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Citizenship education in post-1997 Hong Kong : civic education or nationalistic education?

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN POST-1997 HONG KONG:
CIVIC EDUCATION OR NATIONALISTIC EDUCATION?

by
MAN Kit

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy in Social Sciences
(Sociology)

Lingnan University

2013

ABSTRACT

Citizenship Education in Post-1997 Hong Kong:
Civic Education or Nationalistic Education?

by

MAN Kit

Master of Philosophy

This study investigates citizenship education policy under the "One Country, Two Systems" model in Hong Kong. A number of studies have analyzed the Hong Kong-China national unification from the political, legal, economic, socio-cultural perspectives. This study approaches Hong Kong-China integration from the hotly contested issue of nationalistic education, attempted to be implemented by the Hong Kong government in the official school curriculum. I use as my data sources official documents issued by government agencies including the Chief Executive's annual *Policy Address*, an internal report of the Commission on Strategic Development, and curriculum guides of the Curriculum Development Council to tease out the citizenship qualities desired by the Hong Kong government for the younger generation.

Historians and social scientists distinguish between civic and ethnic types of citizenship or nationalism. While the civic model is often perceived as intrinsically liberal, voluntarist, universalist and inclusive, its ethnic "blood-and-soil" counterpart is usually associated with illiberal, authoritarian, ascriptive, particularist and excusive connotations. The widely discussed civic/ethnic dichotomy in citizenship and nationalism literature is used as the analytical framework to examine elements proposed by the government in its citizenship education documents. My research points out that the citizenship education policy in post-1997 Hong Kong under the dual process of state and national building is a hybridization of the civic/ethnic conceptions, in which the ethnic components dominate over the civic ones.

I further argue that the "One Country, Two Systems" model is about the struggle between the civic and ethnic conceptions of citizenship rather than capitalism and communism. I also discuss the implications of the government's pro-ethnic conception of citizenship education on political culture and rights of ethnic minority in Hong Kong, and the implication on the literature of sociology of citizenship.

DECLARATION

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.

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Man Kit

Date

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN POST-1997 HONG KONG:
CIVIC EDUCATION OR NATIONALISTIC EDUCATION?

by

MAN Kit

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

Central Policy Unit (CPU)

Chief Executive (CE)

Commission on Strategic Development (CSD)

Curriculum Development Council (CDC)

Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR)

Legislative Council (Legco)

Moral and National Education (MNE)

Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide (Primary 1 to Secondary 6) Consultation Draft (MNECG)

Office of the Chief Executive (CE)

People's Republic of China (PRC)

Promotion of National Education in Hong Kong − Current Situation, Challenges and Way Forward (PNEHK)

Task Group on National Education (TGNE)

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background, aims and significance of the present study.

1.1 Background

In May 2011, the Hong Kong government proposed the new Moral and National Education (MNE) curriculum as a compulsory subject in schools from September 2012 and held a 4-month consultation. The new subject led to a heated controversy, in which there were both full-hearted support and heavy opposition from school heads, teachers, students, parents, academics, politicians, activists, and etc. Some believes it is necessary to enhance national awareness among local students through the subject, while the others condemned it as "brain-washing". In October 2012, the government announced to shelve the MNE curriculum guide.[1]

Hong Kong, a former British Colony and now a Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC), is a unique case of citizenship development. Active citizenship was marginalized during most of the colonial period, and it was only in the 1980s that political reforms were introduced which grant the political right of partial election for the District Board and Legislative Council (Legco).[2] There has been continuous democratization after the change of sovereignty in 1997, but the major focus of citizenship has been replaced by nation-building for the state. Enhancing national awareness of the public, especially students, becomes top priority for the HKSAR government's policy agenda.

Although national integration has been prioritized over democratization, the HKSAR government still has to cover both in its citizenship education curriculum because of several factors. Firstly, there have been different voices from the pluralistic, vibrant civil society on citizenship education since the 1980s (Lee and Sweeting, 2001; Tse, 2007b). While some groups demand developing stronger sense of Chinese national identity in the curriculum, others call for more civic knowledge about the practice of citizenship rights. Secondly, contents on both the civic and Chinese nationalistic

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[1] Although the Hong Kong government announced to shelve the MNE curriculum guide, schools are still allowed to decide whether to implement the subject.
[2] Election for the 18 District Board was held in 1982, the introduction of indirect election to the Legco in 1985, and the introduction of 10 direct elected seats in 1991 and increased to 20 seats in 1997.

elements were first covered in the *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* issued in 1996. Normatively, the HKSAR government has to succeed the policy initiated by the former government. Finally, although integration with China becomes an important issue under "One Country, Two Systems", citizenship education is also influenced by the trend of globalization (Kennedy, 2008).[3]   To respond to the international environment, it is necessary for the government to deal with "universal values", i.e. those relevant to democratic citizenship in the official curriculum.

However, the civic and nationalistic contents in citizenship education are intrinsically contradictory due to the situation of Hong Kong. On the one hand, raising national awareness is crucial, but it somehow neglects citizenship in the local context and leads to the problem of de-localization (Lee, 2008). On the other hand, the teaching of citizenship knowledge and skills for participation is necessary for political empowerment, but a full democratic citizenship is yet to develop in Hong Kong; even if it is completely imposed, there is still normative ambiguity in the idea of HKSAR citizenship (Baehr, 2001). Under "One Country, Two Systems", the "permanent residents" of Hong Kong are members of the Chinese national community, but the concrete Hong Kong citizenship rights are defined by the *Basic Law*, rather than the law of the PRC. In a nutshell, Hong Kong residents are normatively "citizens" of the PRC, but their civil, political and social rights are limited in the regional, local community of the HKSAR.

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[3] Kennedy (2008) argued that globalization has posed challenges to citizenship education of the nation-sates in the Asia-Pacific region.

1.2 Aims of the Study

Citizenship education, and even citizenship itself, is a rather new social phenomenon in Hong Kong and full of controversy, making an in-depth investigation of the state's conception towards the issue valuable. Empirically, it helps observers to understand more about the development of a citizenship regime in Hong Kong from the state's point of view, which takes an active role in shaping the HKSAR citizenship. Conceptually, the case of Hong Kong enriches our understanding of the varieties of citizenship and contributes to understanding citizenship in a polity which has a "high degree of autonomy" but is not an independent sovereign state. Specifically, the aims of this study are:

1) To examine how the Hong Kong government conceives citizenship education in Hong Kong;

2) To examine the implications of state conceived citizenship education on "One Country, Two Systems" and citizenship development in Hong Kong; and

3) To examine the implications of state conceived citizenship education in Hong Kong for the sociology of citizenship

Based on the above aims, three sets of research questions are formulated:

1) Which dimensions of citizenship does the Hong Kong government focuses on? Does it tend to situate Hong Kong citizenship in the local or national contexts? Is it more inclined to the civic or ethnic idea? And what are the other characteristics of such citizenship?

2) What are its implications for China as the sovereign of Hong Kong, and as a global metropolis?

3) What significance does the HKSAR case have for the sociological thinking about citizenship? For instance, how the HKSAR's case differ from the Marshallian citizenship, which focuses on specific rights?[4]

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study will contribute to the understanding of the nature of "One Country, Two Systems", citizenship development in Hong Kong and the sociology of citizenship.

Firstly, the change of sovereignty in Hong Kong took place 15 years ago. The "One Country, Two Systems", citizenship regime and citizenship education curriculum are all relatively new phenomena in Hong Kong, still developing under much uncertainty. Although their institutionalization is subject to the influence of various parties, it is undoubtedly the state which possesses the most political power and takes an active role in shaping them in the process. The HKSAR government's documents on citizenship education reveal how it conceives important issues such as national integration, democratization and citizenship. Therefore, the clues about the future development of these institutions can be learned from examining the contents of these documents. Moreover, all the documents used in this study are written by core agencies of the HKSAR government, including the Chief Executive (CE), the Commission on Strategic Development (CSD) and the Curriculum Development Council (CDC), which make key decisions in the implementation of citizenship education policy. In other words, documents issued by these agencies not only reveal the Hong Kong government's conception on citizenship education, but the texts themselves also constitute the action.

Secondly, citizenship education in Hong Kong is a unique case distinguished by the intrinsic ambiguity embedded in the constitutional arrangements and other external forces. On the one hand, as described earlier in this introduction, Hong Kong encounters a dilemma in the issue of citizenship. The "permanent residents" of Hong Kong are nominally Chinese "citizens", but their specific citizenship rights are stipulated by the *Basic Law* rather than the Chinese laws. On the other hand, citizenship curriculum in Hong Kong during the post-1997 era has to respond to the needs of nationalization,

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[4] Marshall (1950) first distinguished between civil, political and social rights that emerged during industrialization. Kymlicka (1995) added the fourth set of cultural right of ethnic minorities in multi-cultural state. See Chapter 2 and 6 for more details.

democratization and globalization. These two demands in citizenship education curriculum appear to be somewhat incompatible. While the needs for nationalization in citizenship education demand a stronger sense of national awareness, the needs for democratization and globalization call for political empowerment for participation. This study can help to the understanding of how the state copes with such dilemma and its implication on citizenship development in Hong Kong.

Thirdly, since the *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* were issued in 1996, national identity and civic participation have been the focus of citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong. Using the concept of civic/ethnic dichotomy in the social sciences, this study explores both the civic and ethnic dimensions of citizenship education in Hong Kong. Literature on the concept of citizenship has been focused on rights, such as the civil, social and political rights (Marshall, 1950), and later, cultural rights (Kymlicka, 1995). Although Brubaker (1992) noted how the conflicting combinations of nationhood and citizenship lead to different approaches on the neutralization of immigrants in France and Germany, the empirical situations in these two countries are different from Hong Kong. France and Germany are fully independent states and their citizenship regimes are well-established. This study on HKSAR citizenship examines citizenship development in the context of "One Country, Two Systems" in Hong Kong where citizenship institutions are in the stage of being formulated.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses the literature on the concepts of citizenship and nation, and the conditions of citizenship and citizenship education in Hong Kong.

2.1 Citizenship and Nation

Citizenship and other concepts such as nation, ethnie, state, nationalism and national identity are relevant to each other. Scholars of education have pointed out that citizenship education curriculum in post-1997 Hong Kong is predominately filled by contents relevant to the Chinese nation-state. An understanding of these concepts will help to provide the conceptual basis for examining citizenship education in Hong Kong. In spite of their different meanings, one common feature is that these concepts all resist easy and common definition, and their meanings are often overlapping and reveal common themes, given the wide range of paradigms, theories, concerns and cases associated with them.

2.1.1 Citizenship

Citizenship has been the central theme of debates in political philosophy, from the Ancient Greece, Roman Empire, French Revolution, the Enlightenment, to the modern Marxist movement. Studies of citizenship became increasingly significant because of the democratization movements across Eastern Europe, parts of Africa and Latin America, the rise of national and ethnic conflicts, the integration of European nation-states in the European Union, the debates over social welfare, and international population migration to developed states (Shafir, 1998). Citizenship entails a three-fold conception of membership, i.e. the membership of a community, rights and obligations associated with the membership, and participation in political and social life of the community.

The first dimension of citizenship, membership or belonging, concerns who qualifies as a citizen. Barbalet (2007) defined it as "…membership in a political community organized as a territorial or national state", while Turner (1993) extended the scope to include the wider world ecology; global, social, and economic relations; and world religions. With the trend of globalization and emergence of supranational

organizations, there has also been the academic discussion of nested or multiple citizenship (Heater, 1990) and multilayered citizenship (Bottery, 2003).

Membership is the most fundamental element of citizenship, as it determines what Hannah Arendt (1966) referred to as the "rights to have rights". This means that only with the entitlement of membership can citizens have the associated rights and obligations, and opportunities for participation.   The status of citizenship membership can be determined either by descent or ethnic-cultural qualities (jus sanguinis) such as the case of Germen and Japanese citizenships, or by birthplace (jus soli) such as the case of American and Australian citizenships.

The second dimension concerns the contractual relationship between citizens and the state, which is signified by citizenship rights (Janoski, 1998). The benchmarked modern discussion about citizenship rights is the essay *Citizenship and Social Class* by Marshall which examines the expansion of rights in England from a historical approach. Marshall (1950) distinguished three sets of citizenship rights that emerged from different period of time - civil, political and social rights in the United Kingdom - and connected them with the social forces of the bourgeoisie and labor, as a result of conflict between capitalism and equality. Firstly, civil rights are those rights that concern individual freedom, originating in the eighteen century, including equal treatment before the law, and rights of contract and property. Then, in the nineteenth century, political rights, including the right to vote and to stand for office, which are related to participation in the political system, started to develop. Finally, social rights, the central concepts of Marshall's theory of citizenship, which refers to social welfare and security that guarantee even the less well-off can "live the life of a civilized being", appeared in the twentieth century. In the 1990s, Kymlicka (1995) called for cultural rights, which refers to accommodation of the cultural distinctiveness of ethnic minority groups.

The third dimension is participation, which exists within the context of democratic politics. Jean-Jacques Rousseau once claimed that the "people of England" were "free only during the election of members of parliament. Once they are elected, the people is enslaved, it is nothing" (Rousseau, 1994, p. 127). Based on the condition of civic equity, democratic citizenship encompasses public involvement in the democratic process,

through voting, speaking out and standing for office, and other obligations, such as abiding by those democratically passed laws people disagree with, paying taxes, doing military service, and so on (Bellamy, 2008). The strength of democratic citizenship is to generate the most effective mechanism for citizens to pursue their collective interests and to enhance the responsiveness of the rulers to the public.

Citizenship takes place in political communities, which refers to the nation states in the modern context. To acquire a full understanding of the context of citizenship membership, rights and participation, it is therefore necessary to understand the concepts of nation and the other relevant ideas of national identity, ethnie, nationalism, primordialism and modernism, and state, which are mutually relevant. These will be discussed below.

2.1.2 Nation and the Relevant Concepts

2.1.2.1 Nation

Nation is one of the most ambiguous and contentious terms in the social sciences. Charles Tilly saw it as "one of the most puzzling and tendentious items in the political lexicon" (Tilly, 1975, p. 6). From the standpoint of nationalist movements, the conception of nation is perceived as a form of ideology that is based on a nation. Definitions of nation include the objective and subjective approaches. The objective approach is a sort of essentialist idea, which sets up "objective" criteria such as a common ancestry, language and religion for membership of a nation. For example, to Joseph Stalin, "a nation is an historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifest in a common culture" (Stalin, 1994, p. 20). Conversely, the subjective approach is characterized by relativism, in terms of its emphasis on perceptions, attitudes and the people's sense of belonging. One of the representative figures of the subjectivists is Benedict Anderson. Anderson defined the nation as "… an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Both the objective and subjective approaches have limits. Weber (1948, p. 172) showed that the "objective criteria" fail to capture the essence of some existing nations, while Deutsch (1966) and Connor (1994) pointed out that the subjective elements cause ambiguity on the boundaries between nations and regions, tribes, city-states and empires. Synthesis of the two opposing approaches was shown in Gellner's account of nation composed of two criteria. First, two men share the same culture. Second, two men recognize each other as member of the same nation (Gellner, 2008, p. 6-7).

Whether defined by the objectivist or subjectivist standpoint, the most fundamental characteristics of nation is that it is a political unit. As Raymond Aron's described international relations as the "… relations between political units", covering a wide range of regimes, from the Greek city-states, empires, monarchies, bourgeois republics to democracies. Schnapper focused on the function of social integration within the

nation. According to Schnapper (1998), the nation serves to integrate populations into a "community of citizens", whose very existence legitimizes policies of the state.

