories of "individual and community interests". In this section, I examine how teachers conceive controversial issues and how they read a curricular text on an urban renewal case. The curricular text will be examined first to reveal how the framing of "personal interests" and "community interests"

constructs a seemingly harmonious community that ironically polarizes and intensifies social conflicts. I argue the discourse of the curricular text produces subject positions of "rational" citizens who embraces economic rationality that is defined across its constitutive other who are "inconsiderate", "irrational" and "unhelpful".

The urban renewal case is presented in a comic strip in the setting of a news reporting with a caption under each picture (*HK & Me Workbook 2001:48*). (Please refer to Appendix 1 for the exercise.) A reporter reporting on location of an old run-down urban area where the government's urban renewal project is proposed, saying, "Under the Government's urban renewal project, this old urban area will be cleared and the residents will move to new towns" (picture 1). Two spokespersons, apparently government representatives, speaking in a press-conference, with a large and nice aerial map beside them showing how the proposed renewal plan will look like, saying, "We plan to build a public housing estate, a hospital, a sports complex and two schools, and develop a new transportation network" (picture 2). Then, back to the designated area for urban renewal, a group of protesters wearing a head band each, holding out a large banner and raising their fists to protest against the renewal project, the caption reads, "However, some residents of this area object to moving" (picture 3). Two elderly worrying about the difficulties of adapting to a new community, saying "It is too difficult for me to adapt to a new community", a young man worrying over the loss of job, saying "I don't want to move. As the new district I'm going to move into is very far away from my factory, I have to give up my job. But, I'm very worried that I can't find a new

job", and a flat owner concerning about the compensation, "The compensation we get is not enough for me to buy a new flat" (pictures 4, 5 & 6). Return the reporter highlighting the advantages of urban renewal, in the caption, it says, "On the other hand, many people welcome this project" (picture 7). There comes a bird's eye view of a huge school ground with a few students enjoying themselves on the playground and a hospital ward with vacant hospital beds available, voice over saying, "Under the project, the problems of insufficient school places and hospital beds can be solved", two "ticks" (✓) are given to the school campus and the empty hospital ward drawings, implying that these are desirable (picture 8). Highways and flyovers with smooth traffic flow, voice over saying: "I think the traffic congestion can also be eased", coupled with a "tick" (✓) as well (picture 9). Then back to the designated old urban area for the renewal clearance where people are robbed or killed by falling objects from height or tripped over puddle and rats are running around (picture 10), voice over saying, "I'm happy with the urban renewal project because the living environment can be improved", a big "cross" (X) is given to the poor hygienic conditions and the crime scenes. Back in the press conference, the same government spokespersons, who spoke cheerfully previously, now sadly announce, "Since some residents refuse to move out, the clearance plan is delayed" (picture 11).

The exercise following the comic strip asks students to classify the caption in each picture of the comic strip into categories of "facts about the urban renewal project", the "interest of an individual" and "the interest of the

community". The exercise ends with an open-ended question: "In this case, what should be done for the well-being of the whole community?" What are being considered as "facts about the urban renewal project", the "interest of an individual" and "the interest of the community"? The suggested answer in the *Teachers' edition* goes:

What counts as facts about the urban renewal project includes the captions in Pictures 1, 2, 3, 7 and 11:

1. Under the Government's urban renewal project, this old urban area will be cleared and the residents will move to new towns.
2. We plan to build a public housing estate, a hospital, a sports complex and two schools, and develop a new transportation network.
3. However, some residents of this area object to moving.
7. On the other hand, many people welcome this project.
11. Since some residents refuse to move out, the clearance plan is delayed.

(*HK & Me Workbook 2001:48-9*)

Such an instruction and classification immediately calls into question of what a "fact" is. "Facts" are by no means value free and objective. "Facts" also refer to things that are "believed or claimed to be true", according to *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Beliefs and claims are clearly socially constructed. When coupled with the images of the protesters raising their fists with banners campaigning against the renewal project chanting objection to the clearance plan and the end-emphasis given to the images of an orderly, tidy and safe community the comic strip, the preferred reading of the text comes out clearly: Rational citizens are those who value social goods and embraces social order and conformity by putting aside individual worries and concerns. The discourse of this urban renewal exercise speaks from the government position and sees urban renewal as an

issue of "creating quality and vibrant urban living in Hong Kong – a better home in a world-class city" – the stated vision of Urban Renewal Authority^{xi}. What is implicit in the discourse is the belief and claim that the officially proposed urban renewal project has an intrinsic economic and social value related to the "newness" that the renewal project brings about. The efforts of the government to improve the living conditions and the image of the city of Hong Kong are to be read as morally good attempts for the benefit of the society as a whole. Whoever embraces the renewal project are reasonable and sensible citizens. Socio-economic differences among social classes are constructed and then used subtly to create pressures and conflicts for students to resolve. In so doing, students are initiated into "objective, rational, problem-solving individuals" who are likely to be directed to privilege impersonal and dehumanized views that support urban renewal.

Under the binary framework of "community interest" vs. "individual interest", "fact" vs. "opinion", the urban renewal case privileges a particular way of envisioning our city space and the imagination of "new" urban space. The claim that the imagined new urban area is a safer and cleaner community after the old residential blocks are cleared should also be questioned. Numerous cases show that the renewed urban areas like Tsz Wan Shan, Kwun Tong are not safer than the pre-renewed community. What makes a community a safe place to live in depends not on the removal of old residential blocks but on the communal context and the social relations of the community.

The dichotomized notions of "personal interest" and "community interest" are the basic framework through which community affairs are studied and understood. A simple binary oppositional framework is employed in the textbook to enable students to conceive community affairs and develop critical thinking in problem-solving. "Personal interests", "community interests" and "the well-being of the whole community are narrowly defined in the urban renewal project. It will likely deprive them of multiple perspectives to see the interconnections and the interrelatedness of people from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. In effect, it facilitates a fear of rather than a respect for difference as difference are constructed and then used to create conflict. In a way, the curricular texts are constructing a weak sense of otherness that is built through a binary conceptual framework for students to deny rather than understand the other as constitutive, positive and specific to themselves. It will probably prevent a pluralistic community that accepts difference in a non-conflicting manner from emerging.

Hall's formulation of difference in relations to the discursive construction of identity helps account for such negativisation of the other as described in the EPA curricular text above. For Hall (1996), identities constructed within discourse are the "product of the marking of difference and exclusion". They are produced:

in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion ... This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its

constitutive outside that the 'positive' meaning of any term – and thus its 'identity' – can be constructed. (Hall 1996:4)

This is where the "ambivalent" nature of "difference" lies, as Hall (1997) explains elsewhere:

[Difference] is both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of language and culture, for social identities and a subjective sense of the self as a sexed subject – and at the same time, it is threatening, a site of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the 'Other' (1997:238).

Hall sees the importance of "difference", from the anthropological theoretical perspective, as to establish distinctive oppositions into categories, make meanings, mark out identities and keep the classificatory systems from which meanings are produced running. Hence, the "marking of 'difference' forms the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture", Hall contends (1997:236). The danger of the marking of difference, however, lies in the possible exclusion and stigmatization of anything that is "out of place" within the symbolic order of culture. With regard to the binary oppositional framing of the issues of conflictual nature in the EPA curricular text discussed above, defining the other in negativity as such is characteristic of the discursive construction of identities.

Controversy^{xii}: Differences and Boundaries

Britzman (2003) has written about the nature of controversy in relations to the subject Social Studies taught in USA.

Social studies is grounded in the dynamics of society and culture; it is necessarily made from the stuff of controversy, antagonistic discourses that push and pull at our sensibilities, our deep investments, and our desires and fears. Controversy is always emotive, threatening to disorganize social convention and individual preconceptions. ... And while [a teacher] might desire balanced perspectives, there is still the messy issue of how to consider the cacophony of discourses that endow an idea, event, or relationship with controversial meanings (2003:191).

When it comes to issues that are controversial in nature, the symbolic order is threatened. From Britzman's quote, we can gain insights into how controversy works at the individual's psychic, where the emotions, desires and fears are upset. Underlying the emotive nature of controversy is treating difference as conflict. At the societal level, controversy threatens to disorganize the positions and, hence, the meanings that culture assigns us within a classification system (Hall 1997:236). Hall (1997) argues that:

[s]table cultures require things to stay in their appointed place. Symbolic boundaries keep the categories 'pure', giving cultures their unique meaning and identity. What unsettles culture is 'matter out of place' (1997:236).

Controversy threatens us as it upset the social stability and order as well as our understanding of identities marked out by difference. This brings us to the question: How is the use of controversial issues being received by the teachers?

In general and in principle, the teacher participants shared a kind of embracement of the inquiry learning through the discussion of controversial

issues in the EPA classroom when sharing what they would expect the subject EPA to achieve for their students. With the textbook case of an urban renewal case, teacher H and W had divergent opinions. In the teacher interview session, C commented that the last question "What should be done for the well-being of the whole community?" was particularly directive and biased. She questioned why there was no question concerning the well-being of the old people in the designated area for urban renewal (13 July 2005 teacher interview).

H acknowledged C's view and reinforced that the bias against the old people was an evident of hidden value orientation which was embedded in the syllabus. W disagreed. W drew on his knowledge and understanding of a renewal programme in an area in Tsuen Wan district as a resident of the district. In the Tsuen Wan case, W contended, the old people and the other refused to move out of the designed areas of renewal because they wanted to negotiate better compensation from the authority concerned. Their act of perverting the course of greatest good when compensation was at its best after the slump in property prices is not an ethical one. Their resistance to urban renewal programme demonstrated the greed and inconsideration. According to W, these people should, instead, take the best action in consideration of the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Here, the dominant discourse of utilitarianism is being resorted to. Under the principle of utilitarianism, the old people's resistance to the tearing down of the old urban area was articulated as the greedy irrational minority, the inconsiderate selfish Other, against to the needy sensible majority, the cooperative collective One. This marking of difference is again in the binary

oppositions. It not only leads us "to close ranks, shore up culture and to stigmatize and expel" the Other, which is "defined as impure, and abnormal" (Hall 1997:237), but also essentializes any act to claiming the right to protest as ill-intended act aiming to threaten the social order. The possible structural nature of oppression and the unequal power social relations are left unexplored and unexamined.

This dialogue among teachers W, C and H illustrates the presence of ideological imperative of economic rationality in the textbook material. The teachers hold different views towards the urban renewal controversy both in its textbook representation and in real life because of their own cultural experiences and resources. It brings us to the question of how all these will inform the teachers' classroom discursive practices, which I will address in the next two chapters.

Conclusion

The analysis of teacher participants' discourses about the EPA curriculum reveals that there are varying or even contradicting views of the curriculum goals and contents. Each of them has their way of giving the curriculum a sense of unity, relevance, pertinence and purpose. From mapping out these divergent discourses about the EPA curriculum, we shall see that the EPA curriculum is "not a single thing" (Marsh and Willis 2003) in two senses. In Marsh and Willis' sense (2003), it is something multiple as it includes the planned curriculum, the enacted curriculum, and the experience curriculum. When talking about the curriculum, each teacher is bringing to the fore the

planned official curriculum for comment or criticism on its inadequacy, their own enacted curriculum for embracement and their experienced curriculum for description of social realities and their understanding of the student group. The EPA curriculum is not a single thing in another sense that it is a vast textual world where multiple, and even conflicting, discourses coexist. The discussion on the curricular text organized around a real life conflict of interest scenario, that is the protest against an urban renewal plan, reflects that teachers have different ideological perspectives, cultural experiences and resources and conceptions of conflict. They negotiate with the texts actively or passively and co-produce the curriculum.

The divergent teacher discourses about the EPA curriculum and the values and expectations they attach to their own versions of the curriculum raises two pedagogically related issues. The first issue concerns the time frame the EPA curriculum is situated. When being asked how teachers and students would associate the subject, EPA, with, teacher D replied that it was related to the society of HK or things happened in the society and teacher P said it was about economic affairs in Hong Kong (29 November 2005 telephone interview). The subject is set in the time frame of present contemporary Hong Kong. Then two general questions that teachers ask about the teaching and learning of history in the EPA curriculum are: What is the significance of studying "history" at all in the contemporary Hong Kong context? How is history to be taught in the contemporary Hong Kong context? Teachers' views are divided, as we can see in the teachers' discourses. In chapter 3, I will address the question about "history" in the EPA curriculum

and reveal the different senses and uses of "history" circulated in the official curriculum, curricular texts and teachers' discursive practices.

Another related concern raised by situating the EPA curriculum in the contemporary world is the pedagogy to use in cultivating students' critical thinking and analytical capacity. Each of the teacher participants has their own understanding of what makes up critical thinking and the ways to go about it. To H, the critical students are students who are able to "question" or "problematize" the commonplace. By putting the historical changes and factual information side by side, students would be able to notice any contradictions between the textbooks knowledge and the reality. To W, a critical student should be able to see the pros and cons of a controversial issue that defies right or wrong answers. To C, to be critical is something for the mature students and something related to values education. To D, being analytical is to be able to come up with one's own stance discerning the arguments for and against an issue. To P, being able to know right from wrong is morally critical. Pedagogically, teacher participants in general and in principle shared a kind of embracement of inquiry learning through the discussion of controversial issues in the EPA classroom. The discussion of the selected materials in the teacher interviews show that teachers hold different attitudes towards controversies, ambiguity and the conception of difference. These differences in attitudes have to be taken into account how controversial issues are to be dealt with in the classroom. In chapter 4, I will deal with the ideological conventions in the curricular texts, arguing that the EPA curricular knowledge cultivates both identities and differences in

exclusivity and negativity and that teachers play by no neutral role in the classroom and knowledge is by no means neutral and transcendental.

Chapter 3

"Histories" in the EPA Curriculum: Problems of Identities

"They didn't really care much." (my translation)

According to teacher D, that was her students' attitude towards the British contributions to the rule of law and the education system in Hong Kong throughout the 150 years of colonial administration (29 September 2005 teacher interview). By focusing on what contributions Britain had in Hong Kong, D intended to balance out a prevalent textbook discourse that the three treaties leading to the concession of Hong Kong were done on an unfair basis. She believed that students were indifferent toward the sovereignty handover because these S1 students were at their kindergarten years at that time. They were too young to be affected personally. About the concession of Hong Kong, teacher D said, "One student did ask a question: Why didn't they lease the New Territories for period longer than 99 years?" She believed the rest of the class was indifferent to the colonial history for two reasons: one, it was considered a "natural" part of the political development of Hong Kong, and two, some students saw and experienced not much difference in the life before and after the handover of sovereignty to China. "Are you upset when students displayed indifferent attitude?" I asked. "I just find no ways of handling that", she said (29 September 2005 teacher interview).

Teacher W once raised a similar question concerning the teaching and learning of history in the EPA curriculum: "What is the significance of studying events like the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration and the 1997 handover for students of Hong Kong in year 2005?" (24 June 2005 teacher interview) His, though, was more of a rhetorical question that hinted at his stance: History in the EPA curriculum ought to be done away with. In chapter 2, we have seen that teachers W, C and H each holds a different view towards history in the EPA curriculum. The issues of history and our knowledge about the past are for sure complicated ones.

About "history", Williams (1983) has identified three different senses of the word from Greek and Latin to the first period of 18thC. Teacher W's view of "history" as knowledge of the past and has no relations to the present carries with it the sense of "history" as "an organized knowledge of the past" that has an "exclusive association with the past" (1983:146). Williams notes that this sense of "history" was established in the late 15thC and has lasted into contemporary English (1983:146). Apart from the sense of "history" as an exclusively organized knowledge of the past, "history" had the "sense of inquiry" and an "account" of knowledge in its earliest use in Greek and Latin, Williams goes on. He also identifies a new sense of "history" as "a process of human self-development" in early 18thC which he elaborates in the following way:

One way of expressing this new sense is to say that past events are seen not as specific histories but as a continuous and connected process. ... given the stress on human *self-development*, history in many of these

uses loses its exclusive association with the past and becomes connected not only to the present but also to the future (original emphasis, 1983:146-7).

We shall see in this chapter which of these different senses of "history" are dominant and being tapped on in the EPA official curriculum, in the activities and curricular texts used in teacher C's classroom and in teachers D's critique of "history" in EPA and how they come into conflict with one another. In so doing, I address the question about the use of "history" of Hong Kong in the EPA curriculum and its teaching in the classroom.

Problems with Histories in the EPA Curriculum

In the telephone interview (29 November 2005), I asked teacher D how she would compare the teaching of history in the S1 EPA curriculum with the History curriculum proper. Without hesitation, teacher D said the History subject proper taught history in a much more interesting way than the EPA curriculum. ("M" stands for me, the researcher)

M: What makes it [history in the EPA curriculum] not interesting enough?

D: (repeating the question) What makes it not interesting enough? It's lacking in narrative. History [in EPA] is like factual recall. History subject proper tells stories and you are enticed to read on, and there're lots of elements for inquiry.

M: Let me quote an example in the EPA curriculum. Please help me understand what it means by "having elements for inquiry".

D: OK.

M: When handling the political development of Hong Kong, it usually begins with the year 1842, then it goes right through a number of events leading up to the signing of Sino-British Joint Declaration [1984] and then the handover of sovereignty. If we have to make it interesting and exploratory, how will that be done in the History subject proper?

D: These areas are not covered in History subject proper. For S1, which I just started teaching, the part that History overlaps with EPA is about the time before the British came to Hong Kong. This part overlaps with the S1 EPA history of Hong Kong from the Qin Dynasty^{xiii} (秦朝) onwards. The History subject proper has a lengthy coverage. This is the first thing, a lengthy coverage. Besides, it's in inquiry mode of learning. For example, to understand the pre-historic HK, you've got a map telling you where the archaeological sites are. Then given some relics from different sites, you have to guess how the pre-historic people lived their life and what their way of life was like. But for EPA, if I remember correctly, history is told in a factual way e.g. Hong Kong people are basically living their life like the Qin people in pre-historic times. Both people in Hong Kong and people in the Qin Dynasty are from the southern part of China. If a stone is unearthed, EPA [text] won't ask students to imagine how the pre-historic people would use the stone, nor will it ask students to imagine how the pre-historic people would be doing with the relics unearthed along the coast areas.

M: So this part of Hong Kong history before the British colonizer is approached in the anthropological way [in History subject proper].

D: Yes, you're right. Hong Kong doesn't have a long history; it has to be studied in this way.

(my translation 29 November 2005 telephone interview)

D has identified two approaches to the teaching and learning of the same period of pre-historic Hong Kong in two school subjects, History and EPA. In the History subject proper, that part of the Hong Kong history was investigated in the way anthropology does, according to D. Relics, archaeological sites, site map, physical objects like stones are all objects of investigations to look into the way of life of people in the past. They tell stories and produce knowledge about the past. The sense of "inquiry" is present in this approach to history. This notion of "history" carries a sense of historicism that Williams (1983) would refer to as a "relatively neutral definition of a method of study" (1983:147). This method of study, Williams explains, "relies on the facts of

the past and traces precedents of current events" (1983:147).

As for history in EPA, D commented that history of Hong Kong was told in a matter-of-fact way giving information about Hong Kong and its people in the past without looking into people's way of living. For the purpose of illustration, here I quote the textbook materials D used in the S1 EPA classroom from the English version of the textbook titled *Hong Kong In Focus Book 1A* (2004) published by Manhattan Press (HK) Ltd. (Please refer to Appendix 2 for excerpts from the textbook materials.)