2.1.2.2 National Identity

National identity is a subtype of social identities in modern times parallel with other identities (e.g., gender, family role, occupation and religion); it refers to identification with "the nation" (Smith, 1992). According to Anderson (1991), emotional ties of national identity are highly based on imagination, because members of a nation do not know each other.

National identity is defined by Smith as "the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation by the members of a national community of the pattern of symbols, values, myths, memories and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the variable identification of individual members of that community with that heritage and its cultural elements" (Smith, 1992). National identity can be viewed from the standpoint of individual members or of the community as a collective entity.

According to Smith (1991), national identity serves a wide range of functions. First of all, national identity gives individuals a concept of territory, not only in terms of time and space, but also provides a "sacred centre" for individuals as objects of spiritual and historical pilgrimage. Second, national identity demarcates the realm of national economy. Third, national identity legitimates common legal rights and duties of citizens, which define the traditional customs and mores of the people. In addition, national identity helps individuals to locate their identities in the world. Most importantly, from a sociological perspective, national identity creates an intimate feeling among members of a community. It can serve as a social bond between individuals with shared values, symbols and traditions.

2.1.2.3 Ethnie

Although Walker Connor holds that the nation and ethnie are the same (Connor, 1994), his claim fails to recognize the political differentiation of the two concepts. Nation is a political unit, while an ethnic community is not necessarily a political community. An ethnic community needs not possess a sovereign state of its own. The most fundamental element of an ethnic community is the shared history and cultural heritage, which makes it a historical community with cultural specificity (Schnapper, 1998).

Smith defined nation as "a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture, and common laws and customs for all members", and ethnie "a named human community connected to a homeland, possessing common myths on ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of shared culture, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites" (Smith, 2010, p. 13). In Smith's definition, ethnie also lacks the political dimension of "common laws and customs".

Like any other social identities, an ethnic identity can be constructed, and thus it is not necessarily more solid or fundamental than the nation and national sentiment (Armstrong, 1982). The classical example is the rivalry between Yorubas and Ibos ethnies within the Nigerian nation, which was constructed by colonial administrators.[5] Similar examples of subjectively constructed ethnic communities can be found in many other former colonies.

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[5] The word "Yorubas" was first invented by Anglican missionaries to designate various people in Western Nigeria.

2.1.2.4 Nationalism

According the Ernest Gellner (2008, p. 54), "it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way around". "Nationalism is primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 2008, p. 1), and in which members of a national community first develop a self-consciousness and struggle to form their own state. Gellner (2008) saw nationalism as a kind of deception and self-deception by nationalist elites. To Gellner, will and culture are insufficient explanation of nationalism, because "…nationalism is about entry to, participation in, identification with, a literate high culture which is co-extensive with an entire political unit and its total population, and which must be of this kind if it is to be compatible with the kind of division of labor, the type or mode of production, on which the society is based" (Gellner, 2008, p. 92). According to Gellner (2008), modern nationalism is the result of industrialization where the economy is sustained by a nationally homogeneous high culture manipulated by the state through education. The new division of labor under industrialism formed mass anonymous society where sentiment is subjected to state influence, and where only a nation-sized education system (only the nation is capable of sustaining an education system) can produce full citizens.

Among the many interpretations of nationalism, Smith demarcated five most important usages. These are:

(1) a process of formation, or growth, of nations;
(2) sentiments or consciousness of belonging to the nation;
(3) a language and symbolism of the nation;
(4) a social and political movement on behalf of the nation; and
(5) a doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular.

(Smith, 2010, p. 5-6)

Smith analyzed nationalism from the standpoint of nationalists who aim to mobilize a self-styled national project. According to him, nationalism is defined as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a

population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential "nation" (Smith, 2010, p. 9)

2.1.2.5 Primordialism and Modernism

There is a classical debate between two schools of thought the primordialist and the modernist regarding the concepts of nation, national identity and nationalism. There are three kinds of primordialism. The first kind conceives nations as primordial, which existed at the very beginning of history. Secondly, the other kind of socio-biological primordialism argues that reproductive behaviors of individuals are in fact part of the strategies of the nations to maximize their gene pools (Van den Berghe, 1994). The final kind of primodialism asserts the cultural heritage of nations. Geertz (1963) held that "primordial" ties still existed in industrial societies in terms of the attachment to kinship, language, religion, customs and territory. Modernism stresses that nation and the relevant concepts is only a modern phenomenon based on social construction. On the one hand, these phenomena are rather recent and qualitatively novel (Smith, 2010, p. 50). On the other hand, these are innovative rather than transformed from some other social phenomenon.

2.1.2.6 State

A nation is not a state. State is the institution that governed the political sphere of social life. As a nationalist thinker, Weber recognized the distinction between nation and state. Weber (1948, p. 172) asserted that "nation" is not the same as "people of a state". According to Weber (1948, p. 78), state is an entity that possesses the "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory", and it is the instrument of the nation.

The concepts of nation and nationalism must be distinguished from those of state and patriotism (Connor, 1994). For example, there are the coexisting Chinese nationalism and Malaysian state patriotism among the Chinese Malaysians. Relationship between nations and states are more complicated nowadays, as almost 90 per cent of the existing state are multiethnic, and nearly half of them affected by ethnic conflicts (Giddens, 1985).

Nation-state, a political entity that merges a nation with a state, is defined as "a state legitimated by the principles of nationalism, whose members possess a measure of national unity and integration (but not of cultural homogeneity)" (Smith, 2010, p.17). The governments of nation- state can establish and re-establish its legitimacy by dissemination and reinterpretation nationalism.   It is what Breuilly called the "renewal nationalisms" of national-states imposed by their government (Breuilly, 1994).

2.1.3 Citizenship and Nation

In academic discourse, the concept of citizenship has been discussed in a wide range of schools of thought, from liberal, communitarian, social democratic, feminist, multi-culturist to Marxist. Other than that, citizenship also overlaps with the concept of nation. Marshall (1950) noted the simultaneous emergence of civil rights and "modern national consciousness", in which people at their first time feel a "sense of community membership and common heritage". The development of other citizenship rights also took place within the framework of expansion of the national institutions of nation-states, such as national education, national markets and national political systems.

The political lexicon of nation was first introduced by French revolutionaries. The *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* noted simultaneously the democratic sovereignty of the nation and the civil rights of its citizens. Such overlap between the concepts of "national" and "citizen" is the consequence of the historical root of the old French regime the homogenization of its people through state administration, education and military system in the nineteenth century (Brubaker, 1992). Also, with the civic framework invoked by the Enlightenment, the French tradition of citizen celebrates the value of liberal individualism.

An alternative tradition of citizenship emerged in Germany as a result of the decentralized German kingdoms and principalities. Since political citizenship and the nation are disjointed, the romantic (or völkisch) concept of nationalism is developed. As nation is formed by ethnic members (volk) that are distinct from each other in terms of language, religion and history, romantic nationalism emphasizes the collective national identity. It stresses the loyalty of members to the nation-state and denies individual rights.

The two traditions signify contrasting approaches towards the granting of citizenship membership. While the French citizenship tradition tends to be territory-based, its Germen counterpart is based more on descent or blood line; thus, the territory-based criterion was formed in France to grant citizenship to people born in its

territory while the Germen practices ethnicity-based citizenship policy which only people with Germen descent can acquire German citizenship (Brubaker, 1992). But this does not necessarily mean that citizenship regimes in some countries are either absolutely civic or ethnic.

In fact, the concepts of nation and citizenship can be understood as the two sides of the same coin. Both signify the different dimensions of membership in a political community. Whilst the former asserts the legal status and rights of membership, the latter focuses on the social ties within the community. And both concepts can take either a civic or ethnic form, or the combination of the two. Given that there are the contrasting territory-based and ethnicity-based citizenship traditions in France and Germany respectively, what are the characteristics of the citizen regime in Hong Kong?

2.2 Citizenship and Citizenship Education in Hong Kong

2.2.1 Citizenship in Hong Kong

Based on the above literature review on the three dimensions of citizenship, which are membership, rights and participation, this part discusses the characteristics of citizenship in Hong Kong.

The nature of citizenship membership in Hong Kong is clearly defined in the *Basic Law*. Although Hong Kong is predominantly a Chinese society, citizenship in Hong Kong is not very much ethnicity-based. Under the *Basic Law*, the legal status of citizenship refers to "a permanent resident with the rights of abode". From a legal perspective, the "right of abode" is not attached to a particular nationality, and thus equal status and rights of citizenship are entitled to all the permanent residents of Hong Kong regardless of their nationality (Ghai, 2001).[6] Therefore, the legally defined Hong Kong citizenship appears to be jus soli rather than jus sanguinis.[7]

It is evident that the legal definition of the HKSAR citizenship resembles the characteristics of the French tradition of citizenship or nationhood which does not emphasize the common ancestry and cultural origins among citizens (see 2.1.3). However, the citizenship regime in Hong Kong differs from the so called French tradition in terms of the treatment of citizenship rights. There has been an imbalance in the granting of the civil, political and social rights as introduced by Marshall (1950), as a result of citizenship being used as a governing tool by the government ever since the British colonial period.

To avoid legitimacy crisis in its ruling over Hong Kong, the British colonial government deliberately attempted to create a "de-politicized" model of citizenship in Hong Kong characterized by its focus on civil and social rights, while downplaying political rights. In the followings, I will discuss the evolvement of civil, social and political citizenship in Hong Kong since the colonial period.

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[6] According to Ghai (2001), although the *Chinese Nationality Law* has been applied to Hong Kong since 1997, the concept of "right of abode" has been adopted to ensure the inclusion of non-Chinese residents in Hong Kong in terms of citizenship. It is because non-Chinese residents have traditionally played a crucial role in different sectors.

[7] Territory-based and ethnicity-based, respectively.

First of all, because of its inherited legitimacy problem as a colonial government, it was the colonial government's strategy to appeal to economic development to endow its ruling over Hong Kong with moral authority (Lau, 1983). The colonial government adopted the principle of laissez-faire characterized by "free trade, free labor and free market" (Ho, 2006, p. 25). Citizens were integrated into the Hong Kong community through qualities of civil rights, such as "the distribution of wealth, appropriation of products and property rights" (Ho, 2006, p. 25). Therefore, from the colonial period till now, the Hong Kong government has been paying the most attention to civil rights, the rights to own property. It possesses an economic vision to citizenship, which Jessop (2002) refers to as "enterprising citizenship". A "good" citizen is defined by "who can add more value to the Hong Kong economy" (So, 2006, p. 242), regardless of nationality. Because of the British laissez faire legacy, the state tends to have a "neo-liberal" conception of citizenship, and leaves a maximum degree of freedom for the "big market" (So and Su, 2012). Therefore, the civil rights for pursuing economic interests is emphasized in the Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship.

Secondly, civil citizenship along is not enough to cope with the legitimacy problem encountered by the colonial government. After the broke out of the riots in 1966 and 1967, the colonial government started to search for a solution to the public's political discontent against the colonial rule. To maintain social stability, the colonial government adopted a new governing strategy to distribute more social benefits to Hong Kong citizens. For instance, the colonial government initiated a large-scale provision of public housing in the 1960s to prevent other massive collective actions (Ho, 1989). Nowadays, the welfare policy originated in the colonial period became increasingly "take it for granted" social rights, which deflates social citizenship's influences on the maintenance of social order, but is historical background helps us to understand the context of "de-politicized" model of citizenship in Hong Kong.

Lastly, political rights (e.g. voting and standing for office) which are directly related to democratic participation, has been weak in Hong Kong ever since the colonial

period, as the major concern of the colonial government within the political system was primarily the maintenance of efficient civil services and the rule of law (Lo, 1997).

As mentioned above, it was the strategic concern for the colonial government to promote civil and social rights, whilst restricting the development of political rights in Hong Kong. Towards the end of its ruling over Hong Kong, the colonial government introduced partial political reform. It is not until 1982 that the first democratic election took place in Hong Kong. The Sino-British negotiations over the future of Hong Kong after 1997 aroused demands for the introduction of direct elections to the LegCo. Taking the political pressure from Beijing into account, the colonial government eventually decided to work against the expectation for democratization from the Hong Kong society and ban the idea of direct election to LegCo in 1988 (Lo, 2001, p.32). However, the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989 led to a drastic change in the social conditions for democratization, wherein there was even a more intense demand for political rights from Hong Kong people. As a result, partial direct election to the LegCo was introduced along with the broadening of functional constituencies, the reduction of voting age from 21 to 18 and so forth. But after the change of sovereignty in 1997, the HKSAR government has not adopted any radical changes in the political system. As of now, a rather limited degree of political citizenship is enjoyed by permanent residents of Hong Kong. Universal suffrage is limited to the election of part of the Legco and the District council, whilst the CE who is the head of the Hong Kong government, is elected by a 1,200-member Election Committee. Facing the legitimacy crisis posed by the lack of full universal suffrage, the Hong Kong government has been attempting to configure social consensus for its policies to strengthen governance effectiveness. But such strategy is increasingly falling short due to growing demand for participation from the civil society (Ku, 2009).

To summarize, membership of the Hong Kong citizenship defined by the law is territory-based, regardless of citizens' ethnic origins, and the government highlighted economic citizenship while downplaying political rights since the colonial period. The limited scope of democratic participation in Hong Kong signifies a passive model of citizenship.

2.2.2 Citizenship Education

Children are not likely to learn about political concepts by themselves. Therefore, most societies make conscious efforts to teach knowledge and shape their conceptions towards the political community (Easton, 1965). Gutmann defined citizenship education as "the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation", which "has moral primacy over other purposes of public education in a democratic society" (Gutmann, 1987, p. 187). Banks (2004) defined it as the political socialization project that nurtures the common rights and duties, collective identity, and the relevant civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes for functioning and leading responsible lives in a polity. But in practice, political participation is limited or even negligible in some regimes and so is civic education (Crittenden, 2007). Civic education also involves other non- or less political contents such as civil ethics, moral virtues, volunteerism and social service.

An alternative model of citizenship education focuses on identification towards the political community, through the promotion of national symbols, such as flags, emblems, and anthems, history and myth, which serves as the foundation for the development of emotional attachment and the intimate feelings with fellow citizens (Bloom, 1990).

There has long been a debate about whether citizenship education should be carried out by the state through formal education. Whether it is the general citizenship education, or the specific national or even patriotic education, such education provides a channel of political socialization for regimes to justify their rule and mobilize populations behind national goals, whereby students are taught about, and motivated to form supportive attitudes towards the political system and nation (Fairbrother, 2003). Philosopher of education Callan (2004) also doubted whether citizenship education should be institutionalized via schooling, as school is not the only institution which can socialize children with the ideology that pursues by the state. For instance, the family is another possible alternative of social institution for citizenship education. If citizenship education is controlled by the state through formal schooling, then it is very likely to become political indoctrination rather than education.

Various definitions on citizenship education have been introduced, which concerns sense the civic components of rights (Banks, 2004) and participation (Gutmann, 1987), and the history, culture and symbols of nations (Bloom, 1990). Drawing on the literature on citizenship, nation, and citizenship education as reviewed in this chapter, this study defines citizenship education as the socialization of the three dimensions of citizenship and their nationalistic components.

2.2.3 Historical Evolvement of Citizenship Education in Hong Kong

Citizenship education in Asia is a very recent phenomenon, and is mainly the consequence of colonialism, which brought the Western education system along with the idea of nationalism to the region (Tse, 2006). The history of citizenship education in Hong Kong can be divided into three main stages, which are the de-politicization in the colonial period, the demand for citizenship education in the 1980s, and "nationalization" after 1997.

First of all, education policy during the colonial period was authoritative and top-down, whereby the government controlled contents of school subjects, curriculum guidelines, and textbooks (Cheng, 1992; Morris, 1997). Before the1980s, there was an absence of systematic citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong, as it was a strategic concern for the colonial government to the avoid growth of social instability posed by civic awareness and legitimacy problem of its ruling over Hong Kong (Bray and Lee, 1993; Morris, 1997).

Scholars of education have described citizenship education in the pre-1997 era as depoliticized. The first school subject relevant to citizenship education was *Civics*, which was introduced to local secondary schools in Hong Kong in the 1930s, and became a subject in public examination in 1950 (Morris, 1992). Rather than focusing on democratic participation or identity in the political community, Civics devoted the majority of its contents to social citizenship issues such as public housing, health services, education, and other social welfare.

But since the 1980s, as the negotiation between Britain and China on Hong Kong's future took place with the signing of the Sino-British Agreement, and the gradual introduction of democratic politics by the colonial Government, pressure groups began to call for citizenship education to enhance qualities for political participation and national awareness (Lee and Sweetings, 2001). As consequence of social and political changes, an official civic education guideline was first released in 1985, and a second one in 1996.

Contents and emphasis of the two sets of guidelines issued before 1997 were very different. The *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools* issued in 1985 (CDC, 1985) had a narrow interest of focusing on shaping students to become obedient and docile citizens (Leung, Chai and Ng, 2000). The guidelines was poorly implemented, as schools at that time relied more on extra-curricular activities as an important elements of civic education (Tang and Morris, 1989). But Lee (1999) saw the release of the guidelines to be a reflection of the government's commitment towards a formal citizenship education curriculum.

Approaching the transfer of sovereignty, another set of curriculum guide, the *Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools in 1996*, was issued (CDC, 1996). Compared to the guidelines of 1985, it contained a wide variety of contents, ranging from the education of critical thinking, civic participation, multi-dimensional citizenship, national identity to patriotism. There are five foci of education in the Guidelines, namely, human rights; democracy; rule of law; national education; and global education (Leung, Chai and Ng, 2000).

After the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, civic education guidelines of the Hong Kong government tend to focus on Chinese nationalistic components. The first CE, Tung Chee-hwa, called for a sense of national pride, national identity and cultural heritage. According to Tse (2006), Tung stressed in his early public speeches the important role of education in establishing national identity among the public. Civic education policy in the post-1997 period is described as "Chinese value and moral education" (Morris and Morris, 1999) and the "re-depoliticization of civic education and, official confirmation of nationalistic education" (Leung and Ng, 2004). For instance, the education reform document *Learning to Learn: Life-long Learning and Whole-person Development* released in 2001(CDC, 2001) was criticized for having substituted political contents with national education based on elements of Chinese culture (Leung and Ng, 2004).

Even though people in Hong Kong increasingly identify themselves as Chinese (Lam, Lau, Chin and Hong, 2007), the Hong Kong government and pro-China NGOs find it necessary to further promote national identity among the population through

national education with patriotic elements and ritualistic activities (Tse, 2007a; 2007b). However, contents on politics, especially political issues in China, are avoided in the official curriculum (Leung and Ng, 2004).

It appears that a central goal of citizenship education is to prevent students to become critical and discontented with the status quo of politics in China and Hong Kong. Under the context of delayed democratization, such education aims at nurturing students to become nationalistic and patriotic rather than to become citizens active in political and civic participation (Tse, 2006). The similar purpose of neutralizing a political stance was also found in history education through a "politically correct" Chinese history syllabus (Vickers and Kan, 2003), and also in music education through the promotion of Chinese Music and teaching of the national anthem (Ho, 2002).

Traditional Chinese moral values play an important role in national education by providing a role model to shape citizenship behavior. Based on Chinese culture and Confucian moral standards, the official curriculum highlights the virtues of homogeneity, harmony, responsibilities and social cohesion (Morris, 1997; Morris, Kan and Morris, 2000; Morris and Morris, 2000), through which students are encouraged to value duties and obligations of individuals to society (Morris and Morris, 1999), rather than encouraged to exercise their citizenship rights. Such tendency of emphasizing on the moral qualities of citizenship shares similarities with citizenship education in other Asian countries, as the civic education literature shows that the Asian tradition focuses more on moral virtues and personal values (Kennedy, 2005), particularly on social harmony, spirituality, development of individuality and self (Lee, 2003).

2.2.4 Students Resistance to Citizenship Education in Hong Kong

The possible dangers of enhancing students' national identities in official curriculum have been discussed in the academic literature. Local scholars argue that such education might cause irrational thinking and emotions among students, and turn to political indoctrination (Lee and Sweeting, 2001; Leung, Chai and Ng, 2000). However, empirical studies have revealed students' resistance to the official curriculum. Situated in institutional and cultural contexts, students as receivers in the socialization process have been found to actively evaluate and negotiate with socializing agents in forming their personal construction of the idea of citizenship (Kennedy, 2007; Kennedy, Hahn and Lee, 2008; Leung, 2006).

Analysis of the International Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA) data showed that students in Hong Kong pay more attention to voting and respecting leaders than to active participation in the political arena and affiliation to political parties; and they are more interested in social engagement than political engagement (Kennedy, Hahn and Lee, 2008). Moreover, Fairbrother (2003) found that students in China and colonial Hong Kong have shown resistance to the formal citizenship education and formulate their own view of citizenship. As a resistant disposition, curiosity motivates them to learn about their nation on their own and develop critical thinking skills against the knowledge they have learnt in the school curriculum.

Educational research conducted in other societies also casts doubt on the effects of formal schooling on citizenship attitudes. For examples, Langton and Jennings (1969) identified a very weak correlation between attendance of civic education courses and political beliefs in the U.S., while Dougherty, Eisenhart, and Webley (1992) attributed the different understanding of national identity between English and Argentine students to cultural differences rather than impact of education, and Canieso-Doronila (1989) found that the Filipino government failed to enhance primary school students' national attachment in the formal curriculum.

2.3 Conclusion

Two sets of ideas have been discussed in this chapter, which are the concepts of citizenship and nation, and the empirical situation of citizenship education in Hong Kong. To investigate citizenship education in Hong Kong, it is necessary to understand the concept of citizenship, and its context – nation. There are three dimensions concerning citizenship: membership, rights and participation. Citizenship in political communities has boundaries, which are demarcated by nation states in modern times. In a nutshell, nation state has both civic and ethnic components. One the one hand, citizenship defines the contractual relations between the state and individual citizens in terms of who is qualified as a citizen, civil, social and political rights, and the extent of the individual's participation in the political system. On the other hand, nation and other relevant concepts of namely national identity, ethnie and nationalism, make up the ethnic part of the state. These concepts suggest that the political community is an organ rather than a contractual association, where there is a common descent, historical and cultural backgrounds among members, which distinguish them from others. The understanding of these two kinds of concepts helps us to examine the Hong Kong government's conception towards citizenship education, in term of whether it tends to emphasize more the contractual relation between state and individuals, or the common nationalistic features between members.

The other part of the literature review concerning the empirical situation of citizenship education provides us with the basic understanding of the issue investigated in this research. First, citizenship education is defined as the socialization of the conceptions of nation and citizenship. Citizenship education is a rather recent phenomenon which emerged in the 1980s in Hong Kong and the current curriculum is dominated by nationalistic contents. Empirical studies show that students have been resistant towards the contents of the official curriculum. Although scholars of education have pointed out the nationalistic tendency of the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong, there are still some problems that this study aims to address, regarding whether there are some civic elements in the citizenship education curriculum, the characteristics of the civic elements and their relationship with the ethnic elements, and

the type of citizenship characteristics the Hong Kong government attempts to promote in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The use of documents has been a major method in social research ever since the days of the classical sociologists (Mason, 2002, p. 103; Scott, 1990, p. 1). For instance, Marx made use of reports of factory inspectors, Weber referred to religious tracts and pamphlets, and Durkheim drew on official statistics on suicide. This study uses three sets of documents written by agencies of the Hong Kong government as research data to explore the state's conception towards citizenship education. In this chapter, I will introduce the selected documents used in this study, the different types of document and documentary data, issues of getting access, justification of the use of documents and how the documentary analysis was conducted.

The three sets of documentary source used in this study are the annual *Policy Address* issued by the CE from 2007 to 2011, a report titled *Promotion of National Education in Hong Kong – Current Situation, Challenges and Way Forward* (*PNEHK*) written by the Task Group on National Education (TGNE) of the CSD in 2008 for an internal meeting , and a curriculum framework proposed for public consultation entitled *Moral and National Education Curriculum Guide (Primary 1 to Secondary 6) Consultation Draft (MNECG)* released by the Ad Hoc Committee on National Education within the Curriculum CDC in 2011.

3.2 Types of Documents and Data in Documentary Research

"Document" is a very general term (Bell, 1999, p. 108), which includes numerous materials ranging from policy documents, official statistics, historical archrives, film and photograph, newspaper, personal letter and autobiography. Documents issued by governmental authority compose the largest class of documents for social researchers (Scott, 1990, p. 17). To facilitate more deliberate use of documents, social scientists have developed typologies to classify the types of documents and the kinds of relevant data.

In the 1930s, historians Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb argued that documentary sources should be divided into two types, "documents" and "literature". They defined documents as "an instrument in language which has, as its origin and for its deliberate and express purpose, to become the basis of, or to assist, the activities of an individual, an organization, or a community", and therefore documents are written "exclusively for the purpose of action" (Webb and Webb, 1975, p. 100) rather than informing social researchers. And literature carries a broad meaning of all written sources other than document. In their classic book on historical research practice published in the same decade, historians Langlois and Seignobos referred to documents as "the traces which have been left by the thoughts and actions of men of former times", for "there is no substitute for documents: no documents, no history" (Langlois and Seignobos, 1932, p. 17).

The classical definition of documents as used by historians is criticized by social scientists to be too narrow[8] (Scott, 1990, p. 12) and many more types of documents have been developed in contemporary social research. According to Judith Bell, there are several ways of classifying documentary sources, including written sources and printed sources; primary and secondary sources; deliberate and inadvertent sources; and witting and unwitting evidence (Bell, 1999, p. 108-110).

Firstly, documentary evidence can be divided into non-written sources and printed sources. Examples of the former are visual documents such as films, videos, and graphic

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[8] The historians' definitions of documents are often limited to state constitutional and diplomatic documents.

representations. Printed sources, including state records, national databases, and school reports are more common kinds of documents in educational research.

Secondly, there are primary and secondary sources in documentary evidence. Primary sources refer to "those which came into existence in the period under research", while secondary sources[9] mean "interpretations of events of that period based on primary sources (Bell, 1999, p. 108)". The distinction of primary and secondary sources can be determined by one's point of view. For example, if a group of social commentators were subjects of a research, their writings would become primary source rather than secondary sources for the researcher. So, it is possible for certain documents to be primary from one point of view and secondary from another (Marwick, 1989, p. 200).

Thirdly, primary sources can be further categorized into deliberate and inadvertent sources, which are distinguished by the original purposes of the documents. Deliberate sources are those documents written for future attention, which often involve a deliberate consideration to preserve evidence for self-vindication or reputation enhancement (Lehmann and Mehrens, 1971, p. 24). Examples of deliberate sources are autobiography, memoir of celebrities, a diary or letter intended for later publication (Elton, 1967, p.101). Inadvertent sources are used by researchers for purposes other than the original intention. They are produced by state agencies in policy process, including records and reports of legislative bodies, government departments and official consultation committees, which original purpose is to facilitate policy making. Inadvertent sources are usually more valuable and straightforward than deliberate sources in social and educational research (Bell, 1999, p. 110), because they are written for the exclusive purpose of action.

Finally, documentary evidence can be identified as "witting" and "unwitting" evidence. Witting evidence refers to information that the author intended to disclose, while unwitting evidence is everything else that researchers can learn from the documents (Marwick, 1989, p. 216). For instance, if a government issued a policy document for some changes of a particular school subject, the witting evidence would be

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[9] This should not be confused with "secondary analysis", which is referred by social scientists as the analysis of primary data collected by other parties (Hakim, 1982).

the contents stated in the document about the curriculum change, while the unwitting evidence would be the revealed by the language used in the documents.

In the context of this study, all of the documents are printed source written by agencies of the state, primary sources that already existed during the period of this study; inadvertent sources whose original purposes are to facilitate policy making and implementation rather than informing social researchers. Finally, all of them contain both witting and unwitting evidence, which are information intended to be disclosed by the authority for the implementation of citizenship education policy, and other elements in the text that can be deciphered by researchers.

There are several forms of data in documentary evidence, which are the literal, interpretive and reflexive data (Mason, 2002, p. 115). First, the most straightforward data in text-based documents is the text per se, which comprises the literal form of data. Second, besides the texts, there are other literal elements in a document, such as the statistical data, graph and other visual elements. Third, interpretive elements refer to factors underlying the context, production and use of the documents. Fourth, the research's interface with the documents is counted as the reflexive form of data. And of course, not all elements contained in a document will necessarily be useful for researchers to use as data.

Except for the reflexive form of data, the first three forms of data are used in this study. First, the text, especially keywords relevant to the "civic" and "ethnic" elements of citizenship education is the major focus of this study. Second, tables on the 2011 *MNECG* showing the learning contents and objectives in different learning stages will also be examined. Third, interpretive elements in the context of this study concern how the authority conceives the ideal kind of citizenship to be promoted in Hong Kong through the text.

3.3 Getting Access to Documentary Data

Access to documents means "the availability of the document to people other than their authors" (Scott, 1990, p. 15). According to Scott (1990), there are four types of access to documents, including closed, restricted, open-archival, and open published. First, documents are classified as "closed" in the sense that they are only accessible to a limited circle of users, usually to the authors and staff members in their bureaucratic organizations. Second, restricted documents are only available to the others with the permission of the insiders on an ad hoc basis. Then, there are two types of open documents in contrary to the closed and restricted documents. Open documents subject to archival access refers to documents lodged in a storage space which is open for the general public. Open-published documents are those that are open for all, because they are produced for public circulation. The selection of document in social research is largely subjected to the accessibility of documents.

The documents used in this study are all open to public access on the internet. The CE's annual *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 and the 2011 *MNECG* consultation draft are open-published type of documents, since they are published by the CDC for informing the public of the implementation of the "national" education policy. The 2008 internal report on National Education (the *PNEHK*) is classified as open-archival because it is stored on the internet and accessible for all internet users but it was originally intended for internal use within the CSD.

3.4 Why Documentary Research?

The use of documentary research in this study is justified by the ontological and epistemological rigor, availability of research data and the issue of bias.

Ontological and epistemological positions are important for justifying the logic and rationale of a documentary research (Mason, 2002, p. 106-108). There are four criteria for judging the validity of the ontological position of documentary research, according to Mason (2002). First, whether the documents selected can meaningfully constitute aspects of the social world; second, the processes by which the documents are written and put into practical use; third, whether the documents represent or express some elements of the social world; and fourth, whether researchers can trace or understand aspects of the social world through them.