In the textbook chapter, Hong Kong's history from prehistoric times to the Song Dynasty forms the first three paragraphs in chapter 1 titled "Early Political Development of Hong Kong". Right at the beginning of the chapter, there is a cartoon picture featuring a dialogue between a boy and a girl about a "misconception" of Hong Kong being part of Chinese territory only after the 1997 sovereignty handover. Then come the three paragraphs under the section "Hong Kong as a part of China" describing the relations between Hong Kong and China:

1. Prehistoric times

Human activities in Hong Kong can be traced back 6000 years. Stone artifacts and pottery of that time were found mostly along the coastal area. This tells us that the early inhabitants of Hong Kong settled in coastal areas.

2. Incorporation of Hong Kong into China

In 214 BC, the Qin emperor unified various parts of China, including Hong Kong. Hong Kong was then formally incorporated into Chinese territory. It has been part of China since ancient times.

3. Moving from the central part of China to Hong Kong

- Starting in the Qin Dynasty, people from the central part of China moved to the south. Their culture then spread to Hong Kong. External trade and the coastal defence of Hong Kong became more important.
- Dating back to the Song Dynasty (宋朝), warfare was frequent in the central part of China. As the southern part of China was relatively peaceful, many people living in the central part migrated southwards and settled in Hong Kong. (*Hong Kong in Focus* 1A 2004:2-3)

The paragraphs establish the relations between Hong Kong and China 2000 years ago since the Qin Dynasty in terms of state governance and territory defence, war and peace. The section sets the background for the development of Hong Kong into British colony and then the return of sovereignty to China. The section that follows immediately is titled "British rule" and the introductory paragraph of the section reads:

During the Qing period (清朝), Britain forced China to sign three unequal treaties. It then took over Hong Kong (including Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories) and established colonial rule there.

(*Hong Kong in Focus* 1A 2004:2-3)

The rest of the section covers the three "unequal" treaties, delineating how the British "started" the two Opium Wars and how the Qing government "was forced" to sign the treaties. The section closes with a small paragraph about the colonial rule in Hong Kong, mentioning British administration and deployment of soldiers and introduction of British laws to Hong Kong. Activities in the sidebars include: colour-coding the "the lost areas" according to the three treaties after the Opium Wars ("Marking the lost areas");

researching the history of streets named after British people or places ("Great changes over a century"); and locating the three remaining colonial pillar boxes to describe the economic and social situation of Hong Kong at the time the pillar boxes were produced ("Search for footprints of British rule").

From the textbook design, it is clear that the "EPA" approach to history has an orientation and purpose that differs greatly from the anthropological approach that D has mentioned in the History curriculum proper. Rather than having students to inquire into the way of life of the pre-historic people, this part of Hong Kong's history is narrated from a specific perspective where Hong Kong is seen as a place lost and found to China. It is speaking from the position of modern China that Hong Kong which was once lost through the hand of the Qing government is found and returned. The speaking subject gets even clearer in Chapter 2 of the textbook about the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). The chapter begins with the talks on the future of Hong Kong leading to the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. The narrating subject throughout the chapter is "the People's Republic of China (PRC)" established in 1949. Hong Kong is the "object" of negotiations between "China and Britain" and the setting up of the HKSAR is the end-product of negotiations. History attempts to serve a completely different function as the reference to an "authentic past" to "validate" the identity of Hong Kong people as Chinese nationals (Woodward 1997:20). Though this "lost and found" discourse is dominant in the curricular text, other activities in the sidebars like researching into the naming of street and the socio-economic conditions where the colonial pillar boxes

were produced seems to suggest that "history" could be "traces precedents of current events" for inquiring into the life of Hong Kong people in the early colonialization. These two senses of "history" coexist in the same piece of curricular text.

Objectifying Hong Kong's Past

What is obvious is that the EPA textbook chapter about the early development of Hong Kong aims to establish China's legitimacy of sovereignty over Hong Kong. Being the first core topic in the first chapter of the S1 EPA curriculum, the curricular knowledge tries to interpellate teachers into the position of the state administrator of modern China to demean the Qing government that turned Hong Kong into a British colony through the three unequal treaties. It attempts to summon teachers and students into the place of a loyal subject to the sovereign state – the modern Central People's Government established in 1949. The learning objectives for the whole S1 EPA course^{xiv} in the 1997 official syllabus read:

By the end of the course, students should

1. be able to outline the political and economic development of Hong Kong and to identify the major factors leading to these development;
2. be able to describe the basic features of the population and their impacts on the development of Hong Kong;
3. be able *to understand the identity as a Chinese citizen as well as a resident of Hong Kong*; and have developed *a proper attitude towards citizenship*;
4. have acquired a general knowledge about how some of the basic needs such as food, water, power and communication are catered for in Hong Kong;
5. be able to collect information, interpret data, and present findings in

simple formats;

6. be able to *compare contrasting views*, distinguish statements of fact from statements of opinion and *make sensible judgement*; and
7. have developed an interest in current affairs and be willing to participate in activities for the improvement of community life.

(my emphasis, CDC 1997:19)

In the guidance notes of the S1 official syllabus, the topic "The Development of Hong Kong" is further divided into the political development and the economic development of Hong Kong. Relations between Hong Kong and the mainland, the relations between the HKSAR government and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the relations between Hong Kong Administrative Region and the Basic Law are the subtopics to be covered. Political events leading to the sovereignty handover of Hong Kong to China like the Sino-British Joint Declaration are included in the syllabus content. The impact of the three unequal treaties concerning HK and the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration are expected to be covered to provide students with a brief understanding of the historical background (CDC 1997:23).

The change in the curriculum discourse about Hong Kong's origin and the relations to modern China in the 1997 official syllabus is the result of a number of events from mid-1980s. Political events are selectively chosen for the S1 curriculum. They include the 1984 signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, and the drafting of the Basic Law in 1990 that gave Hong Kong the status of a special administrative region are written in the S1 curriculum for study. Other political events affecting the course of Hong Kong's political

development that are not included in the curriculum includes the introduction of the new indirect election in 1985 to the Legislative Council, which had always been composed of appointed members.

The organisation of the S1 syllabus, the teaching objectives and guidance notes^{xv} differ from the syllabuses prior to the 1997 syllabus. In the previous versions of the syllabuses, the focus of the development of Hong Kong was basically the economic history of Hong Kong from a fishing village to an industrial, trade and financial centre. The economic development goes along the trajectory about Hong Kong from a rural community to an entrepot and then to an industrial city and then to an industrial, trade and financial centre. The 1997 official syllabus aims to dismiss or downplay the contribution of the local colonial government to Hong Kong, which had been the focus in the EPA curriculum since the 1960 Civics Syllabus. In the 1960 Civics Syllabus, the narrative inside the syllabus describes Hong Kong as:

[a] small *neglected* fishing village becomes a *great seaport*. The harbour; typhoon shelters; land reclamation; reservoirs; warehouses; wharves; shipyards; the airfield; the new factory development; resettlement buildings; the postwar *boom* in building including skyscraper and hotels to attract visitor. *An example of magnificent co-operation; British commercial skill and law and order allied with Chinese industry and adaptability.*

(my emphasis, *Civics* 1960:6)

In the 1969 Civics Syllabus, where the 1997 EPA Syllabus evolved from, the development of Hong Kong has been handled in 3 separated chapters titled:

1. Hong Kong and its districts – a simple geographical description

2. The growth of Hong Kong – a short history *giving the facts* how Hong Kong *grew* from a *humble* fishing village to a *modern* metropolis.

3. Hong Kong's place in the modern world

Free port. Stable government. Sound economy. Most expensive resettlement scheme. A meeting place of Eastern and Western cultures.

(my emphasis, *Civics* 1969:5)

The discourse about Hong Kong being a neglected small fishing village being modernized produces subject positions to interpellate the subject into a place to desire the British colonizer. The development of Hong Kong under British rule focused on infrastructure building and modernization. Teacher D is taking up such position when she attempted to highlight the British contributions in introducing the rule of law and the education system in Hong Kong throughout the 150 years of colonial administration.

The 1984 syllabus retains the "fishing village history" but with the emphasis on British contributions downplayed. The learning objectives stipulating the expected learning outcomes are:

By the end of the course, pupils should

1. be able to outline *Hong Kong's development from a fishing village* into an industrial and commercial city and to identify the major factor leading to this development
2. have *an understanding of the rights and responsibilities of a citizen* and have developed *a proper attitude towards citizenship*;
3. have acquired a general knowledge about Hong Kong's population and how the people's basic needs for food, water, power and communication are catered for.
4. be able to collect information, interpret data, and present findings in simple formats.

(my emphasis, *CDC* 1984:7)

The trajectory of Hong Kong's development is plotted in three discrete phases in the 1984 syllabus in the topic "Growth of Hong Kong" and the guidance notes include:

- 1.1 From a fishing village to an entrepot
- 1.2 From an entrepot to an industrial city
- 1.3 Recent Development. (CDC 1984:7)

The trajectory is done in pure economic terms. The guidance notes in the official syllabus list the points to cover in this topic:

- A basic understanding of the geographical setting and climate of Hong Kong favorable to fishing and farming activities in the 19th Century and early 20th Century. Reasons for development into an entrepot.
- Factors leading to the development of industries in Hong Kong after 1949.
- Major types of industry at various stages of development and their importance to the Hong Kong economy.
- Industries and trade remaining as dominant economic activities.
- Movement towards diversification and sophistication
- Nature of financial activities
- Expansion of financial activities (CDC 1984:9)

Visions of Dichotomist/Essentialist Identity

The EPA curriculum historical discourse constructs Hong Kong as the Other of the modern China, a place lost and found. The way the EPA curriculum speaks about the identity of Hong Kong citizens as Chinese nationals is essentialist in character. The attempt to establish the national identity of Hong Kong people as Chinese citizens through the appeal to ancient history of Hong Kong is an attempt to uncover the "truth" about Hong Kong's past

(Woodward 1997:20). History in the EPA curriculum is used as a means to recover our "common" ancestry back to ancient times and establishes the national identity of Hong Kong residents and Chinese citizens. We are people of common ancestry from the Qin Dynasty and geographically we are part of China. The identity of Hong Kong Chinese national has a "past". In the political arena, the issue of identity of Hong Kong in relations to China at present and Britain before July 1997, is made relevant to the assertion of political sovereignty through constructing an identification with same ancestry sharing to the same "history". In such a way, identity, Gilroy argues, is reduced to "an uncomplicated sameness" and "becomes instead a thing – an entity or an object – to be possessed and displayed" (Gilroy 1997:307).

This essentialist view of the national identity of Hong Kong people is also prevalent in other learning materials like eTV programmes and other online activities produced by the Radio Television Hong Kong outside the curricular texts. Take the online activity *Civic Trail, National Identity*^{xvi} (「公民教育徑」國民身份認同 - 中學版本) (my translation) designed for the secondary students as an example. *Civic Trail* online activity is produced by the Education and Manpower Bureau, the HKSAR Government in the form of a treasure hunt where game players have some checkpoints to go through and some landmarks to identify such as Golden Bauhinia Square, the PLA Headquarter and the Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre, where the handover ceremony was held. The aim of the activity is to understand the meaning of the national and the HKSAR flags. The online activity is coupled with a factual recall exercise that confirms student's understanding of

the national identity as mere understanding of facts. National identity exists in the essence of mastering those historical facts related to Hong Kong colonial history, information about when and where to watch flag hoisting ceremony. Such essentialist understanding of the national identity of Hong Kong people (Hall 1990 in Barker 1999:27) is also reductionist in character. Relations between Hong Kong and China is symbolically represented by the design of the Great Wall round the base where the Gold Bauhinia sculpture sits. The flag hoisting ceremony, accompanied by the Marching Band of the Police Force three times a month since January 2002, is reduced to a way of image enhancement of HKSAR. The respect towards the nation is symbolized by the flag hoisting ceremony as a way of building the sense of belonging.

The essential view is problematic as the national identity is "fixed in the rigidity of binary opposition" (Woodward 1997:20). It speaks in a one-dimensional way from the state's position. It assumes that Hong Kong people is a collective whole which responds to China in unison, that they embrace the national identity in the same way and that Hong Kong people is recognized as one collective social group. The essentialist position is problematic as it assumes an essential underlying identity of subservience and obedience among Hong Kong people subordinated "to the regulated and legitimate forms of power" centrally located in the Central People's Government (Foucault 1980). Such a view of national identity of Hong Kong people locates power at the centre with a repressive, rather than productive, nature. It presents only one version of the past and the histories of the local Hong

Kong people are excluded. It provides subject positions of Chinese national, British colonial subject and local Hong Kong citizens by constructing Hong Kong as the Other of the British colonizer and of modern China. It reduces the "positivity" of Hong Kong "with all of its diversity to nothing but a singular constitutive other, to the different", to borrow from Grossberg's reading of Said in critique of the logic of formations of modern power (1996:96).

In the case of the EPA curriculum, curricular texts selected for classroom use carry the same criticisms. When talking or reading about the political development of HKSAR, Hong Kong is reduced to a geographical concept in political negotiation. The everyday life of Hong Kong people and their relations, be it aspiration, desires, dialogues, struggle, resistance or negotiation, with the British colonial ruler in the past or with the central government of the PRC during such a long period of political transition before and after the sovereignty handover are altogether missing. This conception of identity as an entity and object with fixed essentialist character fails to provide "a way of understanding the interplay between subjective experience of the subjectivity is formed", which Gilroy sees as the principal role of identity in contemporary political life. (Gilroy 1997:301).

Strategic Essentialist Construction of Identity

Since early 2005, there witnesses a change in strategy in positioning the identity of Hong Kong people as Chinese nationals in a new series of civic education TV announcements called *Aspiring the World*^{xvii}「志在四方」(my translation) produced by the Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education

and Commission on Youth. It positions the national identity of Hong Kong people across points of difference, appealing to individuals' desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs for the "motherland". A total of 12 episodes are produced featuring an individual or a group of individuals each from a different walk of life speaking of their own way of relating to the "motherland". A photographer, for example, taking snapshots of two horse riders in a vast desert alone, speaking of the need to observe so as to capture the essence of the motherland; a connoisseur of exotic cuisine tasting food from a local restaurant narrating his experiences with local cultures; an old shoe maker giving testimony to and taking pride of the prosperity of the motherland and a group of secondary students guided by a map venturing into rural China to take care of the kids there speaking of the responsibilities of understanding the motherland as a Chinese national. The lyric "Embracing the motherland and Aspiring the world" 「心繫家國 志在四方」 (my translation) anchors each of these different individual desires, concerns and interests together with montage sequence of images of China landscapes, cityscapes, architectures, people young and old having fun in the "motherland", athletes competing hard in the international sports arena, astronauts manning the space craft into the universe, uniformed groups and disciplinary forces of Hong Kong like pilots and their cabinet crew and the medical professionals giving off welcoming smiles to the camera audience and Hong Kong Police taking care of a line of kindergarten kids crossing the road.

The whole series of the TV announcement is done to visually display China and Chinese culture for global consumption through photographs, news

features, film, music, product design, architecture, food and travel. The discourse of the visuals displays youthfulness, prosperity, law and order in both the "motherland" and Hong Kong. The 12 occupations featured in the episodes suggest deliberations on displaying China and Chinese culture. A careful study shows that the 12 speaking subjects form three groups, those in the visual media: the photographer, the designer, the architect, the reporter, the film director, the musician, those who are involved in cross-border travel: cross-border truck driver, connoisseur and businessman, and those who are defined by their social role or identity: secondary students, teacher and the elderly.

The desires and concerns of the individuals are being appealed to. The discourse of the TV announcement series tries to interpellate individuals into Chinese national identity by enunciating their obligations as well as their need to be attached to the "motherland" using the "must" modality. To name but a few^{xviii}.

Photographer: We must see with our mind's eyes if we are to capture the essence of the motherland.

Secondary Student: Being a Chinese, we must know our country.

Film director: We must have strong bonding and attachment to the nation if the artwork is to touch people's heart.

(my translation *Aspiring the World* TV announcements)

According to Hall (1996), with this strategic and positional view of identity, identities "are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being" (1996:4). It is strategic as identity does not have a stable core of the self, "unfolding from beginning

to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change" (1996:3). Rather, it is the work of discursive practice that "sutures" the subject to a subject-position through articulation and interpellation (Hall 1996:6). "The subject assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent 'self'", Hall explains (1992:277). Practices of the individuals are being emphasized and the desires and experiences of the individuals are being worked on. In the case of *Aspiring the World* civic education TV announcements series, the old shoe-maker is interpellated into witness of the progress China has been making through the years, the cross-border truck driver's everyday experiences is appropriated into the experiences of close connections between the two. In terms of identity project, "history", be it personal experiences or collective memories, is the resource that connects the past to the present and then to the future. The identity of Hong Kong people as Chinese nationals is being strategically essentialized.

Histories Contested in the EPA Classroom

So far we have discussed how the official curriculum goals and the curricular texts appeal to a common ancestral "history" of Hong Kong to establish essentialist identity for Hong Kong people as Chinese nationals and how experiences and desires of the individuals as "history" are being mobilized in the *Aspiring the World* civic education TV announcements series to interpellate individuals. In this section, through examining a lesson from teacher C on the political development of Hong Kong observed in early October 2005, I address the question: How is Hong Kong's past being treated

in the contemporary EPA classroom today?

As I mentioned earlier, C sees the history of Hong Kong as having its value on distinguishing Hong Kong from China. In the lesson observed, C worked on the early history of Hong Kong before the British colonizer. She made an attempt to have students look into the way of people's life and their aspirations in the mid-19thC Hong Kong before the British established its colonial rule. Through analyzing the lesson objectives, the link between the lesson and curricular knowledge of the history of Hong Kong, I reveal the tensions generated in the instructional design of the activities and argue that the lesson reflects the divergent and conflicting curriculum discourses about Hong Kong's past.

C's lesson was structured around a "role-playing" activity that took up three-quarters of the lesson. Within the 35-minute lesson on the political development of Hong Kong, she employed two different instructional strategies to allow class time and activity to reveal students' thoughts and opinions. Towards the last 10 minutes of the class, the teacher worked on the names and details of the three treaties and other key vocabulary items relevant to that piece of pre-colonial history of Hong Kong in the 19thC. The role-playing activity was organized around three questions:

1. If you were a Chinese born in the Qing dynasty (清朝), who had to move to Hong Kong, where would you choose to live in HK: HK Island, Kowloon and the New Territories?
2. Where would you choose to stay if you had to get a job to earn a living?
3. Where do you think the rich would likely be settled?

(7 October 2005 lesson observation)

Teacher C formulated these three questions after discussing her ideas of using a role-playing activity with me before the lesson began. These questions aimed to look into the way people lived their life in Hong Kong during late Qing Dynasty. We shared some of our views about the economic, political and historical background of Hong Kong, talking about why the villagers in the New Territories would be fighting hard to resist the British forces and how that would likely be contributing to the negotiation of the lease of the New Territories. After the brief sharing, teacher C redesigned her questions from having students to look from the British perspective how the local could be better governed to the understanding of how the ordinary people would be living their life, hoping that the lesson would be more effective in bringing history alive. The three questions for the role playing activities differed from C's original design which aimed to have students role-played as local officials whose tasks were to help administrators bring allegiance of the local people under the newly formed British rule. Both of us had the local Hong Kong histories in our mind at that moment. Neither of us were aware that to position the inquiry from the ordinary people's perspective might contribute to the divergent discourses in reading the histories of Hong Kong.