The three sets of documents used in this research are issued by core agencies of the Hong Kong government. The *Policy Address* is attributed to the CE, who is the head of the Hong Kong government; the internal report on the promotion of "national" education in Hong Kong is written by the TGNE under the CSD, which is an important advisory body[10] whose members are nominated by the CE; and the proposed curriculum framework of *MNECG* is prepared by the Ad Hoc Committee on National Education within the CDC, which is appointed by the CE in 2010.[11]

These documents were issued by the CE and committees that were directly appointed by the CE. Therefore, from an ontological point of view, they are representations of the "core" of the Hong Kong government. Through studying elements inside the text, researchers are able to decipher the conception of the Hong Kong government about the ideal form of citizenship in Hong Kong. In short, the documents represent elements of the social world that this study is interested in, which are the state authority's view of citizenship education.

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[10] According to the terms of reference of the CSD, it is responsible for advising "the Chief Executive on Hong Kong's long-term and overall development needs and goals with particular reference to the issues, direction and strategy of social, economic and political developments for Hong Kong" (CPU, 2013).
[11] It is mentioned in the *Policy Address* 2010-2011 that the CDC will be invited "…to develop an independent subject on "moral and national education" (OCE, 2010; 2011).

In relation to the ontological position, it is necessary for a documentary research to meet the requirements of epistemological validity which suggests that the documents used can serve as evidence of the given ontological properties. There are three things that researchers have to pay attention to (Mason, 2002). First, the documentary data should be readable by the researchers in a literal sense. Second, researchers should uphold a critical and skeptical attitudes towards the context of how the documents are produced, used, and the meanings and representation they impart with. Third, documents are constructed by people and therefore they should not be treated as complete and direct representations or reflections of social reality and facts.

When considering the first and second points suggested by Mason, it is useful to refer to the four criteria of representativeness, meaning, authenticity and credibility concerning the validity of documentary evidence stressed by Scott (1990, p. 6-8; 2006, p. XXII-XXIII).[12] To assess whether a document is readable in Mason's sense, it is important for researchers to look at what Scott called "meanings" and "representation". The former was seen by Scott (2006) as the most fundamental criteria, which refers to whether it is possible to read the text and how the contents are interpreted. The latter concerns whether the particular set of documents used in a research project is typical of the larger class of its kind. In terms of meanings, all the sources I used in this research have Chinese and English versions. In order to guarantee accuracy in interpretation of meanings, both versions will be referred to in the analysis. Moreover, the documents meet the criteria of representativeness since they are similar with other documents of their kind. The format and organization of the 2007-2011 *Policy Address* are as similar to *Policy Address* issued by the CE since 1997, and the *2011* MNE curriculum framework is similar to the previous curriculum guide on citizenship education issued in 2008. And commonalities can be identified between the 2011 document and the *PNEHK* internal report published by the CSD in 2008.[13]

Secondly, to uphold a critical view towards the documentary sources, one can draw on the criteria of authenticity and credibility suggested by Scott. Authenticity looks at

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[12] These four criteria can also be used to evaluate evidences other than documentary sources in social research (Scott, 1990, p. 6).

[13] For examples, the reference to citizenship education policy in U.S., France and Australia, the three-fold model of cognition, feeling and behavior, the stress on sense of obligation to China.

whether a particular piece of document is an original and reliable copy or a forged one', whilst credibility relates to whether contents of a document are accurate and free from error, which takes the authors' standpoint into account. The documents used in this study are authentic and credible in the sense that they are originally issued by key agencies of the Hong Kong government which play an important role in policy making process of citizenship education. And all the copies were retrieved from the Hong Kong government's official web pages.

Apart from ontological and epistemological rigor, the use of documentary analysis can also be justified in two situations. The first situation is when the data on the social phenomena to be investigated is "not available in other forms" (Mason, 2002, p. 108) and the researcher may therefore only be able to make reference to the documentary evidence. To gather data for this study, the most straightforward way seems to be interviewing the relevant policy makers. But it is not easy to approach the targeted interviewees. And interview itself might not be an ideal method for this study. It is because political actors often wear a "mask" when they are promoting certain policy to the general public, they have to hide the original rationale, mandate, purposes, and other sensitive issues concerning the policy. It is true that interviewing policy-makers could be the most direct method for a policy inquiry but it is subjected to the problem of reliability. It is not likely for policy-makers to "unmask" themselves for the researcher. Information disclosed by the policy-makers in an interview would not be different from those they tell in other public contexts. This kind of data is not reliable and accurate since the original deliberation of the policy is hidden.

Another situation is where given the particular phenomena studied, documentary sources are the only data available. When conducting sociological research, it is possible that there is only limited availability of relevant research data. For such situation, having access to a few pieces of documents could be very helpful. In this study, the three sets of documents used are extremely valuable as they are produced by key agencies of the state. And the strength of documentary research lies in the very nature of documents – written for action. Since the documents are written by the authority with the clear motives of promoting "national" education in Hong Kong, with some only for internal use within the state agencies, they reveal the ideal form of citizenship and other citizenship values

from the Hong Kong government's point of view. Such quality is extremely valuable for researchers.

The last issue regarding the justification of using documentary research concerns bias detected in documents. Assessing whether fact or bias is the major characteristics of a document is an important aim of critical scholarship (Barzun and Graff, 1977, p. 154). However, it is not necessary for researchers to dismiss the use of a particular document when biases are detected. On the contrary, it is possible for biases detected in documents to be the most useful evidence because such biases "reveal accurately the true views of an individual or group" (Bell, 1999, p. 115).

Apart from making use of bias in documents, it is also important for researchers to take into account whether the author attempts to support a course of action wherein he or she has a stake (Bell, 1999, p. 115). Finally, researchers should consider whether the author is emotionally influenced by pressure, fear and vanity when writing the documents as well (Best, 1970, p. 105).

One of the major objectives of the study is to understand the Hong Kong government's ideal model of citizenship to be developed in Hong Kong. Although the literature on citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong has already pointed out the "nationalistic" tendency of the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong after 1997, the official documents concerning citizenship education policy are still valuable sources for this study. It is because the task for this study is to understand why the Hong Kong government possesses such a particular view on citizenship education and how such view is formulated.

3.5 Documentary Research and the Present Study

According to Robert Weber (1990), quantitative and qualitative method should be used to supplement each other in textual analysis. Combining the quantitative and qualitative approach, this study uses the controversial civic/ethnic dichotomy in social sciences as an analytical model to navigate contents of the selected key documents on citizenship education policy in Hong Kong.

This study examines the manifest content by first classifying keywords throughout the text into the "civic" and "ethnic" type. The quantitative approach is employed to count key terms, learning contents and objectives and evaluating the weight of two categories in the documents. Based on the primary findings generated by the quantitative method, I will then employ the qualitative approach to interpret contents and meaning that are unquantifiable (Devine, 1995, p. 152). George (2006, p. 136) described this procedure as "impressionistic" rather than "a systematic procedure". It is through the procedure described above that this study constructs the connections between the "civic" and "ethnic" components of the citizenship education curriculum under the government's conception.

It has been argued that the application of documentary analysis is merely about common sense (Tosh, 1991, p. 71). But as researchers learn more about the documentary sources, deeper insights and detailed knowledge, a "higher common sense" will be gained and in turn allow a complete appreciation of the worth of the evidence (Barzun and Graff, 1977, p. 130). To recap, this chapter has introduced the three sets of documents to be used in this study, in reference to the typology of document and documentary data, issue of getting access, justification of such method and how it would be put into practice.

CHAPTER 4 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: THE CIVIC/ETHNIE DICHOTOMY MODEL

4.1 Introduction

This chapter lays out the analytical framework of this study. A binary opposition of the civic and the ethnic will be used to conceptualize elements in the official documents on Hong Kong's citizenship education. I will first introduce the tradition of the civic/ethnic dichotomy in the social sciences, then discuss the criticism of this paradigm. I will argue that despite its normative, empirical and conceptual shortcomings, the civic/ethnic typology, when used as a set of "ideal types" in Weber's sense, is a productive conceptual tool to examine the Hong Kong government's conception on citizenship education. This chapter ends with an outline of the working definition of the civic/ethnic dichotomy used in this study.

4.2 The Civic/Ethnic Dichotomy in Social Sciences

Smith (1986, p. 4) conceived the idea of nation as "founded to be inherently unstable and dualist." It has been a commonplace for social scientists, historians and political philosophers to distinguish between ethnic and civic citizenship, or nationalism.[14] Whilst the civic type is often perceived as intrinsically liberal, voluntarist, universalist and inclusive, its ethnic "blood-and-soil" counterpart is associated with illiberal, authoritarian, ascriptive, particularist and exclusive connotations (Brubaker, 1999, p. 56).

The origin of the civic/ethnic dichotomy can be traced back to the 1910s, in German historian Friedrich Meinecke's distinction between *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation* (Meinecke, 1970).[15] But the most celebrated and influential work in the tradition of the two-fold typology is Hans Kohn's book, *The Idea of Nationalism*, published in 1944.[16] Kohn (1944) argued that types of nationalism in the Western world[17] are generally based on the idea of common laws and a shared territory, wherein the nation is perceived as a rational association of citizens, while the other alternatives[18] are based on a belief that the nation is a collective organ characterized by a common culture and ethnic origins, which members inherited from birth.

Another attempt to create more historical and sociological distinctions was made by Hugh Seton-Watson, who made the distinction between the "old" continuous nations of Western Europe and the "new", deliberately created nations of Eastern Europe (Seton-Watson, 1977). More recently, Smith distinguished nationalisms based on "territory" and those based on "ethnicity" (Smith, 2010). According to Smith (1991, p. 12), national unity in the civic model is derived from a historic territory, based on laws and institutions which guarantee members legal-political equality and other rights and

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[14] There are other elaborated forms of typology. For example, Anthony Smith classified national movement using the "formal" and "substantive" criteria. The former generated six types, the latter 12 (Smith 1983, p. 211-229).

[15] Their respective translations are "state-nation" and "cultural nation".

[16] Kohn (1944)'s distinction is often referred as the "Western" and "Eastern" forms of nationalism by later academics.

[17] Kohn (1944) discussed the cases of England, France, the Netherlands Switzerland, the United States and the British dominions.

[18] Kohn (1944) referred to the examples Central and Eastern Europe and Asia.

duties. Conversely, national unity in ethnic nations is built upon descent, language and custom, wherein members tend to perceive the nation as a fictive "super-family". In his earlier work, Smith (1986, p. 4) described such distinction as between the "territorial-civic" and "genealogical-ethnic".

Details of the two-fold distinctions mentioned above are subjected to slight variations in meaning, but they fall within the "civic" and "ethnic" spectrum. As Schnapper observed, "Partisans and theoreticians of the civic nation stress citizenship; conversely, defender of the ethnic nation invoke the strength, the value, and the authenticity of particularistic ties" (Schnapper, 1998, p. 139). Generally speaking, civic nationalism is based on equal rights and duties of political participation institutionalized by the law, whereas ethnic nationalism is based on the common ethnicity in terms of a shared descent and cultural origins.

4.3 Criticisms of the Civic/Ethnic Dichotomy

Although the civic/ethnic dichotomy has been widely used as a conceptual building block, it is subjected to the normative, empirical and conceptual critiques.

Firstly, the dichotomy is criticized for its normative bias in which the civic quality demeans the ethnic one. In the literature of nationalism, civic nationalism is generally praised as "liberal, voluntarist, universalist, and inclusive", whilst its ethnic counterpart is denounced as "illiberal, ascriptive, particularist, and exclusive" (Brubaker, 1999, p. 63). In this sense, the civic "standard" is often used as a normative yardstick to criticize ethnic nationhood or citizenship (Yack, 1999) [19] and thus some theorist such as McCrone (1998) pointed to the problem of ethnocentrism. [20]

Secondly, the civic/ethnic categorization of nations fails to account for all empirical situations. Some Western "civic" countries are more ethnic, whilst some Eastern "ethnic" countries are more civic than they are usually recognized (Shulman, 2002). Taking the Western civic nations as examples, the longstanding violent conflicts in Northern Ireland and the Basque country, the ethno-religious tensions involving minority groups in Muslim culture, and the electoral success of xenophobic parties in Western Europe are critical oppositions to the civic assertion. Examples challenging the ethnic conception are the liberal language policy and inclusive citizenship legislation in Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

Thirdly, the concepts of civic and ethnic per se are highly ambiguous. On the one hand, the civic conception defines nation as a voluntary associations of citizens, which can have both a narrow and broad meaning. The narrow meaning refers to a civic nation as "a daily plebiscite" in Renan's term which signifies democratic citizenship. Renan also gave a broad meaning of the civic conception, which includes the "possession in common of a rich legacy of memories" and conceives of a nation as "the culmination of a long past of endeavors, sacrifice, and devotion" (Renan, 1996, p. 52). Another broad

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[19] Yack commented that "the civic/ethnic dichotomy parallels a series of other contrasts that should set off alarm bells: not only Western/Eastern, but rational/emotive, voluntary/inherited, good/bad, ours/theirs!" (p. 105).
[20] McCrone wrote that the civic/ethnic categorization "does lend itself to ethnocentric caricature-why can't they be more like us?" (McCrone, 1998, p. 9).

definition given by Keating views civic nationalism as that "based on common values and institutions, and patterns of social interaction", and that "the bearers of national identity are institutions, customs, historical memories and rational secular values" (Keating, 1996, p. 5-6).

On the other hand, the ethnic conception defines national membership based on "ethnicity", which is an exceedingly ambiguous term according to Weber.[21] Similar to the civic conception, the term "ethnic" also has both a narrow and broad meaning. "Strictly speaking", Anthony Smith wrote, "ethnicity refers to common descent" but in a broad sense, "ethnic" can also be construed as "ethno-cultural" (Smith 1983, p.180), which includes the cultural elements of language, religion, history, custom and tradition. But some theorists assert only the cultural elements of nationalism whilst denying the ethnic components. For example, Anderson argues that nations are "conceived in language, not in blood" (Anderson, 1991, p.145).

The narrow and broad alternatives in defining the civic and the ethnic are thus criticized as problematic. On the one hand, if the narrow definitions are employed, only a very few cases can be explained because the majority of cases are mixtures of the civic and ethnic elements. Even classical examples of civic nationalism such as France and the U.S., have crucial cultural components. On the other hand, some elements of the broad civic and ethnic conception are overlapping. For example, whilst Keating (1996) defined historical memories, values and customs as components of civic nationalism, Smith (1986) stressed "myths, memories, values and symbols" in *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* as well. Because of the ambiguity of the civic and ethnic definitions, nations that are regarded as "civic" by some scholars are sometimes refer as "ethnic" by others. For instance, Hobsbawm (1996) saw Catalan and Scottish separatist movement as based on "ethnicity"[22], while others referred to them as civic.

Although scholars have highlighted its normative, empirical and conceptual problems, Smith believed that the civic/ethnic dichotomy still contributes to our understanding by marking off elements discovered in empirical cases "in varying

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[21] See (Weber, 1978, p. 394-395).
[22] Hobsbawm wrote, "Every separatist movement in Europe … bases itself on 'ethnicity', linguistic or not"(Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 256).

proportions at particular moments of their history" (Smith, 1986, p. 149). The following section will argue that the civic/ethnic dichotomy is still valuable and useful. This study will use this dichotomy as a conceptual tool to navigate between details reflecting the Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship education found in the official documents.

4.4 Civic/Ethnic Dichotomy as Conceptual Tool

Although we saw in the previous section that the civic/ethnic dichotomy is subject to normative, empirical and conceptual criticisms, I believe that the model is still sound and pertinent in terms of the epistemological position of this study. First, the normative issue is not a major concern for this research. Since it is not the purpose of this research to praise or condemn the citizenship education policy in Hong Kong, the civic/ethnic dichotomy will not be used as moral yardstick to evaluate whether the Hong Kong government's conception on citizenship education is good or evil. Second, it is true that empirical cases are less likely to be either simply civic or ethnic. In fact, the very logic of this research is to use the civic/ethnic concepts to analyze the official documents rather than to attribute the officially conceived citizenship into a single category of civic or ethnic citizenship. Third, although the broad and narrow meanings associated with the civic and ethnic concepts can contain ambiguities, they are still valuable and useful from the conceptual point of view. Possessing varieties of meaning is the common characteristic of sociological concepts. It can be resolved by redefining their meanings according to the empirical situations and interests of a particular research, so that the concept would neither be too narrow and can only be applied to a few extreme empirical cases, nor too broad as to overlap with other concepts.

The civic/ethnic dichotomy should be treated as an ideal type in Max Weber (1978, p. 19-22)'s sense, which is one of the most crucial conceptual tools in social science in the twentieth century (Hekman, 1983).[23] Ideal type refers to an abstract model for understanding social phenomena. Although ideal type is abstract from reality, it is a hypothetical concept that deepens sociological understanding by constructing elements of reality into a logically precise conception.[24]

In *Economy and Society*, Weber wrote "…sociology seeks to formulate type concepts and generalized uniformities of empirical process…" (Weber, 1978, p. 19).

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[23] According to Hekman (1983), Weber's ideal type accommodates the connections between the analysis of subjective meaning and structural forms.

[24] Weber explained "… sociological analysis both abstracts from reality and at the same time helps us to understand it, in that it shows with what degree of approximation a concrete historical phenomenon can be subsumed under one or more of these concepts" (Weber, 1978, p. 20).

Because of the numerous types of phenomena in the social world, ideal types are needed for distinguishing them from one another. Weber mentioned the example of historical phenomenon, which is possible to be "in one aspect feudal, in another patrimonial, in another bureaucratic, and in still another charismatic" (Weber, 1978, p. 20).

Ideal type is not simply the generation of the uniqueness of a particular social event.[25] It is the construction of some elements of reality but not all. An ideal type should consist of "meaningful characteristics" that helps to explain the occurrence of a social phenomenon and "cultural significance" through which social actors justify their actions, which are compatible with the theoretical interest of the research and logic of actors (Hekman, 1983, p. 121-122).

The civic and ethnic views will be used as ideal types to analyze the Hong Kong government's conception on citizenship education as reflected in the official documents. As ideal types, the civic and ethnic concepts have varieties of meaning and it is difficult to find an empirical case that perfectly fit into them. For instance, it is likely that official documents on citizenship education display different elements of citizenship or nationalism, and the Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship education is not likely to simply fall into either the civic or ethnic model.

However, such a situation is not necessarily problematic. It is because as ideal types, the civic/ethnic dichotomy is by definition abstracted from reality, which means it would not be a complete reflection of the mode of citizenship education desired by the authority. On the one hand, it is valuable and useful in the sense that it helps to construct the fragmented elements in the official documents so that both theoretical and empirical understanding can be gained. On the other hand, with precise sub-concepts under the civic and ethnic types, many types of citizenship education elements to be found in documents can be clearly distinguished from one and other.

It is truly possible for the Hong Kong government's conception on citizenship education to be a combination of the civic and ethnic elements, a result which can perhaps be predicted by common sense. But based on the use of the civic and ethnic

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[25] Weber's ideal type is a response to Heinrich Rickhert's "individual concept" and "general concept". See (Hekman, 1983, p. 121).

ideal types, this study can answer some further questions beyond that of common sense, e.g. which parts of the citizenship education conception resemble characteristics of the civic and ethnic model, what the proportions and priorities are, what the relationship between them is, and why the Hong Kong government would formulate such conceptions of citizenship education.

4.5 The Working Definitions of "Civic" and "Ethnic" Citizenship in This Study

This study uses the civic/ethnic dichotomy as a set of ideal typical concepts to analyze the Hong Kong government's conception on citizenship education disclosed in official documents. This section gives the definition of the civic and ethnic types for the use of this study, taking reference from the literature introduced above.

To explore whether the Hong Kong government tends to emphasize more one the "civic" or "ethnic" end in its citizenship education mandate, a set of working definitions on the civic/ethnic characteristics of citizenship for this study is described below, which covers seven interconnected aspects of the two ends, concerning the common features among citizens, key institutions of citizenship, social tie among citizens, performance of membership, citizenship values, community of citizens and the citizen-state relationship.

1. Common features among citizens: This aspect looks at the common features shared by citizens in the "civic" and "ethnic" conception of citizenship. It is stated that while the former promotes common rights and duties among citizens based on the principle of equality, the latter advances a form of citizenship rooted in common ancestry shared by members of an ethnic nation.

2. Key institutions of citizenship: The "civic" type is defined as governed by legal and political institutions which entitle equal rights and obligations to citizens, whilst the "ethnic" type treasures the common descent of the ethnic nation, along with its common culture, tradition and customs, history and territories over the legal-political institutions.

3. Social tie among citizens: The social relation signified by the "civic" conception between individual citizens and the state is a contractual one, whilst the "ethnic" citizenship presupposes a "sticky" social tie between members and the state and within members. Because the nation is perceived as a fictive "super family",

according to Anthony Smith, the relationship between citizens is projected as like that between "family members" (Smith, 1991).

4. Performance of Membership: To preserve the rights and obligations presumed in the contractual Marshallian citizenship, the "civic" stream of citizenship emphasizes the exercise of democratic citizenship in terms of the active role taken by members in political participation. Conversely, because the political community is likened to a "family" founded on common blood, individuals acquire their membership by birth. Instead of the practice of citizenship rights, the psychological recognition of the ethnic identity and the moral sentiment and commitment towards the nation are perceived as the core elements of citizenship.

5. Citizenship values: The above different conditions of citizenship, added together, result in contrasting political values. The civic, democratic citizenship celebrates the values of democracy, equality, freedom, and human rights, i.e. values that are central to the exercise of individual rights and obligations. Conversely, the ethnic conception of citizenship cherishes the flourishing and self-determination of the abstract ethnic nation over individual rights.

6. Community of citizens: In a more concrete sense, the former envisages the political community as an association of citizens whereby equal right is entitled to every individual, whilst the latter is imagined as a collective organ where the interests of the larger nation is prioritized over that of individual members.

7. Citizen-state relationship: The two concepts conceive of the "administrative" state in remarkably different ways. The former treats policy initiated by the state, no matter good or bad, as the result of a government elected by democratic deliberation, whilst the latter connects state performance with the fate of the nation. For instance, achievement of the state is perceived to be equivalent to the glory of the ethnic nation in the ethnic citizenship.

To summarize, from a sociological point of view, the civic conception can be understood as an "achieved status" which is voluntarily gained by the practice of citizenship rights and obligations, while the ethnic conception expresses an "ascribed status" which is involuntary, as it is necessary for one to acquire it by birth.

4.6 Conclusion

Although the traditional civic/ethnic dichotomy model in the social sciences is subjected to normative, empirical and conceptual criticisms, in this chapter I have argued that it is still a useful conceptual tool for this study. The civic/ethnic dichotomy distinguishes the territory-based "civic" citizenship from the ethnicity-based "ethnic" citizenship. This conceptual distinction serves to simplify the complex, fragmented elements of citizenship diffused in the official documents on citizenship education policy, and helps to examine the Hong Kong government's conception towards the citizenship model to be promoted in Hong Kong. A set of working definitions of the "civic" and "ethnic" citizenship, containing identifiable seven components, namely common features among citizens, key institutions of citizenship, social tie among citizens, performance of membership, citizenship values, community of citizens and the citizen-state relationship, are introduced to structure the data analysis.

CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS: THE *CHIEF EXECUIVE'S POLICY ADDRESS* (2007-2011)

5.1 Introduction

The direction of Hong Kong's citizenship education policy has been unveiled throughout the five consecutive policy addresses delivered by the CE from 2007 to 2011, wherein citizenship education is referred to as "national education" *[國民教育]*. This chapter examines the contents of "national education" proposed in the CE's *Policy Address*, in terms of whether it is more about the context of China or Hong Kong, whether such qualities are more ethnic or civic based and the characteristics of citizenship which the Hong Kong government is attempts to promote. To assure accuracy of the documentary analysis, both the Chinese and English versions will be examined.[26]

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[26] There is slight variation in numbers of words between the two versions, which is believed to cause by grammatical difference in Chinese and English.

5.2 Background Information of the Chief Executive's *Policy Address* (2007-2011)

As shown in Tables 5A and Figure 5A, the 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 *Policy Address* have the longest text on citizenship education. Subsequently of the text dedicated to this topic declined by half in the next year and restored to similar levels as the first two years in 2010-2011; the shortest one can be found in 2011. Figure 5A shows that the Chinese and English versions share a similar trend in the change of length, which suggests that their contents are quite consistent.

Table 5A. Paragraphs and Words Dedicated to Selected Topics in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
Title of Document	A New Direction for Hong Kong	Embracing New Challenges	Breaking New Ground together	Sharing Prosperity for a Caring Society	From Strength to Strength
Section Containing National Education	Developing Democracy and Enhancing Governance	Effective Governance and Social Harmony	Democracy and Governance	Democratic Development	Democratic Development
Paragraph	5	5	3	5	2
Word Count (Chinese)	419	428	215	408	92
Word Count (English)	519	585	344	629	159

Figure 5A. Trend of Text Length on "National Education" in the

CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (English and Chinese)

The *Policy Address* contains the blueprint of different policies, ranging from the development of new industries, infrastructure, housing, education to environmental preservation. These varieties of policies are organized into five to seven sections in the document. Take "Quality Life" in 2009, 2010 and 2011 as an example, which includes policy in the fields of environmental protection, health service, sports and culture. From 2007 to 2011, the "national education" policy has been put under the section concerning "democracy" and "governance". Titles of the section under which "national education" falls in these five years are shown in Table 5A. As seen from the table, "democracy" or "democratic" appeared in the year of 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011, while "governance" was used for the three years from 2007 to 2009. It is difficult to decide whether "national education" belongs to the category of democracy or governance, as a wide range of policies and measures are included in the relevant section. It involves constitutional development, universal suffrage, civil and public service, promotion of the *Basic Law* among the public, the legislation of Article 23, and integration with China. While it is unclear whether these policy directions are about "democracy" or the executive-led

"governance", they are all about the political arena. Thus, the only conclusion can be drawn is that "national education" is a kind of political project from the Hong Kong government's point of view.

5.3 Citizenship Education for Which Community?

Citizenship education is a political project in Hong Kong, and probably in other societies as well. But what is so unique about the case of Hong Kong is that the major concern of its citizenship education policy is not about educating citizens for Hong Kong, but for China. Policy direction for "national education" illustrated in the five *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 emphasized China over Hong Kong. As displayed in Tables 5B, 5C and 5D, throughout the documents of these consecutive, "China" *[中國]* and other keywords with equivalent meanings such as "Mainland" *[內地]*, "Country" *[國家]*, "Nation" *[民族]* and "Motherland" *[祖國]* have appeared 74 times in the Chinese version and 83 times in the English version. In contrast to "China" and related words, the words, the term "Hong Kong" *[香港]* has only been mentioned for totally 11 times in both of the Chinese and English version of the documents from 2007 to 2010 and it has not been used at all in the *Policy Address* of 2011 to 2012. And all the eleven times of appearance of the words "Hong Kong" were used in relation to China. For example, "Hong Kong" was used to describe the return sovereignty to China, the organization of exchange programs and other activities between young people in Hong Kong and China, the notion of "loving our motherland and Hong Kong", and the close sentimental ties between Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese.

Table 5B. Keywords Equivalent to "China" in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (Chinese Version)

Keyword	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total
China 中國	3	0	2	0	0	5
Mainland 內地	3	3	3	3	0	12
Country 國家	8	6	1	2	2	19
Nation 民族	11	9	8	3	0	31
Motherland 祖國	3	3	0	0	1	7
Total	**28**	**21**	**14**	**8**	**3**	**74**

Table 5C. Keywords Equivalent to "China" in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (English Version)

Keyword	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total
China 中國	1	4	2	0	0	7
Mainland 內地	1	2	3	5	0	11
Country 國家	6	6	1	3	0	16
Nation 民族	13	9	8	8	4	42
Motherland 祖國	4	2	0	0	1	7
Total	**25**	**23**	**14**	**16**	**5**	**83**

Table 5D. The Word "Hong Kong" in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (Chinese and English Version)

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total
Hong Kong 香港	5	2	1	3	0	11
Total	5	2	1	3	0	**11**

5.4 Towards "Civic" or "Ethnic" Citizenship?

The civic elements of citizenship and the context of Hong Kong citizenship are underrepresented in the "national education" sections of the *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011. Most of the policy details were devoted to enhance the public's, especially students', national identity, emotional attachment and sense of commitment to China. Among all the words used to signify China in the five *Policy Addresses*, "nation" or "national" [*民族*] appeared most frequently for 31 and 42 in the Chinese and English versions of the documents respectively (See Tables 5B and 5C).

Since the *Policy Address* is the document that generally lays out the direction of the Hong Kong government's policy, its text is rather short and does not contain many details on the government's conception citizenship education. So, the counting of keywords with "civic" and "ethnic" meanings is not applied to this part. But some of the descriptions made by the CE disclosed the elements of citizenship that the Hong Kong government is more inclined to draw on. It is mentioned in the 2010 *Policy Address* that students have to understand the "common origin and close bond (in a biological sense) [*同根同心、血脈相連*] between Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese" (OCE, 2010, paragraph 158). In the 2007, 2008 and 2010 Policy Address, the "motherland" [*祖國*][27], people, history and culture of China, are mentioned as crucial perspective for students to build up their national identity (OCE, 2007, 2008, 2010). For example, the "land" [*山河大地*], "people" [*人民*], "history" [*歷史*] and "culture" [*文化*] of China were referred to as important teaching elements for formal and informal education to enhance students' national awareness (OCE, 2007, paragraph 119). Ethnic components suggesting the origin of the Chinese nation, such as the common blood, land, history and culture, were all perceived as crucial elements for learning of Chinese national citizenship.

Whilst attention has been paid to the ascribed, ethnic characteristics of citizenship in the Hong Kong government's planning regarding citizenship education policy, the civic elements were largely excluded. As seen in the *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2012, concepts such as citizenship rights and duties, democratic participation, and the relevant

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[27] As shown in Table 5B and 5C, the word "motherland" is often used to describe the notion of China.

civic values, and even citizenship practice in the context in Hong Kong, have not been addressed at all.

5.5 Other Citizenship Elements

Elements other than, or somehow relevant to the civic or ethnic idea, have also been covered as learning contents for citizenship as suggested in the *Policy Address*. Two instances have been identified, which are about the contemporary development in China and national symbols. In the *Policy Address* 2008-2009, the CE concluded that the government has been providing training and on-line teaching materials for the education sector on the issues about the development of China, including the achievements and the problems encountered, such as the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, the Chinese space mission of Shenzhou-7 and disaster relief and reconstruction for the Sichuan earthquake in 2008 (OCE, 2008, paragraph 125). In the *Policy Address* of 2007-2008, the CE announced that "the government will … encourage more schools to form flag guard teams and to stage more national flag-raising ceremonies" (OCE, 2008, paragraph 120). This shows that national flag and the relevant ceremonies are also crucial elements for citizenship education in Hong Kong from the government's point of view.