The lesson began in English and teacher C recalled students' memory about Hong Kong being part of China since the Han dynasty. Then she had students locate Hong Kong in the world, in Asia and in China on the maps given, placing emphasis on how small Hong Kong was. ("Ss" stands for students responding collectively)

- C: First of all, I would like to test you. Where is HK in the map? Can you find out where you are? (placing a map on the visualizer) This is a world map. I want some people to come out. I know this is difficult to see. This is a world map, OK? ... This is only a part of the world. This is Asia. (pointing to the map projected onto the screen) Give you one clue: India is here, Egypt is here. I want someone to highlight HK with this highlighter pen. Who can do it? (calling upon a student) Can Gary, you, please highlight HK? Where is HK? Show me. Highlight it. (the boy highlighting on the map) Yes, it is not that big. Where is HK exactly? I'll show you. HK is just here. Very very small. Can you see it is much smaller than Bangkok ... very small compared to Shanghai, a small place, Where's HK? HK is in (prompting) ... (Ss: China.) ... China. That's right. It's in China. I'm going to show you a Chinese map [a map of China]. Where is HK? Highlight it with this highlighter pen? (inviting a girl) Can I have Laura, please? Where is HK then? (the girl highlights HK on the map) Yes. Which direction, north, east, south or west of China (indicating the class to respond)?
- Ss (students responding collectively) South.
- C Yes, southern part of China. (some students giggle) Why do you laugh? Why do you laugh? Is HK big?
- Ss: No.
- C Very small, isn't it? Just compare it with Guangdong. Very small, even Guangzhou is bigger. (showing another map on the visualizer) Let's look at HK closely. This is HK map. (looking around and saying) I know some of you are not paying attention. I can tell. (asking the class) Are you looking at the screen? This is the map that shows you clearly? Ah. ... much better. Can you tell me how many parts of HK?
- Ss Three.
- C: Which three? (reading out loud together with the students) Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories.

(7 October 2005 lesson observation)

The smallness of Hong Kong in relations to places in the world, to those in Asia and even to some Chinese cities and provinces was taken up at the end of the lesson when teacher C wrapped up the lesson with three questions:

"Why did Britain take over HK, not Shanghai, as HK is so small?" "Why did the British government take away [sic: cede] Hong Kong Island first, not the New Territories?" and "Why lease the NT not cede it?" (7 October 2005 lesson observation). The articulation of the size of Hong Kong to the colonialization history "objectifies" Hong Kong and reduces the histories of Hong Kong, which is also comprised of the histories of people, to an "end-product" of political negotiations between the Qing government and Britain, which I have argued earlier in this chapter.

Reading the Past into the Present

Immediately followed the Q & A session was the "role-playing" time. Different areas in the classroom were designated as "the HK Island", "Kowloon" and "the New Territories". Students were required to assume the roles of the Qing people of China in mid 19thC and to move around, imagining the world from the eyes' of the Qing people, choosing where to "live" and "work" in each migration, occupying the designated areas of the classroom. Dialogues between the teacher and the students were held to help students articulate their reasons in the moves.

This part of the lesson was switched to Cantonese as the medium of instruction as teacher C would like students to express their opinions more freely and easily. Throughout the course of discussion, students' responses were loaded with contemporary perspectives and concerns like air pollution problems and moneymaking business concerns. With response to the first question raised by the teacher, "If you were a Chinese born at that time, I ask

you to move to HK. Where do you choose to live, HK Island, Kowloon or the New Territories before the Opium War?" About two-thirds of the class "moved" to the designated area for "New Territories", and only 2 students stayed in "Hong Kong Island" and the rest "Kowloon Peninsula". Students' considerations include the supply of fresh air and space in the New Territories. One student considered where his friends "moved". One student articulated the urge to be protected by the government as the New Territories was close to the mainland. When teacher C asked why they chose Kowloon Peninsula, one student responded that there were more shops and football grounds. Being challenged by some other students and the student defended his argument by saying that there could be football grounds and the teacher helped settle down the tiny conflict by agreeing to such possibility.

S: Because the area is usable.

C: (repeating the students' ideas) Because the area is usable. Why?

S: (?? too soft to be heard)

C: (repeating the student's ideas) OK! There was already a football court and a lot of shops in the Qing Dynasty.

S: (having teased by other students) Yes, there were.

C: (appeasing the student) Right, right. There could be. So you find living in Kowloon more comfortable. (my translation)

One of the students said he preferred Kowloon to the New Territories as the "designated areas" in the "classroom" was too crowded. One of the two students who "stayed" on the "Hong Kong Island" said she preferred the comfort living on the island surrounded by water. The teacher did not challenge the participants to respond to conflicts in thoughts with the historical contexts in believable ways.

Teacher C's responses to students' ideas reflect the teacher's limited understanding of the historical context in the 19thC Hong Kong and China. With the second question, "Where would you choose to stay if you had to get a job to earn a living?", the teacher went on to have students think about place to work and live. She kept reminding students the time frame when students were moving around the classroom making their choices: "It's in the Qing Dynasty, not the present time. If you have to work, in the Qing Dynasty, not here and now at the present time." Basically, students mentioned fishery and farming as the major economic activities in the New Territories and fishery on Hong Kong Island when thinking about the jobs available. The same student who mentioned the protection from the homeland earlier on said he would choose to settle in Kowloon as it was centrally located. Such location was ideal for wholesaling and logistics businesses as selling produce from the New Territories and Hong Kong Island would be profitable, he said. The teacher commended the quick-witted money making mind of the student.

C: Right! Michael has a good business mind. Living in Kowloon, he's thinking about transportation business. There's coastline along Kowloon, we can do fishery. He [Michael] thinks of a business of selling the fish produce within Hong Kong. Those who live inland in Kowloon can't do fishery, so those who caught fish from the coastal area can sell their produce to them. ... Any other suggestions about occupation from the other students? For those who choose to live in Kowloon. (Michael: Finance) ...

(my translation)

She concluded that the major industry of the time was fishery. Obviously, the

teacher's constant reminder of the time frame that "It's the Qing Dynasty, not the present time" failed to inform students' choices of migration basing on economic settlement. This is clearly a reduction as we can see from earlier researches that apart from fishery and farming, salt industry and pearl fisheries were practiced (see *The Heritage of Hong Kong* website and Meacham 1995) and Hong Kong was a significant trading port within Southern Asia in mid-1840s, coolie trade was another business that flourished together with the Opium Trade (Hui 1997).

The last question and the responses from both the students and the teacher reflect how the lesson failed to address the objectives set by the teacher - to have students look into the way of people's life and their aspirations in the mid-19thC Hong Kong before the Britain established its colonial rule. "If you were the rich in Hong Kong, where do you think the rich would likely be settled? If you migrated from the mainland and were the rich, which part of Hong Kong would you choose to live in?" the teacher asked. For students, where the rich chose to live concerned whether the real estate properties were valuable and whether fresh air was in good supply. So districts mentioned by the students include: Aberdeen and Stanley where sea views were offered and properties prices were guaranteed; the New Territories and the mid-level on the Hong Kong side where fresher air were considered desirable districts. One student picked up the previously articulated vantage position of Kowloon made it a desirable spot for buying and selling produce within Hong Kong. The teacher noted students' concerns for high property prices and the air pollution problems in Hong Kong. She brought forth the warning from

overseas investors in the news that they might consider withdrawing investment in Hong Kong if air quality didn't improve. The teacher herself was confusing when different perspectives generated from the students' were in juxtaposition.

Teacher C concluded the discussion by rearticulating the major industries of the time, fishery and farming, and recalling students' previous knowledge of ancestral halls as evident of the rich Five Great Clans' settlement in the New Territories. The teacher was more interested in students' knowledge of the major industries of the time, rather than their analysis of the social, historical, political, and cultural contexts in which migrations on national or regional levels were generated. Her comments on the students' perspectives taken tended to reinforce students' views. What life was like at that time remains an abstract ahistorical question rather than an investigation into personal struggle in specific contexts.

Dictionary Definition of History

In the last 10 minutes of the lesson, teacher C adopted a different instructional method for the rest of the lesson. She went over the worksheet exercise on the three treaties concerning Hong Kong's colonial history. Language work and historical fact were the foci of the exercise and the teacher had students read aloud names of the treaties and filled out the details of the three treaties. The teacher made an effort to make clear to the students the meaning of the key terms: "cede", "lease" in the treaties. She contrasted the terms in marked difference:

C: 'Nanjing', write it down neatly and tidily. The first treaty was signed in 1842. ... OK, Treaty of Nanjing. Two English words need explaining: 'ceded' which means 'cutting off'; 'leased' means 'lending out'. Which part of Hong Kong was ceded in Treaty of Nanjing? Look at the textbook for answers.

Ss: Hong Kong Island.

C: Hong Kong Island, that's right. Write it down. Hong Kong Island was ceded ... OK? Hong Kong Island was ceded. What do you mean by 'ceded'?

Ss: 'cut off'.

C: 'cut off and give it to Britain'. Can it be 'pasted' back?

Ss: No.

C: No, you're right. It can't be pasted back, OK? (my translation)

Dictionary meaning was being resorted to so as to help students understand the concepts of "cede" and "lease". Dictionary meaning is often useful when working in the second-language learning environment, yet the preoccupation with language work is not unproblematic. The historical concepts of "cede" and "lease" give way to the dictionary definition that seems to explain away the relations between Hong Kong and China, and Hong Kong and Britain once and for all. So when teacher C wrapped the lesson up asking: Why did the British government take away [sic: ceded] Hong Kong Island, not the New Territories? Why lease the NT not cede it?, a question slipped out of a student's tongue: "Are Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula still British?". The question was considered stupid by the other classmates. It, however, should be considered a logically developed question through the way the lesson structured towards the end of the lesson when working with the worksheet exercises. This, in fact, could be a good inquiry question leading to different lines of historical investigations e.g. What negotiations went on

between China and Britain during years of talk from mid 1980s? What discussions were available in Hong Kong between China and Britain when concerning the future of Hong Kong? How were the preferences of the future of Hong Kong being articulated through popular culture in movies, locally produced TV programmes or songs?

Pedagogically, the reference to the dictionary definition as a kind of authority forms our understanding (or misunderstanding) of that part of the colonial history of Hong Kong without addressing the discrepancy between the dictionary meaning and the "actual" meaning of the terms. The present political status of Hong Kong illustrates that "ceded" is reduced to a linguistic concept without considering the return of Hong Kong in entity as a consequence of rounds of negotiation between China and Britain in the political historical arena.

Confusing Views: Contested Histories

Teacher C's confusing and contradictory views of this piece of colonial Hong Kong history signifies the complexities of the histories of Hong Kong. Divergent and conflicting discourses about the histories of Hong Kong existed in the curricular text and interpellated both the teacher and the students at different times in various ways. When teacher C gave dictionary definition of the historical events of the concession and lease of the different parts of Hong Kong, the colonial Hong Kong history was being reduced to a linguistic definition. The teacher was summoned to talk about this piece of history in the "lost and found" discourse. Various issues were being touched on: the

Qing people's migration belief, Hong Kong history from the British perspective and the China perspective. These different perspectives carrying different histories and desires and interests of the subjects got entangled in the lesson.

This piece of history of Hong Kong was read in a contemporary way in teacher C's S1 lesson. What seemed to guide students' perspectives of choosing fishing, farming, running wholesaling and logistic businesses and buying flats in the districts offering "value" properties are sets of assumptions that the 19thC Hong Kong was similar to the contemporary Hong Kong. Estate property values, sea view, fresh air and vantage point of Kowloon were supposed to be as significant then as it is now. Such perception is likely to have come from the media and the economic activities in the contemporary society. Ideas about fishery and farming as the major industry of early 1840s probably come from students' previous curricular knowledge about the stereotypical economic development of Hong Kong as "a small fishing village" in teacher C's EPA class. The contradictions and conflicts inside the curricular texts suggests to us that these discourses coexist and intersect with one another in the classroom discursive practices and generate tensions in teacher C's role-playing activity.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed "history" in the official EPA curriculum discourse. Rather than being "a method of inquiry" into the way people lived in the past, "history" is used to establish Hong Kong's identification with the modern China so as to set apart Hong Kong's colonial past with its British

colonizer. Hong Kong is being treated as the Other in two divergent discourses. Different subject positions are in provision and in circulation to talk about Hong Kong as the success story of British colonization and modernization or the success story of modern China's political negotiations. These different subject positions interpellate teachers and students differently at various times.

Teachers' choices of pedagogies further contribute to the complexities of the discourses about the past of Hong Kong in classroom discursive practices. The "role-playing" activity in teacher C's lesson attempted to mobilize students' experiences and concerns to explore, understand and investigate historical events. However, teacher C's lesson has not helped students investigate the histories of people's struggle as convenient reasons which are loaded with contemporary values and perspectives were given to or solicited from the students. Students were not challenged to inquire into or dialogue with the past and their understanding of the historical events was limited by reading the 19th C Hong Kong into the present. History did not manage to come alive as the investigations remain ahistorical and it failed to link history to the present. Rather, presentism, which During (2005) describes as "seeing the past through the light of the present in ways that lose sight of the past's otherness and being narcissistic historically speaking", prevails among the students and in the lesson.

However, the use of role-playing activity in the classroom could still be a worthwhile one if there were more exploration of the 19thC social context, if

the teacher could enable the class to build the context and the characters collectively, and if the historical conditions and contexts were carefully examined to see how people lived, struggled, negotiated and interpreted the historical situations. As a pedagogical technique, role playing activity, when used with care, makes it possible for students' views to surface in the classroom and may offer opportunities to open up dialogues with the subject positions in circulation.

Chapter 4

"Good Citizen" and "Conflict of Interest": Desiring Disciplinary Governance

As discussed in the previous chapter, the teacher participants' discourses about the EPA curriculum situated the curriculum in contemporary Hong Kong. They would like to instill in students some kind of "critical thinking", or "understanding" of the contemporary Hong Kong society or a sense of morality through the curriculum. In general, they find controversial issues useful and usable in the EPA classroom. It would be expected that the teachers would privilege a form of pedagogy that places inquiry learning at the center of the lessons. The lesson observations of the teacher participants do not tell the same stories. All of them worked on chosen texts from either the commercially produced textbooks or tailor-made learning materials. Of the four teachers who joined the lesson observations, except for D, teachers P, W and C's lessons are basically organized around curricular texts that they take the ideologically value-laden contents for granted. This chapter discusses the ideological conventions in the curricular texts in relations to teacher participants' endorsement of critical, analytical thinking and moral development in the students through the texts and the curriculum.

Through analyzing the curricular texts used in the classroom, I argue that the EPA curricular knowledge cultivates both identities and differences in

exclusivity and negativity. It not only constructs identities around a weak form of otherness that defines the other by negativity, but also constructs differences through decontextualized binary oppositional categories of citizens. Drawing on the classroom discursive practices and instructional designs of two of the teachers, W and C, I problematize the pedagogical techniques of individual teachers that defeat their intended curriculum goals of the EPA curriculum in cultivating students as critical thinker or moral person.

Cultivating Differences in Negativity

In this section, through examining teachers W and C's lessons on "The Qualities of Good Citizens", I reveal the ideological imperative behind the curricular texts used in their EPA classrooms and how they interpellate the teachers into talking about the "good citizens" in terms of its negativitized other. The two teachers teach at the same aided co-ed EMI school for more than ten years. Teacher W believed that the EPA syllabus mattered a lot in cultivating students' critical thinking through the use of controversial issues. To W, the nature of controversial issues defied any conclusive and definitive decisions of right or wrong in the process of unsettling the dispute. It was the presence of such ambiguity in controversial issues that made them desirable learning materials for classroom use. Students would be required to discuss the issues from multiple perspectives to locate the pros and cons towards the same issues (24 June 2005 teacher interview). As for teacher C, we can remember in Chapter 2, she said she had been treating the EPA curriculum texts the way she did with the English learning materials and aimed to help students grab the gist of the texts. She believed that the subject could be

replaced by or be integrated with other subjects if the school curriculum was overcrowded (24 June 2005 teacher interview). Drawing on her own experiences as a student of EPA, a teacher of EPA at S1 level and a mother of a Secondary Two boy preparing for the final EPA examination, C critiqued that value education was in short supply in the EPA curriculum. It would be necessary to incorporate more discussion of current issues like the right of abode of children of mainland mothers which would spark controversy. These discussions would form the substance of values education in the EPA curriculum, C said (24 June 2005 teacher interview).

Each of teachers W and C was visited twice for classroom observations between late September and mid October 2005. Both teachers employed an activity-based lesson format in the two lessons observed. Textbook materials were worked on and then followed by exercises for application in the forms of group discussion or role-playing activities. Those exercises might be supplementary materials from other textbooks or of original ideas from the teachers. The activities in their lessons were designed around certain curricular texts and the texts would be referred to as the source of authoritative knowledge that legitimize the activities done or to be done. The content of the text might be lightly touched on or seriously worked through, but it did not affect its authority in the classroom.

In the lesson observed in late September, both teachers W and C worked on the same textbook exercise, "Who is a Good Citizen?" in *Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A* (2004:82) the same way using the guidelines given in the textbook.

Then a supplementary group discussion task about a "controversial" issue concerning the use of a piece of land for refuse collection point was incorporated in the lesson to apply the "concepts" learnt. While the text "Who is a good citizen?" was the exercise from the commercially produced textbook that the school adopted, the refuse collection point discussion task was taken from another textbook with some adaptation by teacher W, who is coordinating the S1 EPA teaching syllabus. The two teachers' lessons were conducted in English. (Please refer to Appendix 3 for the learning materials.)

The design of the textbook exercise "Who is a Good Citizen?" and the way "good citizen" is being defined has to be problematized in the first place. The exercise represents four socially "deviant" behaviours in four drawings. In first figure, a young man in cap and boots spits onto the pavement, which is clean but without any sight of a rubbish bin, in a contemptuous manner. Cartoon image of germs come out of the phlegm indicating that the man is sick. It is followed by a question: "What effects does the behaviour shown in Fig. A have on individuals and society?" The suggested answers from the textbook are:

Individuals: A person spitting on the ground is liable to a fixed penalty of \$1500.

Society: Deprive others of their rights to live in a certain clean environment/harm public health and the environment/spread disease. (Or other reasonable answers.)

(Hong Kong in Focus 1A 2004:82)

In the second situation, a youngster witnesses a crime at the back alley where

a man threatens a girl at knifepoint. The youngster is obviously scared and walks away quickly, saying "It's not my business!" to himself. The third situation depicts a scene in a train compartment where an old lady is taking care of a kid in school uniform, carrying the kid's school bag. The old lady is standing with shaky legs while three young people are minding their own business: the lady is putting on her lipstick, the man in suit reading his newspaper and a big guy in vest and shorts taking a nap. The discussion questions include: "(a) What is wrong with the youngsters' behaviour in Fig. B and C? and (b) If you were the youngster, what would you do?" The suggested answers go like this:

- (a) a. Fig B: He witnesses a crime, but he does not report to the police.
b. Fig C: They do not offer their seats to the elderly/people in need.
- (b) Students may answer freely.