5.6 Citizenship Characteristics Promoted in the *Policy Address*

Three general categories of pro-China citizenship characteristics have been identified in the *Policy Address* from 2007-2011, which are "national identity", "emotional attachment" and "sense of commitment". Their frequencies of appearance throughout the texts in the Chinese and English versions are summarized in Tables 5E and 5F. Among the words and phrases relevant to citizenship quality, most of them have equivalent meanings to national identity and emotional attachment to China. There are respectively seven and 11 words/phrases used to signify the meaning of national identity in the Chinese and English versions of the five *Policy Addresses*, whilst eight and seven wordings indicating the emotional attachment for China. Regarding the notion of sense of commitment, there are four in the Chinese version and three in the English version.

Whilst the citizenship qualities of national identity, emotional attachment and sense of commitment to the Chinese nation are emphasized, other elements of citizenship have not been covered in the citizenship education policy in the five *Policy Addresse*s. Throughout the texts in these five years, contrasting dimensions of citizenship beyond the three general categories, such as citizenship practice, rights and obligations, democratic participation and the relevant civic values and ideals, have not been given any intimation. It has to be noted that the "sense of commitment", expressed by words such as "contribute" and "contribution" in the *Policy Address* do not only mean to do service for the country, but refers to the intense moral sentiment to serve for the interests of the country. The sense of commitment is build upon the national identity and emotional feelings towards China. Given that one is self-recognized as a member of the Chinese national community, and emotionally attached to the community based on the common ethnic origin, a moral commitment to connect oneself with the fate of the nation is nurtured within oneself. In this conception of the obligation of citizenship, participation is not about casting a vote in an election, but about having a moral faith in the nation.

Table 5E. Keywords about Citizenship Quality in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (Chinese Version)*

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
National Identity	4	1	0	1	1
Emotion Attachment	6	3	1	1	0
Sense of Commitment	1	2	0	0	1

Table 5F. Keywords about Citizenship Quality in the *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (English Version)*

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
National Identity	4	2	0	1	1
Emotional Attachment	4	1	1	1	0
Sense of Commitment	1	1	0	0	1

*Keywords searched in the text are as follows,

National Identity: "National Identity" *[國民身份認同]*, "National and Cultural Identity" [*民族文化的認同*]

Emotional Attachment: "Affinity" *[情懷]*, "Pride" *[自豪感]*, "Loving the Motherland and Loving Hong Kong" *[愛國愛港]*, "Joy" *[喜悅]*, Close Bonds" *[血脈相連]*

Sense of Commitment: "Contributions" or "Contribute" *[貢獻]*, "Commitment" *[繼承]*

5.7 Conclusion

From the findings of this chapter, it is evident that citizenship education, or "national education", has been the one of top prioritized items in the Hong Kong government's policy agenda, since it is mentioned in the five consecutive *Policy Addresses* from 2007 to 2011. As a political project under the section theme entitled on "democracy" and "governance" in the *Policy Address*, it aims to raise a sense of national awareness among the public, especially students. The Hong Kong government situates the citizenship education curriculum within the national context and attempts to promote an ethnicity-based conception of citizenship by drawing on the Chinese ethnic origins, history, culture and national symbols of the PRC, whilst downplaying the importance of the local citizenship in Hong Kong and global citizenship. Subsequently, a set of three interconnected citizenship characteristics, including national identity, emotional attachment and sense of commitment towards the nation are stressed by the Hong Kong government.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS: TASK GROUP ON NATIONAL EDUCATION, COMMISSION ON STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Background Information of the TGNE

The formation of the Task Group on National Education (TGNE) can be traced to the meeting record of the CSD on 5th September, 2007. According to the meeting record (CPU, 2007, p. 6), task groups on various policies were suggested to be established, including one on "national education", but its mandate and concrete terms were not mentioned. According to the membership list of the task group (CPU, 2008b), the TGNE is formed by a convener, 5 official members, 20 non-official members and 3 co-opted members, with a total of 29 members including government officials, members of the Legco, scholars and entrepreneurs. Higher officials of the Hong Kong government were appointed, for examples, Lau Siu-kai *[劉兆佳]*,Head of the Central Policy Unit was appointed as convener, while Wong Hung-chiu, Raymond *[黃鴻超]*, Permanent Secretary for Education, Tong Chi-keung, Donald *[唐智強]*, Deputy Secretary for Home Affairs, Chan Wai-kee, Howard *[陳偉基]*, Deputy Secretary for Constitutional and Mainland Affairs, and LEE Mei-mei, Mimi *[李美美]*, Deputy Secretary for the Civil Service were appointed as official members. The appointment of them suggests the important status of the TGNE as an official advisory body. In 2008, a detailed report entitled *Promotion of National Education in Hong Kong – Current Situation, Challenges and Way Forward* (*PNEHK*) was issued for a meeting held on 14th April, 2008.

6.2 Citizenship Education for Which Community?

Under "One Country, Two Systems" and the influence of globalization, it is intrinsically necessary for the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong to cover the local, national and global contexts of civic life. All of them have been mentioned throughout the *PNEHK* report. But according to the result of my analysis, much more attention was paid to China over the context of Hong Kong and the world. As shown in Tables 6A, 6B and Chart 6A, keywords synonymous with China , including "China" *[中國]*, "Mainland" *[內地]*, "Country" *[國家]*, "Situation of the Nation" *[國情]* appeared for 358 times, while "Hong Kong" *[香港]* (133) and "World" *[世界]* (3) together are used only for a total of 136 times.

The TGNE's emphasis on the national level of citizenship education is also supported by qualitative evidence. "National education" *[國民教育]* was referred to in a footnote in the *PNEHK* report as "a form of country-oriented education that aims to develop a concept of nationalism", and described its aims as educating individuals "…to become a person who is able to abide by the laws of our country, cater for the interests of our country and dedicates himself to the destiny of our country" (CPU, 2008a, p.1). Only the word "country" *[國家]* was mentioned in the definition and aims of the policy, but not the local and global society. Moreover, in its discussion of the direction of the national education policy at the school level, the TNGE stipulated that the major task of national education policy is to building up national identity among students, which is about how to create a sense of "we-ness" among amass of people belonging to the same country" (CPU, 2008a, p. 8). Even in its discussion of using international event for teaching and learning[28], the TGNE suggested that teachers should focus on China and its relations with the other stakeholders (CPU, 2008a, p. 13).

So, backed by both quantitative and qualitative evidence, the *PNEHK* report reflects the positioning of the TGNE when formulating citizenship education policy in Hong Kong. As suggested by the word "national education" *[國民教育]* in its title, the

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[28] The TGNE used the of China's first manned spaced mission in 2003, and the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games hosted by China as examples (CPU, 2008a, p. 13).

TGNE's conception of citizenship is based on the national context, with limited attention to the Hong Kong society and the rest of the world.

Table 6A. Keywords Relevant to "China" in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Count
China 中國	82
Mainland 內地	77
Country 國家	158
National Situation[29] 國情	41
Total	**358**

Table 6B. Keywords "Hong Kong" and "World" in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Count
Hong Kong 香港	133
World 世界	3
Total	**136**

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[29] Also refers as "national affairs" in the text, which is about the current development of China in the social, economic, scientific, cultural and political spheres (CPU, 2008a, p. 16, 35 and 37).

Chart 6A. Comparing Keywords Relevant to "China", "Hong Kong" and "World" in the *PNEHK* Report

6.3 Towards a "Civic" or "Ethnic" Citizenship?

Keywords expressing the civic and ethnic forms of citizenship education conceptions are identified in the *PNEHK* report. Keywords identified with meanings relevant of the civic conception of citizenship education include "Equality" *[平等]*, "Freedom" *[自由]*, "Democracy" *[民主]*, "Rule of Law" *[法治]* and "Humanitarianism" *[人文精神]*; while those with ethnic meanings are "Nation" *[民族]*, "Blood" *[血緣]*, "Chinese" *[中華]*, "Culture" *[文化]* and "History" *[歷史]*. As demonstrated in Table 6C, 6D and Chart 6B, keywords relevant to the civic idea have totally appeared for only seven times throughout the text, whilst there are 136 words relevant to the ethnic conception. Thus, it is evidential from the word counts that the TGNE employed an ethnic framework over the civic when formulating contents of the *PNEHK* report.

Table 6C. Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" Idea in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Count
Equality 平等	1
Freedom 自由	3
Democracy 民主	2
Justice 公義	1
Total	**7**

Table 6D. Keywords Relevant to the "Ethnic" Idea in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Count
Nation 民族	17
Blood 血緣	4
Chinese 中華	22
Culture 文化	51
History 歷史	32
Total	**126**

Chart 6B. Comparing Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" and "Ethnic" Ideas in the *PNEHK* Report

The vast majority of occasions where the civic keywords were used in fact refer to citizenship education policy in other countries. As shown in Table 6E, 5 out of the 7 total usages of them appear in the Part D of the report, entitled as "Experiences in the

promotion of national education in other countries"[30], which consists only three pages for discussing citizenship education[31] in the U.S. and Australia. Only two of the "civic" keywords were used in relation to the promotion of "national education" *[國民教育]* in Hong Kong.

Table 6E. Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" Idea of Part D "Experiences in the Promotion of National Education in Other Countries" in the *PNEHK* Report

Keywords	Count	Countries Referred
Equality 平等	1	The U.S.
Freedom 自由	1	The U.S.
Democracy 民主	2	The U.S. and Australia
Justice 公義	1	The U.S.
Total	5	-

The other two instances where the keyword "freedom" *[自由]* appeared were when they were used to stipulate the promotion of *Basic Law* education[32] and the improvement for future national education policy, wherein the key objective is to nurture students with Chinese moral values and the universal civic values.[33] In short, the civic component was downplayed in the *PNEHK*.

The TGNE recognized the fundamental difference of the positioning of citizenship education in France, the U.S. and Australia, as it wrote "…these countries focus their attention on civic education and on fostering a sense of citizenship among their younger

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[30] The report covers citizenship education policy in France, the U.S., and Australia.

[31] The words "national education" *[國民教育]* is used by the *PNEHK* report to refer to "citizenship education" *[公民教育]* in the foreign cases (CSD, 2008, p. 19-20).

[32] To enhance the public awareness of the concrete aspects of how the *Basic Law* protects the various rights and freedom of Hong Kong people (CPU, 2008a, p. 21).

[33] "… embrace modern values while upholding the core values of the traditional Chinese family, cherish the personal freedom of individuals and pluralism and have a shared sense of national identity , aspire to win honor for and make contributions to our country…" (CPU, 2008a, p. 36).

generations" (CPU, 2008a, p. 23). While citizenship education in the Western societies emphasizes more on the civic elements according the TGNE's understanding, the Task Group's own conception is dominated by the ethnic components.

The importance of the Chinese ethnic elements in citizenship education is claimed in the *PNEHK* report. Devoting itself to building up national identity among Hong Kong people, the TGNE pointed out that the strategy is to make use of   the "culture, history, peoples and current development"[34] (CPU, 2008a, p. 7) of China as basis to educate the public, in order to nurture in them a sense of belonging to China. The TGNE interpreted national identity as a process of "mass identification" in terms of blood and social ties, with "the understanding that 'we are all Chinese' the close compatriot relationship and feelings of intimacy among ourselves (CPU, 2008a, p. 8)." TGNE went on to specify the knowledge on racial origins and cultural legacy to be the focus of national education. The former was referred to as "racial ties" *[國族血緣]*, the blood connections shared between the Chinese people, and the racial quality is defined by "… dark eyes, black hair and yellow complexion" (CPU, 2008a, p. 9). The latter is about the succession of the "long-established, profound cultural legacy of China".[35] The notion of history and culture are often mentioned together. For instance, the report points out that national education in school curriculum should focus on "…enhancing students' awareness of the history and culture of our country and nurturing their interest in appreciating the excellent Chinese culture" (CPU, 2008a, p. 7-8).

To conclude, as supported by the quantitative analysis and evidence from the *PNEHK* report, the TGNE's conception toward citizenship education draws largely on the ethno-cultural elements while downplaying the importance of the civic elements.

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[34] The other elements of "the history, culture, language, customs and traditions, national symbols, leaders of our country, and even heroes, chivalrous figures, holy spirits and symbols in myths and legends" were also mentioned in the report (CPU, 2008a, p. 9).
[35] The contemporary development of China was also mentioned as important in the report.

6.4 Citizenship Characteristics Promoted by the TGNE

An interconnected set of citizenship quality is identified to be promoted by the TGNE in the *PNEHK* report, which consist of three elements of sense of belonging, affection and commitment to the Chinese nation. Evidence from the report showed that these elements of citizenship quality are closely relevant to the aims of forging national identity. The relevant keywords are presented in Table 6F. In fact, they can be understood as different dimensions of national identity.

Table 6F. Keywords Relevant to Citizenship Characteristics Promoted in the *PNEHK* Report

Keywords	Count	Total
Sense of Belonging		
National Identity 國民身份認同	44	
Sense of Belonging 歸屬感	12	56
Emotional Attachment		
Love for the Country[36] 愛國	15	
National Affection or Sentiment 情懷; 情感	20	
Pride 自豪	15	50
Moral Commitment		
Responsibility 責任	12	
Contribution 貢獻	8	
Commitment 承擔	5	25

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[36] In the *PNEHK* report, "love for the country" is used instead of "Patriotism".

<u>Sense of Belonging</u>

The sense of belonging to the Chinese nation can be understood as the first dimension of national identity from the TGNE's view, which concerns the recognition of one's membership in as a citizen of the national community. Such recognition of one's national identity is expressed in the notion of "we are all Chinese" (CPU, 2008a, p. 8). As shown in Table 6F, "national identity" *[國民身份認同]* (44) and "sense of belonging" *[歸屬感]* (12) totally appeared in the text for 56 times. These two words are closely related to each other, as it is stated in the report that the purpose of national education policy at the community level is to "raising the public's national awareness and fostering a greater sense of national identity and of belonging to our country" (CPU, 2008a, p. 17). In short, sense of belonging from the TGNE's point of view is the recognition of individuals' identity as a member of the Chinese nation.

<u>Emotional Attachment</u>

The second dimension of national identity refers to the emotional feelings that a citizen should have toward the Chinese nation, including love for the country, pride and other emotional sentiments. The connection between national identity and affection is illustrated in the report as, "the nurturing of national identity and a sense of belonging to our country involves one's personal subjective feelings for our country" (CPU, 2008a, p. 7). Keywords of relevance are "love for the country" *[愛國]* (15), "national affection or sentiment" *[情懷; 情感]* (20) and "pride" *[自豪]* (15), which were used by the TGNE for a total of 50 times in the report. Explanation of the relationship between these three concepts is offered in the report's evaluation of current citizenship education policy and future planning. In the report, the TGNE criticized some schools for failing to arouse students' national "sentiment" to China (CPU, 2008a, p. 32). To nurture emotional affection to China among Hong Kong people, the TGNE urged for developing "a more comprehensive concept of nationalism, so that they [Hong Kong people] could be new Hongkongers[37] who love our motherland and Hong Kong, take pride in being a

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[37] Qualities of the "new Hongkongers", including "love" the "motherland and Hong Kong", and "taking pride in being a national", were first mentioned in the CE's *Policy Address* of 2007. The CE referred these qualities are essential to promote in the community because of the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong to China (OCE, 2007, paragraph 116). So, the word "new Hongkongers" implies Hong Kong people after

national…" (CPU, 2008a, p. 48-49). In short, the sense of affection refers to emotional attachment to the Chinese nation from the TGNE's point of view.