(Hong Kong in Focus 1A 2004:82)

In the fourth situation, two middle-aged men are seen quarrelling with clenched fists and angry faces under a banner that reads "Forum on Article 23". Each of them has a younger man behind them trying to calm them down. It seems to suggest that the two middle-aged men might go into fistfight sooner or later. With this figure, the discussion question goes, "Do people in Fig. D have a constructive attitude during the discussion? Why?" The suggested answer reads:

No. They fail to act calmly. They are not rational and objective during the discussion. They have not paid attention to what the others have said. Therefore, they cannot understand each other's viewpoints. They try to use force to resolve their dispute.

(*Hong Kong in Focus 1A* 2004:82)

The exercise ends with the question: "Summarise the answers above and list the qualities of a good citizen." The suggested answers read as follows:

- Keep the environment clean/maintain public health.
- Be brave and report crimes.
- Help people in need.
- Discuss social issues rationally and objectively, and then express our opinions to the government. (Or other reasonable answers)

(*Hong Kong in Focus 1A* 2004:82)

The exercise aims to help students "develop proper attitudes as good citizens and make good use of civil rights and freedoms" (*Hong Kong in Focus 1A* 2004:82). The way the questions are set and the direction the discussion goes need to be called into question. At the representation level, three out of the four figures represented young people being socially deviant in behaviours and inconsiderate to others' need, while the middle-aged men engaged in "angry quarrel" in the political debate are irrational, subjective, and potentially violent. Images of young people and middle-aged men are portrayed to represent misbehaviours at the societal level and at the realm of political state affairs. The elderly, kids and girls are victims of their "misbehaviours". Then it leaves the school teens to be the people who can make a difference by being "good citizens" who behave themselves to maintain public health, social order and be considerate.

The conclusions offered in the textbook establish "the qualities of a good citizen" through negating the "socially deviant" behaviours of the people

represented in the pictures. The "identity" of a "good citizen" is first constructed through cultivating a notion of difference that exists in social behaviours of people who dresses differently and speaks differently. These "misbehaviours" are negated to exclude what good citizens are not, then as if by definition, the "qualities" a good citizen should possess are the other side of a binary oppositional pairs like "maintaining public health", "Help people in need", "Be brave and report crimes" and "discuss social issues rationally and objectively" (*Hong Kong in Focus 1A* 2004:82). The curricular text constructs difference by defining the qualities of good citizens in exclusivity of the "social misbehaved" citizens and then form distinctive binary oppositional categories of "good" citizens and "no good" citizens.

Differences are marked out into categories of distinctive oppositions "well-behaved citizens" and "ill-behaved citizens" as far as qualities of the citizens are concerned. Such classification is not unproblematic. Obviously, what causes those "ill-behaved citizens" to behave badly is not the concern of the exercise and students are not offered the chances to investigate the causes of disputes and misbehaviour, even if they might want to. Political debates about legislation for national security is brought into discussion in terms of "socially deviant misbehaviours" as the men involved are seen emotionally involved in the discussion. The exercise places political events in the paradigm of the behavioural concern when discussing who a good citizen is not. Students are governed to see spitting in public, not giving seat to the elderly and not reporting crime as "misbehaviours" threatening social order. They are also governed to see political debate from the same social

behavioral paradigm. The misbehaviours like spitting in public and engaging in heated debate in political events are to be understood as behavioural problems, something "out of place" in the good citizen. It dismisses consideration about what the political feud is about and what causes such emotional responses. Critical thinking, objectivity and rationality comes to be defined as behaviours rather than practices.

Problematizing the Text-oriented "Critical Thinking"

Teacher W began the lesson with the text and walked students through the four situations with powerpoint slides giving out the suggested "answers" in the textbook. The curricular text was studied without going into the causes contributing to any of the four "misbehaviours" these people displayed. Then, W moved onto the supplementary discussion task about a controversy of whether a refuse collection point or a park should be built. (Please refer to Appendix 3 for the learning material.) Teacher W intended to help students to think critically with the exercise this group discussion task. Yet, I argue that the refuse collection point discussion task being organized around an issue of "conflicts of interests" further constructs differences and identities by dismissing the other in negativity and renders teacher W's aim of cultivating critical thinking through the material difficult to come.

The context of the refuse collection point controversy is set like this: Originally a park is planned to be built and a change of plan will give a nearby housing estate residents a refuse collection point instead. The response of the residents of the estate is negative, while some representatives of the housing

estates are discussing the issue with the government representatives, others discontented residents take to the street and protest for the original plan for the park, urging the government to build the refuse collection point elsewhere. The case is presented in a sequence of three drawings which go like this: Figure (a) is a notice from the Urban Service Department informing the residents about the change of plan. On the top of the notice, there is the salutation: "To residents". Right beneath it, a park with greenies and a pond next to a high-rise is being scrapped with a big cross (X). Further down the notice, a refuse collection point with a truck loading and unloading rubbish can be seen next to the same high-rise. Figure (b), the second drawing, shows representatives from both sides, residents from the housing estate and the government, are having a meeting. One resident is talking about the idea of finding somewhere else to build the refuse collection point. Figure (c), the last picture, shows a group of protesters, some in suits, some in casual wear and one wearing a face mask, most of them look discontent, holding a banner that reads, "Build the Refuse Collection Point Elsewhere", with two placards that read "No Rubbish" and "We Want a Park". It is obvious that the graphics presents the case from the housing estate residents' point of view and those who go on demonstration represent the residents from the estate.

The task for the students were to role-play as the government officials, the residents affected and concerned environmentalists taking these perspectives to discuss what they would say about the change of land use plan and what they would do then. Teacher W explained the purpose of the discussion task in relations to the "Qualities of Citizen" exercise in the textbook in the

post-observation interview: ("M" stands for me, the researcher)

W: In the previous chapter, we talked about obey[ing] laws, respect[ing] right of others. Now they are experiencing obedience. Right! obedience. Say, if the government insists on building a collection center [refuse collection point], will you obey the decision? If you want to disobey, what methods will you use? Demonstrations! Simple. They [students] don't have to use complete sentence, single words will do. Key word[s] will help to show if they have mastered something already.

M: W, you are very concerned about their expression in English (laughter). (C laughs along)

W: (smiling) Yes yes, it is necessary. We need to strike a balance.

M: (turning to C) Now, C, how do you say they [students] would think about the issue. Both of you tell them to think about the case and report back the next lesson. What do you think they, I mean the students, will consider concerns [for] others, respect individual and community? Or, how will you talk about these with the students?

W: (replying first) They are so young and don't really know how to, so I design a case to give them a context to learn from the situation. Say, [pointing to the powerpoint printout of "Who is a Good Citizen?" materials], give seat, report crime. These they know but not something that they have to suffer, making a phone call, stand for a while, easy stuff. But the [refuse collection point] case gets them to think when they really have to suffer, they will think more seriously. In real life, that is the case most of the time. So we have to balance right and duty.

(my translation 28 September 2005 post-observation interview)

W believed the previous curricular texts that talked about the duties of citizens to obey law and respect the right of others would work as a powerful reference to guide their discussion in this particular task and students would come up with a conclusion about the need to balance right and duty. With this presumption, teacher W expected that students would choose to give in to the government's changed land use plan as they would choose to balance between their rights and duties in the interest of the society.

Governmental Rationality and the Construction of Differences

When the students were discussing the task, I talked with one of the students who initiated a conversation with me asking me what I was filming about. I asked her how she thought of the problem of building a refuse collection point instead of a park. Her answer was negative, speaking from the role of the residents. Then when asked what solution she would give, she said the long-term solution would be to send the rubbish up to the space and the immediate measure would be to deposit the rubbish onto a sparsely populated island. The rest of the dialogue developed in the following way:

("G" stands for the student)

M: (smiling) Then the residents on the island would have to bear with the smelly rubbish?

G: Well, we can tell them to move away. There aren't many of them. It will be fine if we ask them to move to the urban area.

M: (rephrasing the girl's idea) OK, that means to move the small number of residents away and then send the rubbish there. Then why don't we simply keep the rubbish there in Tin Tin estate?

G: Because Tin Tin estate should be located in the urban area. If then, it [keeping the rubbish there] will affect other people.

M: Who will be affected?

G: The other residents in Tin Tin estate will be affected.

M: (clarifying the girls idea) the other residents in Tin Tin estate. If you are resident of Tin Tin, ...

G: I'll choose not to build [refuse collection point] there because it affects me.

M: What if you are the residents of the small island?

G: Sorry? (indicating the researcher to repeat as she can't hear the question clearly)

M: (repeating the same question) What if you are the residents on the small island?

G: Well, there is no other choice! There isn't enough land supply in Hong Kong.

(my translation 28 September 2005 lesson observation)

The girl made her case clearly in a rational way, explaining that the small population of islanders can be moved into the urban area so that refuse could be deposited onto the island without affecting the islanders while at the same time solving the problem the Tin Tin estate residents face. The student's suggestion is reflective of the dualistic thought pattern in which the majority rules and, unavoidably, the minority has to suffer. To be more specific, it is the urban-centred majority that rules. The girl's assumption that Tin Tin estate is located in the urban area probably comes from the first drawing on their discussion sheet. The design of the whole exercise that offers discussion about the options between "a park" and "a refuse collection point" is a very urban-centred "concept" that embraces urban development over environmental preservation. The task itself is designed in a way that privileges urban residents with right to fresh air over islanders' right to fresh air and choice of residence. This "majority rules" logic is coupled with the tendency to divide people and governs the way to think about the treatment of the refuse. Later, in the post-observation lesson, we, teachers W, C and I, discussed where this logic possibly came from. W believed that it was from the student's previous knowledge from the primary school as he learnt it from his wife who teaches in a primary school (28 September 2005 post-observation interview).

The majority rules logic building around the concept of urban-centred development enters the discursive practice of teacher W's EPA lesson through the refuse collection point discussion. The textbook exercise "Who

is a Good Citizen?" tries to regulate the discussion through producing subject position to interpellate the S1 student into a good urban teenage citizen who is concerned with where to send the rubbish. She is obliged to the majority rules logic.

The regulatory power of the curricular text is also evident in teacher C's lesson using the same materials. Teacher C incorporated the refuse collection point discussion task at the end of her lesson after handling the text on qualities of good citizens. The case was introduced verbally with some adaptation to situate the controversy in the region where School A is in by adding in details related to the school.

- C: The Hong Kong government ... no, not the Hong Kong government, the Shatin District office decide[s] to build a beautiful park, a swimming pool and playground in Tai Wai. But suddenly the government change the plan. Well, in Shatin, there are many people, we need a rubbish collection centre. There is no place to collect the rubbish. When all the rubbish is collected, they would be sent to Tai Wai. What will you do? Let me repeat, in case you don't understand. We are supposed to have a beautiful park in Tai Wai outside our school but suddenly the government changes the plan to build a rubbish collection centre there.
- S: (trying to understand in Cantonese) 垃圾堆填區 (literally, landfill)。
- C: Yes, a rubbish collection centre, (repeating in Cantonese) 垃圾收集站, not 垃圾堆填區 (literally, landfill), next to our school.
- S: I'll report to the government.
- C: You'll 'report' ... or 'protest', say 'NO! NO! NO!' (miming by raising the fist in the air). How many of you will say no? Put up your hand (around 7 or 8 students raise their hand).
- C: But the people, residents in Tai Po say: 'That's a good idea because we need a rubbish collection centre. Don't build it in Tai Po, build it in Tai Wai. They all agree, but people in Tai Wai don't agree. What should we do?
- S: Complain to the District Council.

- C: Excellent. Then they say where should the rubbish collection centre be built then? Where should we put it? We need to find a place in Hong Kong. All the rubbish needs to be collected. Please, in groups of 2 to 3, tell me one place where you would like to build the centre. Think about a place with a reason. (Students turn around in fours and begin chitchatting. About 15 seconds later) Time's up. Tell me please. This group?
- S: In the sea.
- C: (repeating) In the sea. (inviting another group) This group?
- S: In the sea.
- C: (repeating) In the sea. (indicating the next to speak) This group?
- S: Out to the space.
- C: Send it to the space so that the earth won't be polluted.
- S: In the sea.
- S: In place where no one lives.
- C: In a place where no one lives (Ss: Where?)
- C: Yes, I'm going to ask 'where'. We have people everywhere. This group?
- S: At home.
- C: (surprised by the response) Ah? (calling the attention of the class) Listen, the boy says we can place the rubbish at his home (laughter breaks out). You are so generous. Are you sure? Do you know what will happen? (handing over the microphone for the boy to respond. For a while, the boy's hesitant to respond)
- (The bell rings)
- S: Island without people.
- C: Some people suggest we send it to the space, put it in the sea and put it on an island somewhere else with no people.
- S: ?? (the student murmurs something that can't be heard clearly)
- C: (rephrasing the student's idea) so what you mean is to recycle the rubbish. Now remember these three suggestions and we will discuss it tomorrow. Don't forget your vocabulary book.

(28 September 2005 lesson observation)

Students' ideas of handling the rubbish included dumping it into the sea, sending it to outer space and depositing it on an island where no one resides on. Towards the end of the lesson, two other ideas were suggested: keeping

the rubbish at home and recycling it. These two other ideas point to a very different line of thought about the refuse problem in the discussion task. Yet, it seems that teacher C was not ready for the other way of investigating the controversy especially with the suggestion of "keeping the rubbish at home". In the same post-observation interview, C talked of how she would like the task to be followed up the next lesson.

C: ... I haven't touched on the main theme [in the group discussion task] yet. I spent lots of time talking about qualities of good citizens, first from looking at qualities of good teachers, good students and then good citizens. This lesson, class 1D had very good responses, very attentive, willing to answer in English. Ideas come mainly from four to five students. Talking about the rubbish collection point, some students got the ideas like sending the rubbish to outer space, to a no-man island. Well ... they've got the consciousness of caring about others. I think that's good. Dumping the rubbish to place where no one lives in is better than sending it to Tai Po [another district in Hong Kong]. I think that they've got stronger awareness. That's because ... I'm not sure if that's because I've reminded them that citizens should care about others. Maybe it's because of this reminder, it guides students to think more about the others, concern more about the others. But, we haven't touched on the main theme. We haven't talked about public interest and individual interest and the conflict between these two. We will conclude in the next lesson that way. It'll be fine.

(my translation 28 September 2005 post-observation interview)

Teacher C commended students for being considerate in suggesting where the rubbish was to be sent to in the post-observation interview. The ideas of "keeping the rubbish at home" and "recycling it" were not taken up in teacher C's comment. These two ideas, in fact, point to a very different line of thought and could be bringing the controversy to a different direction of investigation: the refuse itself as the root problem and the way to handle the

refuse. Instead of concerning where to build the refuse collection point, the two alternate suggestions are probably one solution to the root problems of refuse. Yet, it seems that teacher C was not ready for these other ways of investigating the controversy as she was governed to think of the refuse collection point controversy in only one way: a case study for the understanding of conflict of interest between individual and community. The problematic of the case study itself, that is where rubbish comes from and how it is to be dealt with, loses its specificity and comes in of secondary importance. It seems to suggest that what makes up the case does not make much difference as long as it is concerned with "conflict of interest" within the framing of "community and individual interest", the same conclusion applies: community interest comes first, and the majority rules.

Here, teacher C's use of the refuse collection point case is characteristic of a specific form of governmental rationality. At the pedagogical level, the refuse collection point controversy is a case for issue-based inquiry that centred on conflict of interest. It is a pedagogical design where students are taught and guided to see controversial issues in terms of a dichotomized conflict of interest between the "community" and the "individual", of which we have already problematized with another textbook case, the urban renewal case in Chapter 2. This issue-based conflict of interest pedagogy brings issues in everyday life scenarios into the EPA classroom, as we have also seen in Chapter 2. In so doing, EPA curricular texts borrow from the mainstream values that privilege urban-centred majority economic rationality. Together, they constitute a specific form of governmental rationality that governs

teacher C, teacher W alike, to discuss the refuse collection point controversy without going into the root problems of the refuse with the students.

This form of governmental rationality has consequences in students' understanding of differences and the other. The discourse of the case governs the way the case is to be dealt with, that is to externalize the refuse problem. First, students are governed to see the refuse problem as existing by itself without any tie or relationships with other factors that make the problem what it is. To see the refuse problem not belonging to the residents and the refuse collection point unwanted by the residents, hence, the refuse and/or the refuse collection point is to be placed elsewhere. In this way, the refuse problem is externalizing through dumping the rubbish into the sea, sending it to outer space, depositing it in places like islands where no one lives. Their job is to stay their stance, argue the case and suggest where to handle the refuse when it is not to be built in Tin Tin estate. Other possibilities of inquiry generated the change of land use are excluded from the investigation e.g. the refuse problem and solution, the community participation in policy making, social conflict and the way it is handled, not to mention the inquiry into the power relations behind the change of land use. It is not that students are not expected to see things "relationally", but that they are to see things in a specific kind of relations articulated in a way specified by the governmental rationality. This brings us to the second problem of the governmental rationality that sees the non-urban other i.e. the remote island where no or few people live on, and the non-human other i.e. the sea and the outer space as the alternative dumping ground, the "exploitative other", under

the economic rationality. This urban-centered majority rule logic governs our way of seeing the other not of their everyday life practice occupying positions in the space, but of their value of being exploitable. It constructs "a weak form of otherness" (Grossberg 1996) that exists external to the "rational citizen self", with some kinds of essential features that allows it to be exploited.

It is a form of "articulation of difference on top of otherness that becomes the material site of discursive power", Grossberg (1996:96) argues in his article 'Identity and Cultural Studies', drawing on Edward Said's work in *Orientalism* (1978). From Said's "crucial" ambiguity in the theoretical position about the existence of the Orient (1996:95), Grossberg marks out at least three different positions on the existence of the Oriental along a continuum: the first sees the Oriental other in negativity "as pure excess or supplementary" to the Occident's own self-understanding, the second sees the Orient and the Occident as in "an unequal relation of constitutive difference", mutually in need of one another for self-definition through marking itself different from the other, and the third position, which Grossberg believes to be Said's, holds that the Oriental did exist "independently of the Orientalist" with its own positivity and cultures and that "Orientalism involves actual material processes of colonization, travel, exploitation and domination" (1996:96). Grossberg uses Said to argue about the contested formations of modern power and its particular logic of difference:

The act of power comes not in creating something from nothing, but in reducing something to nothing (to pure semantic and differential terms), in

negating the positivity of the Arab world with all of its diversity, for example, to nothing but a singular constitutive other, to the different. Thus, it is precisely the articulation of difference on top of otherness that becomes the material site of discursive power and which, I would argue, a fundamental logic of formations of modern power (1996:96).

Here I am not suggesting that the governmental rationality behind the small pieces of classroom discursive practices at issue reflects traces of formations of colonial power in Hong Kong, which I won't deny either at this stage as a lot of work needs to be done to sort out the relations between the two. What I do want to suggest is that a decontextualized way of handling teaching materials, when coupled with curricular texts that organize around "conflict of interest" defines a weak form of otherness through difference create the "material site of discursive power" for the governmental rationality to circulate and take effect.

Grossberg (1996) urges us to conceive differences as fundamentally constitutive by accepting a strong sense of otherness,

which recognizes that the other exists, in its own place, as what it is, independently of any specific relations. But what it is need not be defined in transcendental or essential terms; what it is can be defined by its particular (contextual) power to affect and to be affected. That is, such views of otherness grant to each term an unspecified, but specifiable, positivity (1996:94).

To accept a strong sense of otherness is to recognize that "difference is itself historically produced ... Differences as much as identity is an effect of power" (Grossberg 1996:94). It makes possible space to be open up to counter "the

modern logic: difference, individuality and temporality", Grossberg maintains (1996:93). To Grossberg, "the fundamental structures of modernity are always productions of difference" and "the modern never constitutes itself as an identity ... but as a difference ... theories of difference take difference itself as given, as the economy out of which identities are produced" (1996:93). To accept a strong sense of otherness that considers the other as mutually constitutive as the self is a politics to counter

the modern thought that is not just binary but a particular kind of binary-producing machine, where binaries become constitutive differences in which the other is defined by its negativity (1996:94)

Regulation of Differences in the Classroom Context

The regulatory power of the disciplinary governance in the curricular texts, I would argue, first interpellates the two teachers who used the textbook exercise as the basis of authoritative knowledge with little critique. It then gets translated into the two teachers' classroom discursive practices through the way the teacher handled social relations in the classroom. Teacher C's way of treating the textbook exercise is a case in point. She covered the same textbook exercise "Who is a Good Citizen?" less in depth in her lesson as compared to teacher W's. Instead of walking through the four figures in the text like the way teacher W did with his class, C started out the lesson with an analogy of what made a good student and a good teacher to help students understand the "qualities" of a good citizen before discussing the text using the guidelines provided. I argue that the analogy draws not only on the way the qualities of a citizen is to be conceived as laid out in the curricular text, but

also on the way the hierarchical power relations between the government and the citizens that is built in the text. In so doing, teacher C is engaging in a form of values education through the EPA curriculum by prioritizing the values that the government embraces.

Minutes after the students' chitchat, C solicited ideas about what made a good student and what made a good teacher from the S1 students. Suggestions about what made a good student included: "Be polite to the teacher"; "Study hard"; "Listen to the teacher"; "Bring textbooks to school"; "Hand in the homework"; "Keep the school clean" and "Behave well" (28 September 2005 lesson observation). The qualities were behavioural and behavioural alone. Other suggestions like: asking questions in class, working out problems with classmates or consulting teachers for problems, are lacking. Besides, the qualities of a good student lie in their responsibility in the eyes of the "teacher". The classroom discursive practice reproduced a set of power relations valued in the curricular text. With the suggestion that a good student "should keep quiet", the teacher followed up with a comment.

S: Keep quiet.

C: (repeating) Keep quiet. (addressing the class) Do you think it's a good quality? Keep quiet for the whole day. Do you think it's good? Is it good? (some noise from the class) Is it good that you say nothing during the class, zip up your mouth (miming). (Ss: no) Is it good? Sometimes it's good when too many people are talking at the same time and you can't hear anything. Sometimes it's bad because you don't have response to the teacher. I'll say keep quiet sometimes but not all the time. I don't want to talk to the wall. I don't want to talk to a dummy. You know a dummy? The thing in the shop that do[es] not talk.

(28 September 2005 lesson observation)

When teacher C asked students to reflect whether they were good students by those standards, one girl claimed that she was not as she did not help to keep the school clean.

- C: How many of you think that you are not a very good student? (one girl raises her hand) Which rule do you break all the time? Tell me. You are very honest, I like you very much.
- G: To keep the school clean. I have a lot of rubbish.
- C: (repeating to the class) She has lots of rubbish. (to the girl) Do you think it is difficult to place the rubbish in the rubbish bin.
- G: Yes.
- C: Why? (surprised)
- G: Because I forget to walk to the bin.
- C: You think that it's a long distance to walk there, so tell me the secret, a public secret. Where do you keep the rubbish?
- G: In my drawer.
- C: (pretending to be surprised) In your drawer? This [the drawer] is still under your care. This is your desk. I'm glad you didn't put the rubbish in his [her neighbouring student's] desk. (laughter from the other students and the girl is a bit embarrassed) (teasing the girl) Ha ha or you'll be in trouble. So class when you walk around here, hold your nose. It may be a bit smelly. (laughter from the rest of the class and the girl is a bit embarrassed). Good, now you know, walking over there (pointing to where the rubbish bin is) won't take you too long and this is a good exercise for you to keep fit. (To her neighbour) if you smell something bad, tell me. I'll help you.

Rather than accusing the student of being unhygienic, the girl's "situation" could have formed the basis for investigating the classroom spatial arrangement if cleanliness and the use of the rubbish bin were such a concern. The discourse of the "qualities of a good student" in the form of imperative, "A good student should ..." does not allow such investigation to

take place, or it simply does not aim to do so. It remained to be the individual's responsibility to take care of their own behaviour as a good student.

With the qualities of a good teacher, suggestions from students include: "A teacher should not late" (literally, be punctual to class); "Ask student questions" (with teacher's prompt and mime); "Teacher should teach 'with their heart'" (literally, to teach enthusiastically). Teacher C tended to prompt students to qualify their suggestions they made or simply did the qualification herself. Reasons can be multiple. One reason can be related to student's linguistic output. Another may be related to the unfamiliar way of looking at the qualities of a teacher from across the teacher/student positions. This switch of speaking position could be empowering in placing teacher/student power relations in scrutiny and contribute to the "democratization" of the schooling process. Yet, the classroom discourse seemed to rule out such a possibility and suggested otherwise.

When a student mentioned that a good teacher should "teach the students", C followed up the idea this way:

- S: Teach the students.
- C: Right, a good teacher should teach the students, but not sleep in the class. ... Do you mean all teachers here don't teach at all?
- S: No.
- C: So when teachers teach you, they are all good teachers, right? Yeah, I'm glad because all teachers here teach. They are good because nobody sleeps in your class. ...

With the idea that a good teacher "[d]oesn't give any homework to students", teacher C qualified it herself:

- S: Don't give any homework to students (a bit laughter from students).
- C: A good teacher should not give *too much* homework to students. I'll say a good teacher should give (Ss: enough) *appropriate* homework to students ... *suitable* (Ss: not enough) ... not too much, not too little (my emphasis). (pausing for a while) Now the last question: Is Mrs. C a good teacher? (Ss chanting 'Yes') From the bottom of your heart? (Ss saying 'Yes'). Or you cover your heart and say 'Half and half.' Right? I think you have to say 'wait and see' because you have just know me for one month ... to see if I am (referring to the bb notes under the category of 'qualities of a good teacher') punctual to class; teach with enthusiasm; encourage students to speak and give little homework.

The qualities of a good teacher, again, laid in the eyes of the "teacher", rather than those of the students. With the "homework" suggestion from the student, the teacher might as well open up discussion of students' ideas about what counts as homework, what kinds of homework mean burden to them, what don't, as well as how homework is handled by the students. With the earlier suggestion about "Teacher should teach", the rhetorical question, "Do you mean all teachers here don't teach at all?" and the concluding remark that "I'm glad because all teachers here teach. They are good because nobody sleeps in your class", seems to be saying in such a way to dismiss any possibility of any teachers who do not teach. It leaves more important questions like how a teacher teaches, what makes good teaching, unexamined. The exercise of good students and good teacher seems to be done with a sense of securing some form of authority and order.

The analogy that C used in the lesson discussed above reinforces the differential power between teachers and students in the micro-context of the classroom. Differences between the teachers and students mirror the disciplining government and the obedient citizens or, to be exact, the power relations that is privileged in the disciplinary governance enters the classroom through the analogy C used. Differences in behavioural patterns are regulated as it can be seen in the way teacher teased the girl who did not care to throw rubbish into the rubbish bin. Differences in the lines of thought about the refuse problems are not taken up in the classroom discussion. Possibilities of exploring causes to the problem at stake or other problems generated are dismissed. Critical thinking is narrowed down to the way people should behave properly in public.

With this analysis of teacher C's classroom practice, I do not suggest that teacher C has any ulterior motive of any kind with her classroom discussion. The opposite is true. C is, in fact, well liked by her students and commended by other teachers and the administrators as dutiful in many senses. The teacher's activities in the classroom have to be understood as complex interplay among a number of factors, including the conditions created by the curriculum discourse, cultural resources teachers tap into to make sense of the curricular text, their pedagogical techniques they employ and the wider institutional context they work in.

At the level of classroom discursive practice, the EPA curriculum structures the way the lesson and the teaching that teachers have to take in the

classroom. It creates the condition for teachers to talk about the selected knowledge from certain subject positions within the discourses circulating in the curriculum. This is the case with teacher C's lesson on "Who is a Good Citizen?" The imperative, "A good student should..."; "A good teacher should ..." or "A good citizen should ...", makes available subject positions to talk about the behaviours of the other from a moral highland. Both teachers C and her students, and teacher W with no exception, would be obliged to take up those subject positions if they are to describe the misbehaviour of the other in terms of the good behaviour of the considerate citizens. The discourse of the curricular text privileges a particular account of the "government/citizen" relations of power which is to judge the other by the way they behave. The pedagogical techniques that use textbook materials as sources of authoritative knowledge in the EPA classroom authorize such relations of power in the classroom. Differences that marked off people into two distinct opposite categories of "well-behaved citizens" and "ill-behaved citizens" in the discourse of the text are reinforced through discursive practice in the classroom.

Once, teacher C has criticized the EPA curriculum for lacking in values education (24 June 2005 teacher interview). The analysis of the two curricular texts in use suggests otherwise. They are value-laden which transmit the value of urban-centred majority governmental rationality from the position of moral highlander. Teacher C, who has been seeing herself as a neutral agent dedicating to the passing on knowledge in the EPA course necessary for the construction of critical thinking at a later stage in the

students (13 July 2005 teacher interview), plays no neutral role in the classroom at all. She is taking part in transmitting the values embraced the governmental rationality in the text through her classroom practices.

Yet, the power relation authorized by the curricular text does not necessary work the way it is intended to. Though teacher W would expect the S1 students to support the building of refuse collection point in favour of "community interest" the way the curricular text says, all students supported the building of a park. Students' preference for a park to be built shows that they locate for themselves a different subject position that articulates their rights and duties to fresh air. The reporting back from students in another S1 class, however, shows that this presumption of texts as the source of authoritative knowledge does not work that way. Their final conclusions differed from teacher W's preferred response. Students would like to have the park rather than the refuse collection points built. Why is there a discrepancy between W's intended learning outcome and students' choice and what contributes to such discrepancy?

An analysis of the students' ideas will give us some clues. By courtesy of W, the reporting back session from another Secondary One class was recorded for this research study. In the 5 min 30 seconds reporting back session, teacher W took a non-evaluative and non-interventive role and only asked each group for their collective judgement of whether a park or a refuse collection point should be built. Each group took their turns "performing" the group discussion process before showing their stance in English. Though

the discussion and negotiation among the representatives role-played by the group mates was briefly done, the discourses reflected in the roles assumed were highly visible. The major arguments that the students who role-played as Tin Tin estate residents' pivoted on the residents' right to fresh air and clean environment. One group even conceived the consequence of the refuse collection point from the individual resident's perspective: the financial burden due to health hazard (group 4). The arguments that the students who played the role of the environmental protection group tend to look at the issues of waste and air quality from a more macro societal level: "We don't want a lot of rubbish" (Group 1), "Hong Kong has not enough trees" (Group 2), "It will lower the hygienic level of the air" (literally, worsen the air quality) (Group 3). The right to a park is articulated as a social good. Those who role-played as the government officials centred their argument on the duty of the government to handle a "real" social problem: the refuse problem. The government was taking a pragmatic, responsible, reasonable and problem-shooting approach to the problem: "If we do not build the refuse collection point, where can we put the rubbish?" (Group 4), "We can build the trees in the sidewalk, we don't need the park" (Group 2), "We suggest to build a refuse collection point because it can put the rubbish in the area and no need to ... no need to make the place smell bad smell" (Group 3). One group even highlighted the moral role of the government to educate citizens to produce less rubbish. (CD-rom, with courtesy of teacher W)

Teacher W, who presumed that the students would choose to accept the refuse collection point to be built, rather than a park, was assuming the

subject position of the government from where the curricular texts spoke of duties and rights of citizen in terms of obedience. The students were assuming the positions of the residents who were entitled by law rights to fresh air and clean environment. The discrepancy between teacher W's expected learning outcome and the students' feedback lies in the different speaking positions they take and stands a good chance for opening up multiple readings of the same curricular text (Comber and Simpson 2001).

Institutionally Sanctioned Discourse of Disciplinary Governance

Teachers C and W structured their lessons in an activity-based format. There were a lot of "discussions" going on in the two lessons observed where students were invited to give responses to the questions so as to maximize students' English language practices and to ensure that they had mastered the content and the necessary vocabulary items. These "discussions", however, required some predetermined or expected answers from students rather than engaging students in an open inquiry involving reasoning or opinions from students.

It is noticed that C was very strict with classroom discipline with the purpose of establishing turn taking practice in the classroom to take place. Students were expected to speak, ask and answer questions in English in the EPA lessons to maximize their linguistic output in the classroom. She used different instructional techniques to develop the lessons and engage the students, and drawing analogy from students' life experiences to illuminate discussion of less familiar issue like the one about qualities of good citizens,

good students and good teachers.

The wider structural context sets the scene for individual teachers to prioritize their time and resource investment in their teaching practices. They also laid out some logic for teachers to work with the EPA curriculum. Linguistic output of the students is important in both schools A and B. Teacher C has assumed the role of EPA teacher after school A adopted the EMI policy in 1998. As an English teacher, C faces head-on the burden of boosting students for their English language proficiency. She knew very well that that was the reason why she was deployed as an EPA teacher (24 June 2005 teacher interview). Teachers of languages especially the English Language, a high status subject, play a significant role in maintaining academic achievement through the EPA curriculum. The need to train up students' skills and proficiency in the language, which is usually measured in terms of accuracy and mastery of patterns of meanings, is the foremost service of the language teacher. Drilling comes in and practice makes perfect. The content of the learning materials is lightly touched on, not to mention challenging the ideological content of the texts. She also mentioned there had been request from the parents that more worksheet exercises should be given to students for vocabulary practices, was the most difficult thing for them (28 September 2005 teacher interview).

Conclusion

The analysis of the curricular knowledge in teachers W's and C's lesson reveals that curricular texts are by no means neutral. They authorize a set of

power relations which is attached with a hierarchy of differential value. In the case of teachers W's and C's lessons "Who is a Good Citizen?", the text privileges a particular way of describing government/citizen as well as citizen/citizen relations. The text constructs difference by defining the qualities of good citizens in exclusivity of the "social misbehaved" and then form distinctive binary oppositional categories of "good" citizens and "no good" citizens. The other text, the refuse collection point, which is designed around a conflict of interest, dichotomizes "community" and "individual" interests. When coupled with a text-centred pedagogical technique, the curriculum discourse hails the teachers into the subject positions of the authoritative governmental state that aims to produce a form of "rational" citizens who embrace economic and governmental rationalities by negating the other. Then, the problem with treating curricular texts which are laden with hierarchical differential value as a source of authoritative knowledge is that it takes up the preferred meaning of the text and makes available the circulation of the subject positions produced in the discourse to talk about the set of power relations endorsed in the discourse.

Teacher W would expect his students to take up the government's position and sacrifice by accepting the refuse collection point in the name of the interest of the "society". His students, however, preferred to externalize the refuse problem and the refuse collection point and opted for the park. The discrepancy between W's expected learning outcome and the students' preference suggests the contradictory and conflicting nature of the curriculum discourse. The preferred meaning of the text has set in at least three

hierarchical subject positions for the teacher to talk about the balance between rights and duties: the well-intended authoritative government, the obedient and considerate citizen and the inconsiderate and disobedient citizen.

This conflicting nature of the discourse can also be found in teacher C's lesson. Though the question "Where should the rubbish collection centre be built then? We need to find a place in Hong Kong." governs the way the refuse collection point controversy is to be thought about, two students' ideas about how the rubbish generated should be handled suggests that the relations between the refuse problem and the building of refuse collection point is an articulation, which is "properly relations of 'no necessary correspondence' but founded on contingency", in Hall's words (1996:14). When disarticulated, other possibilities are opened up to look at the refuse problem in perspective and the discourse does not "summon" the students into the "positions" that the discourse of the question has produced for them. These students' feedbacks suggest to us that discursive practice regulates our way of talking and thinking about a particular topic by summoning us into place in the discourse, yet it may not always be able to do so completely as our relation as subject to the discourse is open to rearticulation.

The way teachers W and C structured their lessons tells us the wider institutional context that give rise to such practices of differences in the classroom. In the next chapter, I will further examine the complex interplay between the disciplinary power of the school institutions, the regulatory effects

of the curriculum texts and the teacher participants' classroom discursive practices. The chapter will also discuss teacher D's dialogic pedagogy in her S1 EPA classroom to reveal how her dialogic pedagogy open up dialogues with the subject positions made available in the curriculum.

Chapter 5

Understanding the Institutional Limits and Going beyond Binary Rigidities

Following the previous discussion of the contextual factors that give rise to teacher C's practices of differences in her classroom, in this chapter, I further examine the other teachers' classroom discursive practices alongside with the wider institutional logic that they work under. The complex interplay between the institutional constraints, the regulatory effects of the curriculum texts and the social relations and practices inside and beyond the classroom create tensions and contradictions in the curriculum discourses. The tensions and contradictions within the curriculum discourse coming from the teachers' beliefs and the cultural resources they possess may delimit or reinforce the regulatory effect of the curriculum discourse. In the latter half of this chapter, through examining teacher D's dialogic pedagogy in her S1 EPA classroom, I discuss how such dialogic pedagogy open up dialogues with the subject positions made available in the curriculum and places the regulatory power of the curriculum discourse on "suturing" identities of "citizens" under negotiation.

The Limits of Subject Status and Curriculum Time

The allocation of curriculum time, the deployment factors, the subject status, and the composition of the EPA panel are involved in composing the

institutional logic and creating the limiting environment for teachers with different disciplinary backgrounds and aspirations to teach the EPA curriculum.

With respect to time allocation, the curriculum document suggests that "a minimum of 50 periods i.e. 2 periods per week, or, if the six-day-cycle is in use preferably 3 periods per cycle should be allocated to EPA for Secondary 1 to 3 to achieve the course objectives" (CDC 1997:13). When translated into percentage, the recommended time allocation of the S1-3 EPA syllabus would make up 5% to 6.5% of the overall curriculum time. In school A, where teachers C and W serve, S1-3 EPA, together with some other PSHE subjects^{xix} namely, Geography, History and Chinese History, has been taught on a modular basis at the junior secondary level since year 2003 as a response to the school-based curriculum policy. Each of the PSHE subject takes up 4 periods per 7-day cycle for one academic term at each junior secondary level. For school B where teachers P and D teach, EPA occupies two lessons per 7-day cycle. In total, only 44 lessons are at disposal for the whole academic year. In these two cases, the total curriculum time allocated to EPA is a lot less than the one suggested by the curriculum document.