Moral Commitment

Lastly, the TGNE's emphasis on commitment is depicted by the third dimension of national identity, which is about the individuals' willingness to devote to the Chinese nation. The relationship between national identity and the sense of commitment to China is reflected in a quote in the PNEHK report, which identifies the goal of national education as "to help students understand their national identity and be committed to contributing to the nation and society" (CPU, 2008a, p. 8). [38] The keywords "commitment" *[承擔]* (5), "responsibility" *[責任]* (12) and "contribution" *[貢獻]* (8), have been mentioned in the text for a total of 25 times. Towards the end of the report, the TGNE suggested that students "should be encouraged to examine the way forward for our country and ponder over their responsibilities towards the motherland" (CPU, 2008a, p. 39) and urged the public not to "lose time in acquainting themselves with the key development trends of our country in order to contribute to its cause" (CPU, 2008a, p. 37).

6.5 Conclusion

As reflected in the *PNEHK* report written by the TGNE which is a key advisory body to CE on citizenship education policy, the major focus of citizenship education is on the context of the Chinese national community, whilst the local Hong Kong and global citizenship received only limited attention from the TGNE. The ethnic elements of citizenship have overshadowed the civic ones in the *PNEHK*, wherein the citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment were largely emphasized to promote among Hong Kong people.

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the change of sovereignty, who have become Chinese subjects, contrasting with the "old" Hong Kong people in the colonial period.

[38] According to the *PNEHK* report (CPU, 2008a, p. 8), the quote is from an educational reform document issued by the former Education and Manpower Bureau in 2001.

CHAPTER 7 ANALYSIS OF THE OFFCIAL DOCUMENTS: CURRICULUM DEVLOPMENT COUNCIL

7.1 Background Information of the CDC

The CDC is a free-standing consultative body directly appointed by the CE, responsible for giving advice to the Hong Kong government on curriculum development in the school system (CDC, 2003). Members of the CDC include school principals and teachers, parents, scholars, professionals, and representatives from the Education Bureau, and other government agencies. Ad hoc committees on specific subjects are formed on a need basis (CDC, 2003). In the *Policy Address* 2010-2011, the CE invited the CDC to develop the new subject of Moral and National Education (MNE), expected to be implemented in the formal curriculum in 2013 (OCE, 2010, paragraph 161). In 2011 May, the *MNECG* was released by the CDC for a 4-month public consultation.

Before the *MNECG*, the CDC had published various documents covering the issue of citizenship education in Hong Kong. In 2001, the CDC issued the curriculum document titled as *Learning to Learn – Life-long Learning and Whole-person Development*, in which understanding of the Chinese national identity and the commitment to contributing to the society, nation and world were set up as one of the seven learning goals for school curriculum (CDC, 2001). Then, in the *Basic Education Curriculum Guide – Building on Strengths* released in 2002, the CDC included recognition of national identity as one of the priority values to be developed among students (CDC, 2002). Moreover, in the *Senior Secondary Curriculum Guide – The Future is Now: From Vision to Realization (Secondary 4 – 6)* in 2009, becoming "an informed and responsible citizen with a sense of global and national identity" was made one of the seven learning goals of the senior secondary curriculum (CDC, 2009). Since the contents on citizenship education covered by the other CDC documents are rather limited, only the *MNECG* is examined in this study to unfold the government's conception on the citizenship characteristics to be promoted in Hong Kong.

7.2 Educating Citizens for Which Community?

The CDC claimed the new curriculum proposed in the *MNECG* embraces citizenship education on five levels, which has also referred to as the five "domains"- the personal, family, society, nation and the world (CDC, 2011, p. 12). Textual analysis of the three domains belonging to the "public sphere", i.e. that of society, nation and world, shows that the nation receives much more attention than the other two domains. As displayed in Table 7A, keywords relevant the national domain, including "China" *[中國]*, "Mainland" *[內地]*, "Country" *[國家]*, "Situation of the Nation" *[國情]*, and "Motherland" *[祖國]*, have been mentioned for 565 times throughout the document, while keywords signifying the Hong Kong "society" *[社會]* and "world" *[世界]* only account for, respectively, 90 and 124 times (see Table 7B and 7C). As illustrated in Chart 7A, there are many more keywords about the nation, than those about society and world. Thus, it appears that *MNECG* focuses more on citizenship on the national level, than the local and global contexts.

Table 7A. Keywords Relevant to the Nation in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Count
China[39]中國	48
Mainland 內地	33
Country 國家	351
Situation of the Nation 國情	122
Motherland 祖國	11
Total	565

Table 7B. Keywords Relevant to the Hong Kong Society in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Count
Hong Kong 香港	77
Local 本地	13
Total	90

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[39] Including the "People's Republic of China".

Table 7C. Keywords Relevant to the World in the *MNECG*

	Count
World 世界	124
Total	124

Chart 7A. Comparing Keywords Relevant to the Society, Nation and World in the *MNECG*

In its discussion on the rationale and objectives of the proposed new MNE subject at the very beginning of the *MNECG*, the CDC claims that the curriculum aims at nurturing students' moral values and recognition of identity for the different "domains", and the world. The objective stated in the document are:

Cultivating students' positive values and attitudes through systematic learning; enabling each student to acquire desirable moral and national qualities with knowledge and skills as the basis so as to enrich the very essence of life; facilitating students' identity-building in the domains of family, society, nation and the world; as well as fostering in students an aspiration to make contribution in the respective domains.

(CDC, 2011, p. 3-4)

In the quote from the *MNECG* above, the CDC has not placed emphasis on any one of the individual, family, society, nation and global "domains" *[範疇]*. However, other parts of the document reveal the national context of citizenship is often perceived as the "center" among the various levels. When explaining the importance of identity building and its relationship with citizenship in the society, national and global level, the CDC claimed that "with enhanced understanding of the country and her culture together with a heightened sense of belonging to the country, students will be well-prepared to practice what they believe and enthusiastically contribute to the future development of Hong Kong, the nation and the world" (CDC, 2011, p. 9). Clearly, the implication is that the practice of Hong Kong, Chinese and global citizenship should be based on the recognition of Chinese national identity.

There is more evidence that shows that the CDC placed the Chinese citizenship at the centre of the curriculum. In the *MNECG*, the CDC only addressed the connections between "national education" *[國民教育]* and other forms of citizenship education. There are the two sub-sections called "Relation between Moral Education and National Education" *[德育與國民教育的關係]*[40] and "Relation between National Education and Civic Education" *[國民教育與公民教育的關係]*[41], which attempt to explore relationship between citizenship education in the national context and the so called

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[40] See 1.4.5 "Relation between Moral Education and National Education (CDC, 2011, p. 16-17).
[41] See 1.4.6 "Relation between National Education and Civic Education (CDC, 2011, p. 17-18).

"moral education" *[德育]* and "civic education" *[公民教育]*. These will be discussed below.

Of the two sub-sections, the former conceives of the individual's "moral qualities" *[品德]* to be congruent with the "national qualities" *[國民素質]*, as illustrated by this quote: "[M]moral education cultivates and fosters students' moral and national qualities while national education gives students the opportunities to learn about the country and establish their national identity to further enhance their national qualities" (CDC, 2011, p. 16). The nurturing of personal "moral qualities" and "national qualities" are seen as mutually beneficent in the sense that "people are important assets of the country and desirable personal qualities help promote the country's advancement and development, which are, in turn, beneficial to the people themselves" (CDC, 2011, p. 16-17).

In the latter sub-section, the term "civic education" is used to refer to the type of citizenship education in Western societies, including France, the U.S., and Australia. The CDC stressed that citizenship education in Hong Kong is not different from the "civic education" in the West, as "national education covers the learning elements of civic education" (CDC, 2011, p. 18). On the one hand, "national education" is "universalistic", as the CDC claims that the new curriculum covers the cultivation of sense of responsibility and analytical skills for understanding socials issues in the context of Hong Kong, Chinese and global citizenship. On the other hand, it is "particularistic", in that another focus of the curriculum excludes local and global citizenship, and refers to which "deepening students' understanding of and sense of belonging to the country" (CDC, 2011, p. 18). It is worth noting that the CDC discussed "moral education" and "civic education" from the standpoint of "national education", or the Chinese national citizenship, but not from the context of the local Hong Kong citizenship and global citizenship.

Learning objectives suggested for each of the five domains in the *MNECG* are demonstrated in Table 7D. It can be seen that the "national domain" accounts for 20 of the total 56 learning objectives, when there are respectively 12 and eight learning objectives for the local and world levels of citizenship education respectively.

To conclude, the CDC perceives citizenship education in Hong Kong as a curriculum for the education of citizens for the Chinese national community, rather than for the local and global communities.

Table 7D. Learning Objectives in the Five "Domain"(s) in the *MNECG*

"Domain"(s)	Learning Objective
Personal	8
Family	8
Society	12
Nation	20
World	8
Total	56

7.3 Towards a "Civic" or "Ethnic" Citizenship?

Word count shows that keywords relevant to "civic" components of citizenship education dominate the "ethnic" components in the *MNECG*. Table 7E shows that "civic" keywords including "Equality" *[平等]*, "Freedom" *[自由]*, "Democracy" *[民主]* and "Justice" *[公義]* were used for 50 times, whilst its "ethnic" counterparts, including the keywords of "Nation" *[民族]*, "Chinese" *[中華]*, "Culture" *[文化]*, "History" *[歷史]* and "Nature" *[自然資源]* which have appeared for 328 times in the document as shown in Table 4B. Chart 7B demonstrates that the latter one is much more than the former. So, results of word count reveals that the CDC emphasizes the ethnic components over the civic ones in the *MNECG* of 2011.

Table 7E. Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" Idea in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Count
Equality 平等	21
Freedom 自由	9
Democracy 民主	10

Justice 公義	10
Total	**50**

Table 7F. Keywords Relevant to the "Ethnic" Idea in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Count
Nation 民族	38
Chinese 中華	63
Culture 文化	132
History 歷史	63
Nature 自然資源	32
Total	**328**

Chart 7B. Comparing the Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" and "Ethnic" Idea in the *MNECG*

Keywords relevant to the "civic" and "ethnic" ideas of citizenship education do not only differ in numbers, but are also unequally distributed in the various "domains" proposed in the document. And, of course, some of them are used in the text other than the context of local, national and global citizenship. So, in order to investigate the distribution of the ethnic and civic keywords in the social, national and global "domains", I look more closely at two parts in the document. The first one is "Figure 6: Suggested positive values and attitudes to be cultivated in various domains" (CDC, 2011, p. 12), which demonstrates moral values assigned in the different domains by the CDC. Two contrasting sets of citizenship values were given for the education of national citizenship and global citizenship. Values which are only particularistic to China are listed in the "national domain"[42], such as "appreciative (appreciation for the Chinese culture)" *[欣賞]*, "solidarity" *[團結]*, "participatory" (participation in national development) *[參與]*, "cultural heritage" *[文化傳承]*, "sense of belonging" *[歸屬感]*, and "patriotism" *[愛國心]*[43]; whilst values that fall into the "civic" form of citizenship are suggested for the "global domain"[44], including "freedom" *[自由]*, "democracy" *[民主]*, "human rights" *[人權]*, and "plurality"[45] *[多元化]* (CDC, 2011, p. 12). Moreover, the "social domain" which is about the context of Hong Kong is very much "de-politicized", as the CDC referred it as about "friends, schools, society and work, containing values such as "forgiveness" *[包容]*, "open-minded" *[開放]* and "services" *[服務]*. But "equality" *[平等]*, a civic idea of citizenship, is suggested as one of the values[46] for the "social domain".

The suggested examples of learning contents also reflect the "ethnic" tendency of the MNE curriculum. As shown in Table 7G, there are totally 158 examples of learning content regarding the five layers of citizenship education. Amongst these, 50 can be classified as "ethnic", which account for almost one third of the total examples of

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[42] It is defined as "building national identity through respective areas about natural resources, humanities, history and contemporary development" (CDC, 2011, p. 12).

[43] The other two values suggested by the CDC in the "national domain" are "rationality" and "broadmindedness".

[44] It is defined as "building world-citizenship through universal values, concern for universal issues and world-citizen obligations" (CDC, 2011, p. 12).

[45] Other values included in the "global domain" are "peace", "mutually beneficent", "sustainable development" and "betterment of human kind".

[46] Other values put in the "social domain" are "polarity", "altruism", "law-abiding" and "mutuality".

learning content given in the curriculum, whilst only 6 of them are associated with the "civic" elements of citizenship education. 45 of the 50 "ethnic" examples of learning contents fall into context of the Chinese national community which has been the key focus of the MNE curriculum. And among the total 76 examples of learning contents in the national "domain", only one can be classified as "civic". This instance is about the congressional system in China which resembles the Western idea of "representational democracy". It claimed that congressional bodies such as the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference are formed by "members coming from different regions and sectors that facilitate acceptance of different opinions" and thus leads to a "cooperative political culture" (CDC, 2011, p. 62). Thus, it shows that the CDC focused more on the ethnic elements in its citizenship education curriculum.

Table 7G. Suggested Examples of Learning Contents in the Five "Domains"

"Domain"	Learning Content	"Civic"	"Ethnic"
Personal	16	0	1
Family	19	0	3
Society	33	3	0
Nation	76	1	45
World	14	2	1
Total	158	6	50

7.4 Citizenship Characteristics Promoted by the CDC

Three sets of interconnected citizenship characteristics proposed by the CDC can be identified as one of the themes in the *MNECG*. These citizenship qualities are: the sense of belonging, affection and commitment, which appear in the text for 63, 92 and 188 times respectively (see Table 7H). The importance of these three citizenship characteristics is illustrated in the "rationale" of MNE in the document. The CDC referred to these as follows: "[W]with positive values and attitudes[47] as the basis, to

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[47] Many of the examples of "values and attitudes" suggested in the *MNECG* regarding civic life are relevant to moral commitment to China.

facilitate identity-building through developing an affection for the country" (CDC, 2011, p. 3). These three citizenship qualities will be discussed below.

Sense of Belonging

The citizenship quality of sense of belonging is closely connected to the recognition of identity, as these concepts were often used together in the text. For example, the CDC explained the "recognition of identity" as aiming to "raise students' recognition and sense of belonging towards their family, society, nation and the world" (CDC, 2011, p. 4). The keywords of "National Identity" *[國民身份認同]* (33) and "Sense of Belonging" *[歸屬感]* (30) appeared for 63 times in the text (see Table 5). The significance of sense of belonging to the Chinese national community was addressed by the CDC at the very beginning of the document. "Identity-building" was set up as one of the important principles and directions of the new MNE subject. Although the CDC claimed that it aims to facilitate the development of personal, family, social, national and global identities among students, it also stated that heightened the curriculum's objective is to strengthen students' "understanding of the country and her culture together with a heightened sense of belonging…" (CDC, 2011, p. 9).

Emotional Attachment

Keywords variously signifying emotional attachment to China, such as "Love for the Country" *[愛國]*, "National Affection or Sentiment" *[情感; 情懷]* and "Pride" *[自豪]*, have been mentioned 16, 64, and 12 times respectively throughout the *MNECG* (total=92times). The nurturing of emotional affection of students is strategically crucial for building up national identity among students. In its discussion on teaching and learning, the CDC stressed that the role of "affection" is to "foster students' affection for upholding positive values and attitudes and identity building" (CDC, 2011, p. 105). Furthermore, the CDC suggested that the teaching and learning of the MNE curriculum should be "triggered by passion" *[以情引發]* (CDC, 2011, p, 117). According to the document, the four aspects of "natural resources" *[自然國情]*, "history" *[歷史國情]*, "humanities" *[人文國情]* and "contemporary development" *[當代國情]* concerning

China are used as the medium to trigger students' affection, or "passion" [情][48], towards the Chinese nation (CDC, 2011, p.117).