This, together with the deployment considerations in individual schools, suggests that the subject has a low subject status in schools. For teachers C, P and D, the EPA teaching duty accounts for about 10% of their total teaching load. In the school P and D serve, the EPA panel is a subset of the Economics panel composing of teachers from various disciplines^{xx} (29

November 2005 telephone interview). Situation is similar in school A. Teacher W, speaking from the position of a EPA panel chairperson, talked of the difficulty in the development of the EPA panel as it was composed of teachers whose major teaching duties were subjects other than EPA. The reality of having a large panel size with teachers from different disciplines who share a relatively small number of classes of EPA made it hard for EPA teachers to engage in and explore the subject matters in-depth, which W maintained was the general problem the humanities subject teachers faced. The school policy of using English as the medium of instruction was another practical constraint for teachers of EPA, W explained. W saw the EMI policy limiting the choice of teaching materials and social issues for classroom discussion. In a way, it contained the development of students' critical thinking through reading and writing, W believed (24 June 2005 teacher interview). He also claimed that, EPA being a junior secondary course taught on a modular basis having only 4 lessons per 7-day cycle and with each level of students taking the course for just one semester, it was not realistic to expect that the EPA subject could do much to help inculcate civic-mindedness (13 July 2005 teacher interview).

Teacher H teaches at a co-ed Chinese medium school with students of below average academic standard. Also speaking from the position of panel chairperson, H shared W's view about the limitation imposed by the heterogeneous composition of the S1-3 EPA panel. Being a teacher of computer, he was amazed at his deployment as the panel chairperson of the EPA panel. His best guess for such deployment was that his school principal

would like him to add in IT components in the S1-3 EPA course. He headed up the EPA panel for a period of three years before the subject closed down to give way to a new junior secondary discipline, Liberal Studies, under new headship. He added that the introduction of open-ended controversial issues in the EPA classroom and in the examination papers meant that subject teachers must squeeze time and efforts into preparing for class, which was ill-received by his fellow EPA panel members. Such controversies among EPA panel members over the marking of exam questions with components of controversial issues, according to H, led to the closedown of the EPA subject. For him, he was more concerned about the prospect of the subject and its linkage to other senior subjects. The possible prospect was its linkage to the senior Economics subject (24 June 2005 teacher interview).

Teacher C, a colleague of W, whose major teaching duty is English Language at the senior secondary level, has assumed the role of EPA teacher after the serving school adopted the EMI policy in 1998. In C's case, the EPA syllabus takes up a small 10% of her total teaching load and choices have to be made between the investment of time in preparing the EPA classes or the English Language classes. Being able to take care of the gist of the content matters laid out in the textbook and teaching syllabus and to ensure students' understanding of the subject matters was her primary and almost the only concern of the EPA classroom as we have seen earlier in chapter 2 (13 July 2005 teacher interview).

P's situation is very much similar to C's as they are both English teachers.

Though P's school is a CMI school, the burden of English language teachers is equally great as the school is trying to adopt the English medium of instruction in the senior level to prepare students for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination, the first public examination for secondary students in their fifth year of studies. Being responsible for two classes of S3 EPA, P pointed out that S3 EPA followed a very tight teaching schedule where lots of lesson time was devoted to language work to prepare students for the switch of medium of instruction in S4 (29 November 2005 telephone interview).

Institutional Logic: Examination and English Language

The limited curriculum time and the emphasis on the academic achievement guide the teachers' teaching methods. In teacher P's case, she structured her S3 EPA lessons around texts from two major sources: the supplementary Databook with materials the EPA panel has specially adapted for classroom use and a commercially produced textbook. Of the four S3 EPA lessons observed, three of them were basically centred on the Databook or textbook materials. The lessons were structured with sample exercises in the textbooks and the Databook materials that the teacher would discuss and then parallel exercises would be assigned for students to complete as homework. Typically, the teacher would manage to cover one section of the materials in the Databook and the textbook per lesson, which would be the pace necessary to complete the entire book in time for the standardized tests across the same grade level. Because of the time limit, there was not much discussion about the topics around the classroom. The teacher would

normally begin the lesson with a review of the previous lesson's homework and then proceed onto the next section of the textbook or Databook, checking the answers with students. Though teacher P frequently asked questions in the lessons, the questions were mainly for soliciting answers from the students or for prompting students towards the pre-set answers. A few students did murmur answers, but there were not always responses and the teacher would usually give out answers after one or two more prompts.

P focused a lot on the techniques in answering the exercises and taking standardized test and examination. In one lesson (29 September 2005), teacher P gave out answers to two exercises, one gap-filling exercise about the definitions of "goods", "services", "consumer goods" and "capital goods" in the Databook, the other a classification exercise students were required to identify the types of products produced by the producers given in the exercise into the three types of economic production, primary, secondary and tertiary production. Then she reminded students,

Now let me remind you, there will be more than gap-filling exercise like this one in the Databook in the exam. Case study would likely be included in the exam paper. So the first and the foremost thing to do is that you be careful in identifying the types of production as it is to safeguard against mistakes in answering questions that follow.

(my translation, 29 September 2005 lesson observation)

Obviously, test and examination were concerns for both the teacher and the students at S3 level where they would have to face the academic streaming in

the senior secondary the next year. In two of the four lessons visited between late October and mid November 2005, about one-third of the class time was devoted to the standardized tests.

The heavy reliance of the curricular text as the basis and the centre of the classroom activities presents the reality in certain aspects as the learning materials mediate what goes into the classroom. There had been dialogues between teacher P and some students that denoted the contradiction between the textbook material and the reality the students have observed. For instance, in handling the question about the Hong Kong Stock Exchange, teacher P prompted that buyers were those who would like to be the shareholders of the listed company. One student chanted out that they were people who wanted to make money through quick buying and selling of the shares (炒家). P responded that it would often be the case that people would like to earn from the quick buying and selling of shares. Yet, technically, teacher P reminded the students, they should write down in tests and examinations that "Buyers wanted to be shareholders of the listed company" as "the correct answer" (21 October 2005 lesson observation). The essential fact delivered was that the reality was not the same as the ideal model presented in the textbook. The contradiction between the text and the realities might as well be materials for discussing the implications for moral and civic education which P has considered the value of the EPA classroom as we have seen in chapter 2. However, by articulating the definition of the text that prescribes the stock market activity with examination techniques, P was dismissing the lived realities that contradict with the textbook matters.

With regard to the development of analytical thinking, both P and D valued highly the news reading exercise that the EPA panel specially designed for the S1-3 students (29 November 2005 telephone interview). In the 12 October 2005 lesson, P introduced to the S3 students the news reading exercise which, according to her, was modified to enhance students' skills in comprehending news articles. The lesson, first, began with a classroom activity of news quiz^{xxi} where P asked ten items of current news, then, the news reading exercise. Individual students were required to study a chosen piece of news clipping and write commentary about it. The news article, P explained to the class, was carefully chosen to contain a "problem" or a problematic "situation" and different views towards the possible "solutions" to the "problem" or the "situation". Students had to analyse the news story and locate the arguments for and against the issue and then write their own comments.

P walked students through the assessment form attached with the news reading exercise and explained that the news reading exercise formed part of the continuous assessment for the S3 EPA course of the current academic year. P made explicit to the students that the assessment would compose only a small portion of the total score, say 10 out of 100 marks and attached importance to the news reading exercise in another way:

The portion of score it constituted in the total EPA marks is relatively small, it would still be important for you to work seriously with the news reading exercise, especially with part one of the exercise. It is essential for you to

master the summary skill, as it is an important skill in the S4 and 5 English Language syllabuses.

(my translation 12 October 2005 lesson observation)

Teacher P was speaking from the position of an English Language teacher, giving due reminder for students to see to the importance of working on the EPA news reading exercise. The public examination at the end of the two-year senior S4 and 5 English Language course qualifies the whole news reading exercise and legitimatizes its significance over the score. The usefulness of the news reading exercise does not lie in the analytical skills that it promises to the students to understand the society better, but in its relation to another subject, the English language. The articulation of the news reading exercise with the examination skills required in the senior English Language also reflected the institutional emphasis on academic achievement. The high status subject, English Language, is making the news reading skills the powerful skills to be learnt seriously.

Disciplinary Institutional Power

In teacher W's S3 EPA lesson on "The Importance of a Government", we can see the same vision of the disciplining governance that the S1 EPA syllabus has constructed in the "Who is a Good Citizen?" lesson. The major objective of teacher W's S3 EPA lesson was for students to recognise and acknowledge the importance of a government in maintaining social order and prosperity. Teacher W began his lesson with a fictitious Town X, which contained problems like high crime rate, poor health conditions, low literacy level and high unemployment rate and required remedies. Students were required to

perform the role of the chief of the government and to think of suggestions to one of the problems they identify in Town X.

The important work of the government and the instruments it used to carry out its work were highlighted. According to the worksheet W has prepared for the class, the government is "the ruling body of the country or city. It is usually made up of three branches: the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. The HKSAR government has a similar structure" (06 Oct 2005 lesson observation). The government is an institution that has the authority to administer affairs, mobilize resources, regulate people's conduct and run the place where people are living in.

Students were then instructed to work independently on a written task. The exercise features a schoolboy being threatened and bullied by a group of teenagers who attempted to blackmail him for using the basketball court. Two pictures go with the exercise, one featuring the schoolboy surrounded by a group of teenagers with body tattoos and the other showing the boy sharing the incident with his mother. The mother was obviously mad about the case. Then the lesson ended with a brief note on the structure of the HKSAR government, which was to be followed up in detail in the coming lessons, according to W (06 Oct 2005 lesson observation).

In the post-observation discussion, we discussed his choices of learning materials and his idea about the importance of a "disciplinary" government. I asked W directly if he would worry that students would show too much support towards the government. W responded that students would likely to

have heard from the parents and/or the media that there were deficiencies in the governance of the HKSAR government. Yet, the constraint for bringing that into classroom discussion came from the medium of instruction used. If the class were in a Chinese medium school, W said, the approach would not be the same. When asked if he believed that the language issue could be solved if signs and symbols were to use, W agreed that it could. Showing students some emblems of different forms of governments, totalitarian as well as democratic ones, together with some news clippings for students to discuss could be possible. Yet, the problem was to do with preparation time. I asked if teacher W would think that critical thinking could come along side by side with the learning of knowledge. W believed that it was possible, yet that required a lot of time and effort in lesson preparation.

At the institutional level, the EMI policy disciplines the way teacher W chooses the learning materials. It is clear that teacher W is concerned with the obligation to EMI policy, the coverage of the tight teaching schedule and the limited lesson preparation time. It is not that W doesn't know the HKSAR government was deficient in its governance. The choice of learning materials is a compromise between language of instruction, lesson preparation time and students' language ability. To abide by the EMI policy is the priority. In an EMI school, where the subjects are supposed to be taught in the high status language, English, the content of the subject would be less at issue. According teachers C and W, school A is an EMI school in a district where the primary schools are shutting down because of the decrease in general school children population. It is of great concern for teachers to

uphold the EMI status, if not the prospect of the school would not be good.

The institutional medium of instruction policy also regulates that way teacher W performs his dual identity: the chairperson of the EPA panel and an EMI teacher, who is obliged to teach his subject in English, rather than in the mother tongue. In the first teacher interview session held in June 2005, teacher W introduced himself in the following way:

W: I have taught EPA for more than ten years. Why am I taking the position of the chairperson of the EPA panel? That's because the ex-panel chairperson left for career advancement. So I was to take up the leading role. ...Putting together the teaching experiences I have with the subject, I wrote two volumes of a textbook series, both in Chinese. The way EPA being taught now differs from the way I believe it should go. Why? The language barrier is great. The subject is taught in English. It is difficult to put certain ideas into practice.

(my translation 24 June 2005 teacher Interview)

While W was ready to assume the role of chairperson of the EPA panel, he showed difficulties identifying with the other role of an EMI teacher. The discourse of an effective EMI subject teacher produces W, the EPA subject teacher, and the forms of knowledge of how the EMI EPA subject is to be taught. Once initiated into the subject position of an EMI subject teacher, W was submitted to the discursive practice that "names" him. The institutional environment where teacher W works in "impels" him to make decisions between subject content and language issue (Barker 2001:87).

Autonomy, Negotiations and Reading Tactics

Despite the constraints these teachers work under, they, to a very large extent,

enjoy autonomy over the choice of teaching materials, teaching units and the design of the teaching schedule. When being asked whether they followed the core/optional topics approach suggested by the CDC EPA syllabus documents (13 July 2005 teacher interview), teachers C, W and H demonstrated varying degrees of autonomy. H chose to follow the arrangement as laid out in the CDC syllabus and adopted his own choice of issues for classroom discussion. The autonomy W demonstrated was even greater as he contended that EPA, being a junior secondary course, had flexibility with its coverage since it did not have to follow a public examination syllabus and there was guideline from the EMB allowing individual schools to design its own school-based curriculum. With C, negotiation about the progress and coverage of the teaching syllabus among fellow teachers of the same grade level was possible, she said. For teachers P and D, the coverage of the teaching schedule and that of standardized tests were also negotiable, too (29 November 2005 telephone interview).

Teacher autonomy over the selection of teaching and learning materials in the EPA classroom against the background of the wider structural constraint brings forth the interesting question of how these teachers extract or screen out texts for their students. Teachers' reading and critique of the EPA syllabus content display the cultural resources they possess. C made explicit that her guiding principles for which topics and subtopics to teach depended on the familiarity of the topics to her as a teacher and the difficulty levels of English vocabulary items to the students. C found the topics about the economic development of Hong Kong and the rights and duties of Hong

Kong people in S1 syllabus interesting to teach. The optional topics about public utilities^{xxii} in the S1 syllabus were difficult for her. These were areas she was unfamiliar with and had the least confidence to teach as it required that she had up-to-date information of technological development (24 June 2005 teacher interview).

For W, the topic "Mass Media"^{xxiii} was the most interesting topic for students and he thought that it was relevant to students' everyday life. He could include interactive classroom activities. Students were engaged with the topic as they could apply what they learnt about the media to classify the TV programmes shown to them in the classroom, W said (24 June 2005 teacher interview). About the topic "Housing", teacher W found the part tracking the development of various public housing schemes not worth teaching as students found them not relevant to their present life. For that reason, he would opt that part out of his teaching schedule.

In one teacher interview session (13 July 2005 teacher interview), teachers W, C and H engaged in a discussion of the textbook chapter "Decision Making Process" and the urban renewal case study, which we have analyzed in chapter 2. The discussion reveals how reading conventions and cultural resources are at work in the teachers' negotiation with the texts. Both W and C came across the textbook chapter, as it was a chapter in the textbook series the school adopted in the academic year 2004-05. According to C, who was in-charge of devising the teaching schedule, the chapter was left untaught as both she herself and W found the chapter "odd", but they saw the oddity of the texts in different ways.

- M: Why did you choose not to teach this part?
- C: (looking at the photocopy, recognizing the chapter number) What is Chapter 3 about?
- M: Chapter 3 is about "Rights and Duties".
- C: (repeating) OK, "Rights and Duties"
- W: It doesn't look like a special chapter [that renders attention].
- M: [It's about] decision making process.
- C: Right, talking about this topic, I suddenly remember that the chapter and the unit looks so odd. I just don't understand why all of a sudden it talks about decision making. It doesn't make sense to me.
- W: You're right. It comes up in the topic "Rights and Duties" for no reason ... I think the problem is. ... the original idea of the textbook writer is that there ought to be three chapters in each topic in Book 1A. So when the chapter "Rights and Duties" is done, then it should be Book 2 [sic: Book 2 should be Book B], the optional topics. So when there is [the section] 3.4, that means there are social issues. You ought to analyse them in such and such ways. The problem with this chapter here is that it's wrongly placed. It's now placed under the chapter "Rights and Duties". It just doesn't fit it. It ought to be taken away and placed in Book 1B. It's there then to teach social issues and the relevant skills to handle them. That will be better. The chapter is misplaced.
- C: (trying to figure out how the exercise works) That is to say (pointing to the photocopy with a picture showing a street scene crowded with hawkers selling, people buying and pedestrians wanting to make their way) this woman has the right ... (W responding to C and agreeing: Yeah ...yeah...)
- C: ... the right of the road. And this is community interest. And this person (pointing at one hawker) is after his personal interest, to sell for a living. So as a member of the public, you ... that means it is about rights and duties ... you can't say that it is not about rights and duties ... yes, the exercise talks about them. I just couldn't integrate them [sic: drawing rights and duties together with the purpose of the exercise] (laughter) Maybe it's because the EPA textbook doesn't have a handbook. For English, there are lots of teaching guidelines that put the objectives down. There are none for the EPA textbook (laughing). I don't understand the purpose of the textbook writer.

(my translation 13 July 2005 teacher interview)

W and C drew on their cultural experiences and reading conventions to make sense of the EPA text. W spoke from a textbook writer's position commenting that the textbook chapter was out of place according to the overall design of the official syllabus where three topics were to be set in the core topics before going on the optional topics which deals with 'The Society' component. C drew on her cultural experiences of an English teacher who relied on teachers' guides or teaching notes for the purposes of the textbook materials. She used the reading conventions in dealing with English textbook materials to make sense of the EPA texts. Talking about make sensing of a text, Edgar et al. (2002) highlights the significance of cultural experiences and reading conventions that readers possess:

The meaning of a text is determined by rules (or codes) governing the choice and combination of th[e] signs. The rules that govern this meaning combination of signs will be conventional, so that any reader of the text will require certain skills or competencies in order to interpret (or decode) the text. Readers from different social and cultural backgrounds, who have different socially acquired skills and expectations, may therefore read the same text in very different ways (2002:415).

The issue of cultural resources, which include language, reading conventions and cultural experiences, is significant to teachers working under institutional constraints. Teachers deploy their cultural experiences, reading and cultural conventions to make sense of the curricular texts in terms of the ways the texts are organized and to give meaning to them. These cultural resources may have different ideological conventions behind them, which may or may not be in conflict with the EPA curricular knowledge. When working under

the wider structural constraint, individual teachers would be drawing on their cultural resources in their classroom practices. One possible effect is that teachers take the curricular texts at face values and are to be "hailed" into the subject positions made available in the EPA discourses as in the case of teachers C's and W's lesson with "Who is a Good Citizen?" discussed in chapter 4. Another effect could be that teachers are aware of the discrepancy or even contradictions between lived realities and the curricular knowledge where conflicting ideological conventions intersect. Cultural resources equip teachers to read and understand the subject positions and they inform or disinform the ideological effects on themselves and on their students.

While it would be fruitful to work to relieve the institutional constraints specific to the EPA curriculum, for the teachers, it would be equally, if not more, significant, to enrich the cultural resources of the teachers by equipping them with new perspectives to problematize their own way of seeing and thinking so as to delimit the effect of the ideological imperatives. In the next section, I discuss how teacher D used questions in her S1 EPA classroom to allow students to come into dialogue with one another. Her dialogic practices offers possibilities in unsettling the rigid binary oppositions constructed through differences.

Practicing Differences in the Hong Kong EPA Classroom

Teacher D from school B is a History major and has taught the EPA curriculum for 5 years. The S1 EPA lessons took up around 10% of her teaching load. Comparing EPA to History, D thought that EPA requires students to think and

be analytical, so does the subject, History. In all the interviews with teacher D, she seldom used phrases like "student-centred", "topic relevant to student's personal experience" in her speeches, yet her classroom practices demonstrated these features. D made it a routine for students to report headline news in every EPA lesson for the first 6-10 minutes in class. She structured the news reporting with 2 major questions: "What has the news to do with you?" and "Do you think the news should be covered on the front page?" I asked if she would find the preparation work for news reporting section too heavy. Her answer was clear: 'Not really so. You can ask students to supply the background to the news their classmates report' (29 September 2005 teacher interview). Questions were used to enhance students' ability to make connections between the news they reported.

How well did the students do in reading the news and reading the world? They were picking up lesson by lesson. In the first lesson observed at the end of September, when the teacher was setting up rules for the classroom routine, participation and contribution from students was lukewarm. Only two students shared a piece of headline news. Not many students paid attention to the headline news that morning and some said they could not get hold of a newspaper. The problems some students encountered included accessibility to the newspaper in the early morning and the possible expense it entailed. The teacher gave practical suggestions to students like glimpsing through the headline news without buying one, accessing the free tabloid-sized paper, visiting the news rack in the convenient store to have a quick look at the front page of the newspaper or looking over someone else's

shoulder at the newspaper they were reading. Toward mid-November, when the same class was visited for the fourth time, the teacher was showered with headline news from students, featuring reports from local car accident to international news like hotel bombings in Jordan, Egypt.

Teacher D facilitated the discussion in a semi-structured way basing on the broad questions "What should be put on the front page of a newspaper?" In one lesson (21 October 2005), after a round of headline news were reported from the students, the class went on to discuss three headline news chosen by the teacher. The discussion that developed displays how the notion of "difference" is being employed by teacher D to help students discern new knowledge. It also displays students' ability to speak in context. Students were asked to comment whether the three headline news, namely, Wong Yan Lung (黃仁龍) being appointed the new Secretary for Justice; a 19 year old boy dropped dead at his Kwun Tong flat after playing 19 hours of computer game and a TV sports news anchor's father's court case, should occupy the front page coverage. ("Ss" stands for students responding collectively, "S1" stands for the first student responding to the question and "S2" the second and so on.)

D: What should be put on the front page of a newspaper?

Ss: (chanted) Important news.

D: What about the TV sports news anchor's father's court case, is that a suitable piece of news to occupy the front page?

S1: Not really so, as it is not that significant.

D: How about Wong Yan Lung's appointment?

Ss: Yes.

D: What about the news about the young man who dropped dead after playing long hours of computer game?

- S2: Yes, I play computer game, too.
- D: So the news is significant to you.
- S3: It is the right place to place the news as many teenagers only read the front page of the newspaper.
- S4: If there are no other important news, then that piece of news should be on the front page. As there is the news about Wong Yan Lung, Wong's should be the headline news instead.
- D: This classmate just made a comparison between the two pieces of news. The comparison is relevant and sensible.
- (my translation, 21 October 2005 lesson observation)

The discussion pivoted on the conception of "significance of the news" and then followed by the assessment of whom the news was significant to and what influence and impact it had. Student 3 picked up the discussion and drew on the social group – teenagers and their news reading habit to determine the suitability of the news occupying the front page coverage. Student 4 tried to compare and contrast two of the news, Wong Yan Lung's appointment and the 19-year-old's death and assessed which of them should occupy the front page coverage. D praised Student 4's sensibility and the sensible comparison and had the rest of the class regurgitate the main principle: "important news deserves the front page".

In another lesson (11 November 2005), students' ability to see difference was brought to another level – noting difference to acknowledge diversity. In this lesson students were asked to evaluate the significance of the front page coverage of bombing in Jordan and the news about a teenager chopping dead his younger brother in the local newspapers.

- D: Should we place the hotel bombing news in Jordan on the front page of

the newspaper?

S1: Yes, there may be relatives among those who reside in the targeted hotels in the bombing in Jordan.

D: Some tourists may be the relatives of HK people.

S2: Such attack happens in Jordan and it might also happen in HK someday.

S3: (responding to S2's) No, that's a crazy idea.

D: So the news serves to raise our awareness to attacks of a similar kind.

S4: It is a piece of breaking world news and we should know about that in HK.

S5: It should not be on the front page coverage. It's not related to HK. It happens in the hotels in Jordan.

S1: But, 'hotel' is very international [cosmopolitan]. There may be HK citizens there, so it can't be unrelated to HK.

S6: No. The news was not covered in the TV news report last night.

S4: But, there are deaths.

S7: Bird flu outbreak should be reported rather than the Jordan news.

D: (concluding) It seems that the hotel bombings in Jordan is unrelated to Hong Kong because of the distance. Yet, the very idea of terrorism should render our attention. Terrorism is something that humanity should work against. Terrorist bombing attack happened in Bali, Indonesia, and Jordan. Where next? The claim that why certain places were under terrorist attack was that they were the aide of the US, would HK be placed under those claim someday? We don't know. So the news deserves front-page coverage. The bird flu outbreak has been receiving due coverage these days. It shouldn't be an issue of either reporting Jordan event or bird flu, rather, both news should and can receive due coverage.

(my translation 11 November 2005 lesson observation)

Teacher's concluding remarks opened up one more dimension to the discussion generated: terrorism. In response to teacher D's question, "Should we place the hotel bombing news in Jordan on the front page of the newspaper?", the class raised diversified answers. The discussion among the students displayed a range of views and speaking positions. Among those who thought that the news deserved front page coverage, the

justification laid in the cosmopolitan nature of hotel, the idea that terrorism defied territories, the recognition of cross border travels, and the need to cover breaking international news. These arguments reflect the cosmopolitan nature of Hong Kong in relations to globalization and the idea that Hong Kong formed part of the globe and news should travel across borders. Death tolls were a criterion mentioned by one student. Among those who argued against the front page coverage of the news, the arguments included the disbelief that Hong Kong would be a possible target of terrorist attack and the attack was considered a localized incident. One student considered whether the news should be covered on the front page of the newspaper by looking at whether the news was covered in the previous TV news report the night before. Student 7 was employing a compare-and-contrast technique to negate the significance of front page coverage of the Jordan hotel bombing over the bird flu epidemic. Student 7's comment could mean that there was different understanding of the notion of "significant news". She believed that the local bird flu outbreak was more worthy of front page coverage.

Difference in discourses of hotel bombing from multiple perspectives is being allowed to surface in the classroom. Subject positions circulating with the different discourses include: cosmopolitan traveler, businessmen, concerned global citizens and concerned family members. The effect of this dialogic pedagogy is very likely that the students are placed in the subject position of a news reader who read to the news critically and the world critically.

Questioning to learn and the Reflexive Classroom

The central place that news reading has in teacher D's classroom speaks clearly of her concern of what the real areas of knowledge are in the EPA classroom. In the telephone interview, I asked D how her students would associate the EPA subject. 'Current affairs, I would say, as I always ask them news. ... things happening in the society', she said (my translation 29 November telephone interview). Aspects of the social reality were foreground in D's classroom discussions alongside with the EPA curriculum. They were discussed and seen in different lights.

D did not monopolize the source of knowledge in the classroom and students were engaged in the quest of knowledge. When discussing topics in the textbook materials, teacher D welcomed open responses from students and invited questions for students to reflect on the curricular knowledge. In D's S1 EPA classroom, the lessons were filled with questions from students who were eager to ask questions. The questions they asked were sensible and relevant. Once, a student asked a question in the lesson about "Types of HKSAR residents and their Rights and Duties" (29 September 2005), which the teacher had no idea on, the conversation went like this^{xxiv}:

- S1: If a mainland traveler was being imprisoned for 20 years because of crime, could he acquire the status of Hong Kong permanent resident on release from the prison?
- D: That's a good question. Can he be released? I've not thought of the question before.
- (Other Ss start discussing and some students are raising their hands

- and one girl signals to the teacher by waving her hand.)
- S2: I know the answer.
- D: Yes.
- S2: That person can't be a permanent resident. He (or she) has to be sent back to his/her country of origin after the sentence is served.
- D: Good. Where do you get that from? From the TVB game show hosted by Do Do Cheng^{xxv}?
- S2: From the lawyer hosting the ATV programme^{xxvi}.
- D: (smiling) Great. Now I've also learnt some new knowledge. (turning to S1) Do you have other questions?
- S1: No more.

(my translation 29 September 2005 lesson observation)

Teacher D did not own the knowledge. Instead, she was establishing a community in the classroom where students shared the talk and the power to contribute. In another lesson about duties of Hong Kong citizen (11 November 2005), after a brief brainstorming of who were being discriminated against in contemporary Hong Kong society, teacher D asked what they could do about the situation.

- D: OK, someone mentioned no discrimination against others. Who are being discriminated against?
- S1: Domestic helpers.
- S2: Foreigners.
- S3: Those studying in the neighbouring school.
- D: You mean the mentally handicapped in our neighbouring school.
- S4: The physically handicapped.
- S5: The single parents.
- S6: The 'double-lost' mother^{xxvii} (「雙失媽媽」)
- S7: The recipients of "Comprehensive Social Security Assistance" (領取綜援人士).
- S8: Smokers.
- D: Smokers, really so?
- S9: The overweight.

- D: How can we see that? From the advertisements, right?
- S9: I won't want to sit next to an overweight person in the bus, either.
- S10: The gay and lesbian.
- S11: Those who have bodily smell.
- S12: The bald.
- S13: (playfully) The professional.
- S14: The elderly.
- D: (concluding and praising) You guys manage to see a lot through your eyes. Now, what can we do with these people?
- (my translation 11 November 2005 lesson observation)

Clearly, students were astute observers as well as sensitive inquirers. One student responded to the question "What can we do with these people?" by posing another question.

- S15: How can those who discriminate others be able to accept the people they discriminate against?

The question is a pointer indicating that the student who asked the question was problematizing the existence of discriminations as well as wondering how actions could be taken to remedy the situation. It is a good sign that the student was taking on the problem-solving role facing the reality of discrimination. Teacher D answered the question in the following way:

- D: It is true that discriminations exist within the society. Yet, it does not mean that we should take part in it. One classmate said something really well: we should start from ourselves and do something.

Teacher D acknowledged the complexity of the social phenomena about discriminations that students had grasped without letting the complexity get in the way of action. The teacher directed students' attention to what they

themselves could do to solve the situation. The articulation that each of us can take action to make a difference is an important message to students that we are all members of the society and what we do have effects on the society. D focused students' attention towards the real situation and asked them to think of what they could do to remedy the situation – action. The teacher went into a dialogue with a student who mentioned his fear in bumping into a mentally handicapped in the street.

S3: It's difficult to do something – Just imagine you meet a mentally handicapped holding out his/her hand in the street.

D: Well, it depends on why he/she does so.

S3: Maybe he/she wants to hit me.

D: Really so? Maybe he/she just wants to scratch him/herself. We all can contribute by doing something ourselves. How can we take away our prejudice?

S8: Say hi to them.

S9: Take part in the voluntary job.

S16: Don't dodge past them when seeing them in the street.

D: Right so, they do have feelings like us.

S10: The TV media should produce more programmes about the mentally handicapped.

D: How about us, the individuals?

S8: Get to know more about them through relevant TV programmes about the mentally handicapped.

S3: But we'll be influenced by the TV programmes and stupefied by the mentally handicapped characters.

D: Can you prove that with data, scientific studies? We should avoid taking in ideas too readily as that is how prejudices come from. Prejudice is formed out of insufficient information, which causes misunderstanding. The way out is to learn more to gain better understanding.

(my translation 11 November 2005 lesson observation)

The teacher took the opportunities to highlight the sources of prejudices: It

comes from ungrounded prejudgment. The idea was to gain better understanding rather than taking in ideas too readily. Later, in the subsequent interview (29 November 2005 telephone interview), teacher D responded that it was difficult to teach the existence of difference among people to junior secondary students without supplying some statistics that help give concrete support and evidence to convey the concept of difference across.

She also spoke of the difficulties in developing students' capacity to see things from other's perspectives. According to D, her S1 students were still egocentric and had difficulties soliciting different views from the other's perspectives. However, the way she handled divergent views in the classroom allowed multiple perspectives to surface in the classroom through her dialogic mode of teaching. She was demonstrating through her respect and value of the democratic voices in the classroom for the development of multiple perspectives in the classroom to surface. She initiated some kind of reflective dialogue on the topics relevant to students' experience and lived environment.

Nurturing the Dialogic Classroom

Class discussion was the usual practice in D's EPA classroom. She welcomed students' questions and answers. Of the 4 lessons observed, students enjoyed the lesson very much. Yet, it does not mean that teacher faces no tension in the classroom. Teacher D, like many other S1 classroom teachers, was concerned with setting up routine and order in the

classroom. She would normally have students to raise their hand and take turns to ask or answer questions. When the classroom was filled with murmur and students were raising their hands for answers, what teacher D would often do was to calm students down by saying, "OK, take it slow, take it slow, let's take questions one by one." Then she would allow students to speak one by one and students would be expressing their views loud and clear. There were times when individual students would take it too far to exercise their right to speak in the lessons when class discussion was taking place. There were also times when the classroom seemed to be chaotic and rendered teacher D to exercise her authority to place 'order' back to further other goals. Teacher D had to stop the lessons and warned a student or two to stop chitchatting. Once, students were carried away during the discussion generated by a TV drama series and D detained the whole class over recess after warnings failed to bring order back into the classroom. During the first standardized news quiz, students got too excited and gave answers away and D scolded the students severely and canceled off the questions.

Classroom discipline was a definite concern for teacher D, but it had not stopped students from taking part in class discussions and asking questions. One reason is that the teacher valued questions and did not ridicule students for the questions they asked. She managed to draw on students' concerns and instill the wonder and surprise through students' questions. Freire and Faundez (1989) have talked about the importance of learning to question. Freire believes that it is curiosity that is expressed in asking questions that matters.

... the point of the question is not to turn the question "What does it mean to ask questions?" into an intellectual game, but to experience the force of the question, experience the challenge it offers, experience curiosity, and demonstrate it to the students. The problem which the teacher is really faced with is how in practice progressively to create with the students the habit, the virtue, of asking questions, of being surprised. ... the role of educators, far from ridiculing the student, is to help the student to rephrase the question so that he or she can thereby learn to ask better questions (1989: 37).

The wonder that teacher D instilled through the lesson was reflected in the way she did not yield to easy judgement about the complexity of the social phenomena that students have grasped on the one hand. On the other hand, she did not let the complexity frighten students off into inactivity. She allowed students to question one another's viewpoint without having them to negate or submit to each other's ideas and views. There was a certain kind of tension around the different speaking positions that students spoke from. Teacher D enabled dialogue among speaking positions to surface rather than putting an end to the tension generated among them. In the discussion with Macedo on 'Rethinking Literacy: A Dialogue' (1987), Freire contends what the role of critical pedagogy is and is not:

... the role of critical pedagogy is not to extinguish tensions. The prime role of critical pedagogy is to lead students to recognize various tensions and enable them to deal effectively with them. Trying to deny these tensions ends up negating the very role of subjectivity. The negation of tension amounts to the illusion of overcoming these tensions when they are really just hidden (Freire and Macedo 1987:355).

While Freire and Macedo's discussion is in the Brazilian oppressive

educational context, the role of critical educator can be the same when the aim of education is to enable students to read the world through reading the news and the texts in the classroom in the present Hong Kong context. Teacher D has never claimed that she is a critical educator the same way Freire and Macedo have in mind. However, the way she practices her classroom teaching – to share power with students in the classroom, to inspire students to reflect on the causes of discrimination, to examine events happening around the world, to acknowledge the complexity of the social phenomena, to allow students to dialogue with one another without hurrying to a simple judgement, to show respect for difference rather than the fear of it – is truly in line with the idea of critical pedagogy.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the institutional factors of the language policy of the school, the deployment of EPA teachers and the status and role of the subject EPA that give rise to the wider context in which the curricular texts are treated in the classroom. The relations among these factors fuel the governmental rationalities in the text as teachers W, C and P privilege the text and its authority as source of knowledge employed in their classroom discursive practices by dismissing or ignoring the diverse knowledge which students brought into the classroom but are not from the textbook. It is clearly the case with C and P who were overwhelmed by their English language teaching and the relevant non-teaching duties. The seeming difference is that C is teaching S1 students in an EMI school and the subject is to be taught in English while P in a CMI school, teaching S3 EPA in Chinese.

Yet, the way they handle the curricular texts are more or less the same. The disciplinary institutional logic regulates the way the curricular texts are handled in the classroom and the choices of materials for classroom used as in teacher W's lesson on "The Importance of a Government".

The regulatory power of the institutional constraints is a partial one as teachers demonstrated varying degrees of autonomy in the choices of teaching materials and the pedagogies adopted in their classrooms. In the case of teacher D, her dialogic pedagogy in the S1 EPA classroom opens up possibilities in the practicing differences in the classroom. In teacher D's dialogic classroom, students' cultural resources and knowledge outside the curricular texts are being recognized and capitalized on. It is also the space where the social context of power relations can be examined from within. Teacher D's dialogic pedagogy provides opportunities for the teacher and students to understand how meaning is being attributed to creating differences and how one categorizes people and concepts. The marking of difference plays an entirely different role in the meaning making process. Rather than signifying the self and other in the binary oppositions, difference is noted in order to acknowledge diversities. Students learn through questions and dialogue with the other who is seen in positivity and mutually constitutive to the self.

Conclusion

This thesis tries to bring education back in to the field of Hong Kong cultural studies. It studies how the meanings of the curricular texts are produced in the official EPA curriculum, how the texts are used in the classroom, as well as how EPA teachers utilize and negotiate with the vast textual resources around them. The focus of the thesis is on the pedagogical effects on the understanding of identities and differences under the EPA curriculum framework.

Through analyzing the text-related meaning-making process in the specific EPA classrooms, this study describes the complex relations between the curricular knowledge and teachers' classroom discursive practices. It shows that the EPA curriculum is a vast textual world covering topics from matters political (e.g. the sovereignty of HKSAR and rights and duties of citizens) to things economic (e.g. the media and government's role in the HK economy) to things social (e.g. juvenile delinquency and the media). At the discursive level, it structures and regulates how teachers talk about curricular knowledge and creates the conditions for different and even competing ideological imperatives and discourses to circulate in the classroom.

With regards to the official EPA curriculum design, I have argued in the previous chapters that they are essentialist in character aiming at fixing and

stabilizing relations between the past and the present, Hong Kong and China, and relations among people of Hong Kong and between the HKSAR government and the local people. In chapter 3, I have examined how the curriculum constructs essentialist views of identities of Hong Kong in relations to post-1997 China and pre-1997 Britain. In the post-1997 era, the official curriculum discourse constructs the history of Hong Kong by establishing an essentialist and objectified identity of Hong Kong people as Chinese nationals. Hong Kong's "History" is then not a "process of human self-development" (Williams 1983:147) but rather something written in the singular from one perspective, something where the assertion of political identity of Hong Kong people as Chinese nationals lies. Identity is conceptualized as a "thing" or an "entity" to be "possessed and displayed", rather than as an "ongoing process of self-making and social interaction" (Gilroy 1997:307). As we can see from the official syllabuses and textbook materials, other historical perspectives such as the one that values British contribution to the development of Hong Kong is trimmed to avoid the threat to the "oneness" of the official position.

The official EPA curriculum setting in tone an image of a problem-ridden metropolitan city of Hong Kong has a very strong ethical orientation. People of Hong Kong are charged with the responsibility to be "rational, sensitive and active" citizens as they have been enjoying "greater freedom and more rights" (CDC 1997:9). The concept of "community" is being appropriated in the official curriculum to highlight "the quality of holding something in common" as well as in creating "a sense of common identity and characteristics" (Williams

1983:75). The notion of "difference" is applied to narrowly frame "community interest" and "individual interest" in rigid binary oppositional terms. "Community", instead of being a locale where people actually exist, becomes a word that describes an "abstract" and "instrumental" kind of relationships (Williams 1983:76) where diversity and differences in behaviours and interests are negated.

The official curriculum constructs a vision of disciplinary governance. With respects to the cultivation of citizenry in Hong Kong, the EPA curriculum and curricular texts intone a strong orientation towards the normalization of behaviours that privileges a specific kind of hierarchical relations between the government and the citizens, as well as among citizens themselves. It aims to cultivate citizen qualities through constructing differences that create binary oppositional categories such as "well-behaved" and "ill-behaved" citizens. The issue-based inquiry model that is organized around "conflict of interest" between "community and individual interest" reinforces the conception that the Other's existence is external to the "rational citizen self", and with some kinds of essential features that allows the Other to be excluded, negated, or exploited.

When putting these conceptions of identities and self/other relations together, the S1-3 EPA curriculum has constructed conceptions of knowledge, history and identities as "entities" or "end-products", rather than "processes" of human development. Instead of being an ongoing process, identity becomes a matter of "being". The identity characteristic of "rational,

sensitive and active" citizens in contemporary Hong Kong is then fixed and stabilized through negating and excluding the constitutive Other. Curricular knowledge is in this way divorced from social realities.

The refuse collection point controversy discussed in chapter 4 is a case in point. The discourse of the exercise describing the refuse collection point problem as a binary conflict between "individual" and "community" interests governs the way the problem is framed. The production and treatment of waste is being classified as a problem external to the urban residents, and the "solutions" recommended are always at the expense of the sparsely populated island. The self/other relation is translated into the urban/rural, majority/minority, expandable/exploitable and discipline/unruliness relations. A hierarchy of values and power relations are attached to these pairs of "differences" that prioritizes the first one over the second.

In this thesis, I argue that the logic of difference building on a weak form of otherness in negativity and exclusivity in fixed binary oppositions has promoted ethnocentric individuality that negates diversity and differences. The Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire (1998), addresses the self/other relations in *Teachers as Cultural Workers* as a challenge to progressive educators in the Brazilian context of unequal class relations. He expresses eloquently the need to see the other in positivity.

It is in experiencing the differences that we discover ourselves as I's and you's. Precisely, it is always you as an other who constitutes me as an I as long as I, like the you of the other person, constitute that person as an I. We

have a strong tendency to affirm that what is different from us is inferior. We start from the belief that our way of being is not only good but better than that of others who are different from us. This is intolerance. It is the irresistible preference to reject differences (1998:71).

Rather than cultivating active and sensitive citizens located in the community, the EPA curriculum "privileges individualistic learning in the individualistic frame", to borrow Freire's (1987) words. In his conversation with Macedo, Freire (1987) contends that:

societies stimulate the role of individuality, that is, the individuality within an "individualistic" frame ... in the end, ... negates subjectivity ... it denies all dimensions of human agency ... Because the only real subjectivity is that which confronts its contradictory relationship to objectivity ... And what does the individualistic position advocate? It dichotomizes the individual from the social. ... the individualistic ideology ends up negating social interests or it subsumes social interests within individualistic interests ... Human agency makes sense and flourishes only when subjectivity is understood in its dialectical, contradictory, dynamic relationship with objectivity, from which it derives (Freire and Macedo 1987:362).

The constraints and impact of the regulatory power of the curriculum discourse is strengthened when coupled with disciplinary institutional constraints. As discussed in chapter 4, in teacher C's lesson where the analogy of the qualities of a good teacher and a good student to those of a good citizen is drawn, the hierarchical values and power relations are institutionalized in the classroom micro-context. Binary and oppositional difference is practiced through the regulation of students' behaviour, conduct and ways of speaking. The choice of materials in teacher W's lesson on "The Importance of a Government", which I have examined in chapter 5, is the

result of negotiation between W's dual identification of being an EPA teacher and an EMI teacher under the disciplinary institutional constraints in which he works.

However, the cultural process of teaching and learning of the EPA curriculum at school is a complex one. The autonomy teachers enjoy and exercise in the selection of teaching materials and the use of classroom instructional strategies suggest that the constraints and impact of the regulatory power of the curriculum discourse could be partial. The curriculum is never the same thing for the curriculum developers as for the classroom teachers. In chapter 2, we have seen how teacher H talks of going beyond the factual knowledge in the textbook to enable students to 'question' the commonplace and, in chapter 3, how teacher D brings in the British contributions to Hong Kong during the 150 years of colonial rules to negotiate with the textbook's "historical discourse". Teachers are likely to intone the implemented curriculum with their own ideological perspectives on what counts as knowledge, and to read the curricular knowledge in light of their own cultural and social conventions. As Foucault puts it, individual teachers can hold, seek, circulate and exercise power and become the 'vehicles of power' (1980:98).

In the classroom dynamics, students' cultural experiences and resources also contribute to the tensions and contradictions within the curriculum discourse in classroom discursive practices. Students' preference for a park instead of a refuse collection point, which we have discussed in chapter 4, reflects that

they do not necessarily take up the same subject position that teacher W would expect, as conflicting positions are in circulation within that particular piece of curricular text. In chapter 5, we have seen the student in P's lesson who noted that people buy and sell shares for speculation is probably drawing on his cultural knowledge learnt from outside the textbook.

Critical pedagogies have a role to play to open up dialogues between teachers/students and the subject positions that are made available in the curriculum and that students have brought along into the classroom. In chapter 5, I have examined teacher D's dialogic pedagogy in the S1 EPA classroom, where she engaged students in dialogue with one another so as to understand and examine social phenomena without passing on judgement easily. The complexities of different subject positions brought in through the cultural experiences and resources of the teacher and students come into constructive dialogue. The dialogic practice works to loosen up the regulatory power of the curriculum discourse on "suturing" subject positions that form identities of "citizens".

Freire (1987) has described the creative rigour of liberating education in terms of the power to "interpret reality" and our relations with others.

... what I have to demonstrate to the students is that I have another way of being rigorous, precisely the one in which you do more than observe; you try to *interpret reality*. Then, the more I approach critically the object of my observation, the more I am able to perceive that the object of my observation *is not yet because it is becoming*. Then, more and more I begin to note in my observation that the object is not in-itself but it is being related dialectically

with others which constitute a totality. The more my observation goes beyond a mere description or opinion of the object, and I get to a stage in which I begin to know the *raison d'être* which explains the object, the more I am rigorous (original emphasis 1987:82).

To know, to become and to change are where the creative rigour lies. The way to creative rigour is to perceive reality as "becoming" and the object of observation as being related dialectically with others. It is neither to deny nor to exclude the diverse identities and differences but to acknowledge them in positivity to the others.

In the case of the EPA curriculum, the use of "issue-based" inquiry learning that is organized around binary oppositional framing of conflict in terms of "community and individual interest" cultivates both identities and differences in exclusivity and negativity. The ahistorical and decontextualized binary way of understanding the identities of Chinese nationals and Hong Kong citizens deprives students the opportunities to see the diverse ethnic and cultural identities and differences that can be constitutive of the individual citizen self.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research Direction

This research is an attempt to examine the complexities of the cultural process of teaching and learning of the secondary school EPA curriculum. Yet, due to resource constraints and site restrictions, the number of teachers and schools selected and the frequency of lesson observations are somewhat limited. As a result, the research findings of this thesis are by no means representative of the general picture of the Hong Kong schooling processes in

the teaching and learning of the subject, EPA. Yet, this research could perhaps be able to assist us in indicating some directions for potential future researches.

First, students' views and voices should be further studied to enrich our understanding of the pedagogical effects. In particular, the beliefs and attitudes towards the issues of identities and differences that students take with them from the curricular texts in the classroom and the wider social context could be further explored.

Second, further investigation could also be done to link the curricular discourses of 'history' in the context of the classrooms to the wider social context. Discourses in the media, in the government and other school subjects could also be studied to understand what meanings and value systems are inscribed in different modes of representing the past and tradition in the curricular texts.

Of the four participants who took part in the lesson observation, two of them are teachers of the English language and one of the Chinese language. As far as teachers' reading tactics and negotiation with the curriculum materials are concerned, they carry with them certain forms of reading conventions (as discussed in chapter 5). A genealogical study of teacher training programmes in Hong Kong to reveal the rationalities that govern teachers' textual practices, reading conventions as well as their beliefs and attitudes towards students' cognitive ability is also meaningful. This would probably

throw light onto the way teachers can take critical positions towards curricular texts in the Hong Kong secondary school contexts.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Excerpts from Textbook Materials on
"Procedures and Skills of Decision-making"

One graphic shows hawkers hawking at night as one life scenario for the discussion of making personal comments or decisions.

Basing on the above scenario, students are asked to discuss these two questions.

1. Whose rights are involved in this case? What is the conflict of interest?
2. Do you think the hawkers should be prohibited from selling there?

Hong Kong and Me: Economic and Public Affairs 1A (2001:114)

Source:

Hong Kong and Me: Economic and Public Affairs 1A. (2001 Edition) Hong Kong Macmillan.

In the workbook exercise, students are given another life scenario on urban renewal. The incident is depicted in graphics.

Students' job is to classify the statement in the following ways and state their opinions towards the controversial issue.

1. Put 'F' in the cartoons if they show the facts about the urban renewal project.
2. Put 'I' in the cartoons if they show the interest of an individual.
3. Put 'C' in the cartoons if they show the interest of the community.
4. In this case, what should be done for the well-being of the whole community?

Hong Kong and Me: Economic and Public Affairs Workbook 1A (2001:48-9)

Source:

Hong Kong and Me: Economic and Public Affairs Workbook 1A. (2001 Edition)
 Hong Kong Macmillan.

Appendix 2

Excerpts from Textbook Materials on

"Early Political Development of Hong Kong"

Activities in the sidebars of the textbook chapter entitled "Early Political Development of Hong Kong" include the following:

Topic explorer

Great changes over a century

Study the photo on the right carefully and answer the questions.

- 1 Do you know what the English name of this street means? (You may look it up in the dictionary.)
- 2 This street symbolised an important event, which happened on Hong Kong Island in 1841. Try to guess what the event was.

Answer / Guideline

1 Possession refers to the state of having or owning something.

2 On January 26, 1841, the British army landed on a place called "水坑口" on Hong Kong Island. To mark the occupation, the British named the place "Possession Point".

◆ Possession Street in Sheung Wan

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004:3)

Info-analysis

Marking the lost areas

According to the colour given in the key, colour-in the land lost by the Qing government under the three unequal treaties.

KEY

The lost area under the Treaty of Nanjing	The lost area under the Convention Respecting an Extension of the Hong Kong Territory
The lost area under the Convention of Beijing	The lost area under the Convention of Beijing

Answer / Guideline

Answer is printed on the map.

◆ The Hong Kong map in the early 20th century

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004:5)

Search for footprints of British rule

Hong Kong has already returned to China as a special administrative region of the People's Republic of China. However, Hong Kong still possesses many English cultural characteristics. Form groups of four to five. Regarding the following two aspects, find out some remaining British features and give a presentation in class.

- 1 Choose two to three streets named after British people, places, or related things. Then:
 - Take photos of street nameplates and the view of the streets.
 - Collect and summarise information about the street that your group has photographed. Present the background and history of the street's name to the class.

◆ British-style street names in Hong Kong

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004:6)

- 2 In the past, pillar boxes in Hong Kong were made in Britain. Cast on the face were the royal symbol. Try to find out the present location of these pillar boxes. Then:
 - Take photos;
 - Find out the year of production (e.g. 1930s or 1940s);
 - Briefly describe the economic and social situation of Hong Kong at that time.

Learning skills

"Group research", "Attitudes in discussion", "Presentation" (MPHK website » Learning tools » EPA » Hong Kong in Focus » Learning skills)

◆ Pillar box with two artistic letters, "VR". "VR" are the Queen Victoria Regina's initials.

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004:7)

Source:

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004 Edition). Manhattan Press (HK) Ltd.

Appendix 3

Excerpts from Textbook Material on

"Who's a Good Citizen?"

Discussion Task Sheet

"Refuse Collection Point"

Who is a good citizen?

◆ Fig. A

◆ Fig. B

◆ Fig. C

◆ Fig. D

To go with the pictures, the textbook includes the following discussion questions:

1. What effects does the behaviour shown in Fig. A have on individuals and society?
2. (a) What is wrong with youngsters' behaviour in Fig. B and C?
(b) If you were the youngsters, what would you do?
3. Do people in Fig. D have a constructive attitude during the discussion? Why?
4. Summarize the answers above and the qualities of a good citizen.

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004:82)

Source:

Hong Kong in Focus Book 1A (2004 Edition). Manhattan Press (HK) Ltd.

Group Discussion Task Sheet used in teachers W and C's lesson:

F.1 E.P.A

Group discussion worksheet:

The Urban Service Department suggested to build a **refuse collection point** next to Tin Tin Estate. The location was originally reserved for a park. Figures a – c describe the response of the residents of Tin Tin Estate to this issue.

Steps for group discussion:

- Form groups (5-6 persons). Each group should represent one of the followings:
 - Residents of Tin Tin Estate (1 or 2 students)
 - Urban Service Department officials (1 to 2 students)
 - Members of an environmental protection group (1 to 2 students)
- Discuss the "refuse collection point" issue related to above information.
- Prepare a report to summarize the group's viewpoints. The format is like this:

Residents	Officials	Members of an environmental protection group
1.		
2.		

- Select a student to present your group's points of view.

Source: By courtesy of teacher W of school A.

Endnotes

- ⁱ The term citizenship education is preferred by Tse (2000), while for others, terms like civic education (Lee 1999) or political education (Choi 1997) are used.
- ⁱⁱ Almond and Verba (1963) *The Civic Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Teachers in Hong Kong secondary schools are often responsible for teaching more than one curriculum at the same grade level or across different grade levels. Some teachers may teach one or more curricula at the same grade level. The curriculum which teachers are specially trained to teach usually takes up the larger portion of their total teaching load. In the case of the five teacher participants in this research project, the teaching load of EPA accounts for a small portion of their total teaching duties, except for teacher W, who is the panel chairperson of EPA. In this sense, they "minor in teaching" EPA.
- ^{iv} The 5 subsidy types of Hong Kong schools are: Aided schools (津貼); Government schools (官立); Caput schools (按額津貼); DSS (Direct Subsidy Scheme schools) (直資); and Non-profit-making private school (私立).
- ^v Hong Kong schools can be classified into Co-ed schools; Boys' schools and Girls' schools.
- ^{vi} EMI stands for English as medium of instruction and CMI Chinese as medium of instruction. Since September 1998, it has been made government policy for Hong Kong secondary schools to adopt an "appropriate" medium of instruction (MOI). Secondary schools are encouraged to use Chinese as MOI and discouraged to use mixed code, i.e. a mixture of Chinese and English, in teaching and learning (EMB Guidance for Secondary School, September 1997). 114 secondary schools have applied to the EMB to adopt the EMI policy since

September 1998. The significance of adopting the EMI policy for many schools lies in the prestige and the benefit of sharing the top 25% of the student pool in Hong Kong.

- vii By "majors in teaching" a school subject, I refer to the situation that the subject per se is the subject that the teacher is specially trained to teach. That subject usually takes up the larger portion of their total teaching load. Also refer back to note iii.
- viii Nicolas Tse, a canto-pop singer based in Hong Kong, was convicted in October 2002 on one count of conspiracy to pervert the course of public justice. Tse and another defendant had allowed a third person to falsely present himself, in substitution for Tse, as the driver of a private car in the police investigation of a traffic accident which took place in March 2002. He was ordered to perform 240 hours of community service (source: Press Release, 16 October 2002, HKSAR ICAC).
- ix SAR stands for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the status of Hong Kong acquired immediately through the sovereignty handover in July 1997.
- x BNO is the passport issued by the British government to Hong Kong residents before 1997. It is a traveling document entitled the holder entry into British territory.
- xi For more information about Urban Renewal Authority, please visit their website: <http://www.ura.org.hk/html/c204000e1b.html>
- xii Wikipedia defines a controversy as "a contentious dispute, a disagreement in opinions over which parties are actively arguing. Controversies can range from private disputes between two individuals to large-scale social upheavals".
- xiii The Qin Dynasty in China began in 214 BC.

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- xiv As we have seen in chapter 2, the overall coverage in the S1 EPA course in the 1997 official syllabus include "The Development of Hong Kong" and the other core topics are "The People of the HKSAR" and "The Rights and Duties of the Residents of the HKSAR". For optional topics, teachers can choose from five "social" topics: "Food Supply", "Water Supply", "Energy Supply", "Transportation" and "Postal and Telecommunication Services", focusing on the needs, services and problems.
- xv Teaching objectives and guidance notes in the 1997 official EPA were newly added features in the 1984 official EPA syllabus. Before that, in the 1950, 1960, the 1969 Civics syllabuses, the syllabus contents are described in the form of narratives. In the 1975 syllabus, only the topics to be covered are denoted without any narratives because of the interim nature of the syllabus.
- xvi The website of the *Civic Trail, National Identity*:
<http://resources.emb.gov.hk/civicedu/introduction.htm>
- xvii The website of the TV announcement *Aspiring the World*:
http://www.isd.gov.hk/chi/api_more.htm
- xviii For the full Chinese subtitle in each episode of the TV announcement series, please visit the website of *Aspiring the World*.
- xix According to the official curriculum guides, PSHE, which stands for Personal, Social and Humanities Education, is a KLA which is a part of the school curriculum that structures concepts in the knowledge domains and provides context for generic skills, values and attitudes development and application. There are 8 KLAs, apart from PSHE, the other KLAs are Chinese Language Education, English Language Education, Mathematics Education, Science Education, Technology Education, Arts Education and Physical Education.

Because of the theme and subject specific aims of EPA, it is listed with other subjects like Chinese History, Civic Education, Geography, History, Religious Education and Social Studies within the PSHE KLA . The official aims of PSHE KLA are to enable "students to understand people as both individuals and groups in relation to time, space and the environment, as well as their place in the culture and material world". For further information of the nature, beliefs and position of PSHE in the school curriculum, please visit the official EMB - Personal, Social & Humanities Education website:

<http://www.emb.gov.hk/index.aspx?langno=1&nodeid=3206>

- xx According to P, six members in the Economics panel are responsible for the S1-3 EPA curriculum. 4 of them are English teachers and 1 History teacher who is teacher D. This accounts for a large panel size.
- xxi According to the P, the news quiz is a classroom activity to be done regularly across board for all S1-3 EPA classes with the aim of cultivating students' news reading habit and upkeeping their awareness of current affairs, while the news reading exercise is an assignment for individual students. The exercise is to be done on a monthly basis.
- xxii The S1 optional topics about public utilities include "Water Supply", "Food Supply", "Energy Supply", "Transportation" and "Postal and Telecommunications Services".
- xxiii "Mass Media" is one of the five optional topics in S3 EPA. The other four topics are "Corruption", "Housing", "Consumer Education" and "Pollution".
- xxiv All the dialogues between teacher D and her students are reconstructed from my field notes on the spot of observations as no permission is given by the principal to audio or video taped the lesson nor the teacher interviews within the school.

^{xxv} The TVB game show features a hundred contestants. In each episode, the host will introduce a legislation, unusually a civic one and play a scene for contestants to decide if the main character in it is breaking the law or not. Then solicitors will be providing an "answer" to the situation.

^{xxvi} The ATV drama series is based on real murder cases in Hong Kong. A lawyer will begin each episode of the series with the introduction of the legislation knowledge.

^{xxvii} The status held by a TV drama series character who was pregnant after a party and lost both her love and her virginity.

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