<u>Moral Commitment</u>

Keywords with the meanings of moral commitment, including "responsibility", "contribution" and "commitment", have appeared in the *MNECG* for 101, 36 and 51 times respectively (total=188times), which is much more than keywords relevant to the citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging and emotional attachment. The key emphasis on educating students with moral commitment has been mentioned by the CDC when defining the curriculum aims of the new MNE subject. The two aims of "leading a meaningful life" and "being responsible and rational" were clearly stated. According to the CDC, to lead a "meaningful life", students should "be willing to act in the interests of the country and the public, be committed to contributing to the country and the world …" (CDC, 2011, p. 4). And regarding "being rational and responsible", "desirable personal ethics and behavior" were expected to develop among students so that they can respond to various issues in a rational and responsible manner (CDC, 2011, p. 4). So, the idea of responsibility, contribution and commitment are seen as closely related in this context.

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[48] Four layers of "passion" were mentioned in the "passion-based" *[以情為本]* model, including "national situation" *[國情]*, "emotion" *[真情]*, "affection" *[情懷]*, and "feeling" *[感情]* (CDC, 2011, p. 117-119). But their definitions in the *MNECG* were unclear.

Table 7H. Keywords Relevant to Citizenship Characteristics as Promoted in the

MNECG

Keywords	Count	Total
Sense of Belonging		
National Identity 國民身份認同	33	
Sense of Belonging 歸屬感	30	63
Emotional attachment		
Love for the Country[49]愛國	16	
National Affection or Sentiment 情感, 情懷	64	
Pride 自豪	12	92
Moral Commitment		
Responsibility 責任	101	
Contribution 貢獻	36	
Commitment 承擔	51	188

7.5 The Moralizing of Citizenship Characteristics

A key distinction of the *MNECG* is its moralizing element of the citizenship education curriculum. As shown in Table 7I, keywords with the meanings of "moral" *[道德]* were widely used in the text. The words "Value" *[價值觀]*, "Moral" *[道德]*, and "Qualities" *[素質]*, have appeared 201, 96 and 84 times respectively in the document, constituting a major theme of the MNECG. Such extensive use of these terms reflects the CDC's attempt to add a "moral" dimension to the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong.

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[49] In the *MNECG*, "love for the country" is used instead of the term "Patriotism".

Table 7I. Keywords Relevant to the Moralizing of Citizenship Characteristics

Keywords	Count
Value 價值觀	201
Moral 道德	96
Qualities 素質	84

This is supported by the CDC's elaboration of the curriculum aims of the MNE subject. According to the *MNECG*, one of the objectives of the curriculum is "cultivating students' positive values and attitudes through systematic learning" (CDC, 2011, p. 3). Furthermore, one of the focuses of the curriculum is the "development of moral qualities", which is to "preserve Chinese virtues, develop an affection for the country, and help students develop positive values and attitudes" (CDC, 2011, p. 4).

The citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment to the Chinese nation identified in the *MNECG* have been attributed with moral meanings by the CDC. According to Figure 6 of the *MNECG*, which is titled as "Suggested Positive Values and Attitudes to be Cultivated in Various Domains" *[正面價值觀及態度的培育]*, a wide range of concepts that are relevant to the civic and ethnic idea of citizenship, such as "equality" *[平等]*, "solidarity" *[團結]*, "participatory" *[參與]*, "cultural heritage" *[文化傳承]*, "sense of belonging" *[歸屬感]*, "patriotism" *[愛國心]*, "freedom" *[自由]*, "democracy" *[民主]* and "human rights" *[人權]* were described as "positive values and attitudes" *[正面價值觀及態度]* to be promoted among students in the proposed MNE subject (CDC, 2011, p. 12).

7.6 Conclusion

Building up Chinese national identity among students has been the key objective of the CDC ever since 2001, in the *Learning to Learn – Life-long Learning and Whole-person Development* (CDC, 2001). In the *MNECG* of 2011, the CDC puts citizenship education in the context of national community as the first priority. Contents on the national context are much more than those in the local and global context, in terms of the number of the relevant keywords, learning objects and learning examples. Substantially, the *MNECG* curriculum advocates a form of ethnicity-based citizenship, which is characterized by the emphasis on sense of belonging, emotional attachment, and the moral commitment towards to the Chinese nation. Last but not least, the most distinguishing feature of the *MNECG* is the moralization of the citizenship characteristics promoted by the Hong Kong government, in which a "moral" person is defined as who possesses these citizenship characteristics.

CHAPTER 8 ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS: FINDINGS

8.1 Introduction

After analyzing documents written on citizenship education by key government bodies, this chapter summarizes the Hong Kong government's desired form of citizenship to be promoted in Hong Kong, based on the analysis of the five consecutive *Policy Address* issued by the CE from 2007 to 2011, documents written by the TGNE under the CSD, mainly the *PNEHK* report of 2008, documents released by the CDC, mainly the *MNECG* of 2011, in Chapter 5, 6 and 7.

8.2 Educating Citizens for Which Community?

The three communities of the local, national and global compete with each other in the Hong Kong government's citizenship education curriculum. Documents issued by the CE, TGNE under CSD, and CDC consistently show that the national community has outweighed its local and global counterparts and has been given priority by the Hong Kong government in its citizenship education policy. In the documents analyzed, "China" *[中國]* and other keywords with similar meanings such as "Mainland" *[內地]*, "Country" *[國家]*, "Nation" *[民族]*, and "Motherland" *[祖國]* have overwhelmingly dominated keywords such as "Hong Kong" [香港], "Local" *[本地]* and "World" *[世界]*. In some of the documents, "Hong Kong", "Local and "World" were only mentioned in a very few occasions. When present, they are used in relation to China, or to refer to citizenship education practices in other societies. Only very few of them were used to describe the SAR citizenship conceived by the state in Hong Kong (see section 5.3, 6.2 and 7.2). The *Policy Address* concerned only about educating citizens for the national community, the five instances when the term Hong Kong" were featured were used to illustrate China-Hong Kong relationship, while the term "World" was not mentioned at all ; the TGNE devoted much of the contents of the *PNEHK* report to educating Chinese "nationals" over "Hong Kong" and the "World", with the last one was only used in the text for three times; and the CDC puts major focus on the "national domain" over the "social" and "global domains" in the *MNECG*, as learning objectives and examples of learning content in the former are much more than the latter ones. Another observation is that the government promotes a pro-China view that encourages the public to consider

the interests of the Chinese nation when they are approaching international issues.[50] In short, the top priority of the Hong Kong government is to educate citizens for the national community, while the local and global citizenship are placed with less emphasis.

8.3 Towards "Civic" or "Ethnic" Citizenship?

Word count and qualitative analysis of the three sets of document show that the government's proposed citizenship education curriculum is dominated by the ethnic conception of citizenship, with very limited degree of civic elements. A central theme of the government's conception of citizenship education is to raise national consciousness among Hong Kong residents. Such consciousness is essentially ethnically based, drawing on components such as the common ancestry, territorial land, history, culture and customs. Other than such elements of "ethnic nationalism", Chinese national identity in the government's portrayal also involved a rather specific understanding of the "civic" dimension concerning about the state of development in China, including the rapid economic growth, rise of China's international status, improvement of people's livelihood, democratic development and conservation of natural resources. Such "civic" dimension of state development is in fact based on the "ethnic" idea of the Chinese nation. It is because, as a nation-state, the PRC is a political entity that possesses the sovereign over the Chinese nationals, rather than an administrative body whose function is that of problem-solving. Thus, there is a close connection between the "ethnic" nation and the "civic" state.[51] In this sense, the PRC's achievement in economic growth, diplomacy, social welfare and security, politics and environmental conservation means achievement of the Chinese nation and its entire population.

The civic ideas identified in the citizenship education documents are far fewer than those relating to the ethnic conception. The *Policy Address* almost completely overlooked the civic elements. And even when they are mentioned in the *PNEHK* report by the TGNE and *MNECG* by the CDC, they only appeared in the text for a very few occasions. In the former, keywords relevant to civic idea are used to refer to citizenship education policy in the Western societies including France, the U.S. and Australia, while

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[50] Though it is a common practice for most of the states.
[51] Providing public services, such as health care, education and public security.

use of these words in the latter mainly appear in the discussion of global citizenship, and some occasions in the context of Hong Kong.

It is therefore evident that the frequency and occasion of the use of the civic/ethnic ideas in the citizenship education documents are rather imbalanced. Citizenship education in the context of the Chinese national community, which is almost entirely ethnic-based, is placed at the theme of the curriculum. However, the civic idea is hugely underrepresented in the text. They are only used to refer to citizenship education in the local and global communities, and societies. Different components of the civic/ethnic dichotomy of citizenship education are included in the official documents, but in a fragmented rather than a coherent way.

8.4 Citizenship Characteristics Promoted by the State in Hong Kong

Based on the findings, one can extrapolate three types of interconnected citizenship characteristics that the Hong Kong government intends to promote. Given the fact that building Chinese national identity is the major objective of the official citizenship education curriculum, it involves the three-dimensional goal of nurturing the Hong Kong residents' sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment to the Chinese nation. Firstly, sense of belonging to the national community, as expressed via keywords including "National Identity" *[國民身份認同]* and "sense of belonging" *[歸屬感]* in the texts, is fundamentally important in the government's conception of citizenship education. It is about the recognition of one's membership in the Chinese national community. Secondly, emotional attachment towards the national community involves feelings such as "love" *[愛]*, "pride" *[自豪]* and "joy" *[喜悅]* for the Chinese nation. From the Hong Kong government's point of view, the emotional dimension is important. It is because national identity is not merely the willingness to recognize one's membership in a national community, but also possession of intense feelings which can strengthen the solidarity and social bond of the community. Lastly, moral commitment, indicating by keywords such as "Responsibility" *[責任]*, "Contribution" *[貢獻]* and "Commitment" *[承擔]* in the documents, refers to the sense of obligation to the Chinese nation, constitutes the third dimension. It is the outcome of the cognitive identification and emotional feelings of national identity. Given that one recognize oneself as a

member of the Chinese national community, one should share the emotional feelings towards the country experienced by the other members, and finally become willing to serve for the nation's interests.

In addition, a moralist assertion has been made by the Hong Kong government. Words such as "Value" *[價值觀]*, "Moral" *[道德]* and "qualities" *[素質]* were used to describe the citizenship characteristics to be promoted among students in the *MNECG* of 2011. The citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment were conceptualized as "positive values and attitudes" *[正面價值觀及態度]*.

8.5 The Community of Citizens Promoted by the Hong Kong Government

Results of the documentary analysis shows that Hong Kong government attempts to promote an ethnocentric citizenship education curriculum, which mainly focuses on citizenship education within the context of the PRC. In Chapter 4, I have outlined the seven aspects of citizenship characteristics based on the civic/ethnic dichotomy model, which is used as a conceptual tool for this study. These citizenship characteristics are namely, the common features among citizens, key institutions of citizenship, social tie among citizens, performance of membership, citizenship values, community of citizens and the citizen-state relationship. In the following, I will discuss the ethnocentric citizenship promoted by the Hong Kong government in the light of the seven aspects of citizenship characteristics.

1. Common features among citizens: The Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship education promotes a common sense of citizenship which draws on the shared ancestry and cultural traits rather than the equal rights and duties as citizens defined by the law.

2. Key institutions of citizenship: In the official documents on citizenship education policy, keywords, learning objectives and contents relevant to the existing legal and political institutions in Hong Kong and China that assure equality among citizens in Hong Kong were only briefly mentioned. Most of the contents were

devoted to the ethnic origin, culture, history, tradition and custom of the Chinese nation.

3. Social tie among citizens: The ethnic conception of citizenship possessed by the Hong Kong government promotes an emotional and intimate social tie rather than an associational-contractual one. In the official documents, the national community is conceived of as a fictive "super family" according to Smith (1991). Therefore, social relationship within the national community is family-like, which emphasizes the citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment among members.

4. Performance of membership: The Hong Kong government downplayed the role of democratic citizenship and other concrete citizenship rights which stress the participation of citizens in the political system. It is because the most crucial elements for the Chinese nation or the Chinese fictive "super-family" (Smith, 1991), are the willingness for one to identify, sentimentally attach and make a contribution as a "family member".

5. Citizenship value: The citizenship value promoted by the Hong Kong government treasures the self-determination and flourishing of the Chinese nation as a whole over rights of individual members within the national community. Although universal civic values such as democracy, equality, freedom and human rights are mentioned in the official documents, they are never the core emphasis.

6. Community of citizens: The national community has been portrayed by the Hong Kong government as a collective organ which treats citizens as integrated parts of the Chinese nation instead of independent individuals who have equal rights defined by the law.

7. Citizen-state relationship: The Hong Kong government attempts to shape a particular view towards the state among members of the national community. In the Hong Kong government's conception, state is not only an administrative body which provides public services to citizens, but most importantly, it is also the political representation of the Chinese nation. So, citizen-state relationship is sentimental rather than merely pragmatic. For instance, the Chinese state's achievement in economic development is equivalent with national glory and pride.

To summarize, the community of citizens under the Hong Kong government's conception is largely based on the "ascribed" characteristics of citizenship, in which the citizenship promoted is ethnicity-based. In this conception, citizenship status is involuntarily acquired by birth, and citizens are conceived of as an integrated part of the Chinese nation.

8.6 Conclusion

To conclude, as reflected in the CE's *Policy Address*, and documents written by the TGNE and CDC, the Hong Kong government attempts to promote a citizenship education curriculum which is ethnicity-based and aiming to educating citizens for the national community rather than the Hong Kong or global community, in which the citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment, and moral commitment towards the Chinese nation is emphasized. In a nutshell, citizenship from the Hong Kong government's point of view is ethnocentric and involuntarily acquired by birth, wherein citizens are conceived of as morally committed members of the Chinese nation rather than independent individuals based on the legal principle of equality.

CHAPTER 9 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will discuss the implications of the findings of this study on citizenship under the "One Country, Two Systems" model, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, and the sociology of citizenship.

9.1 The Implication on Citizenship under "One Country, Two Systems"

Citizenship education within the context of Chinese national community has been established as the major focus in the Hong Kong government documents, which overshadowed the Hong Kong and global communities. The three contextual conditions of citizenship in Hong Kong, namely, democratization, nationalization and globalization, have shaped citizenship education in the context of local, national and global communities.

First, as part of the state building project, the elements of democratic citizenship have been developing in Hong Kong. Second, the state-sponsored nation building project has been attempting to forge a higher sense of national awareness among Hong Kong residents. Lastly, due to globalization, the quests for "universal values" are also spreading in Hong Kong and other parts of the world.

Citizenship describes relationships between citizens and the state and is engendered by the state. Citizenship would become a purely abstract discourse if the existence of the state is in question. Although free trade, open labor market and immigration have accelerated the globalization process, a supranational state which is capable of governing citizenship relationships with individual citizens is unlikely to appear. Thus, the notion of "global citizenship" is even regarded as rhetoric by some observers; this could be a reason for the underrepresentation of global community in the Hong Kong government's documents.

Citizenship portrayed in the MNECG of 2011 contained both the instrumental and moral dimensions of citizenship. The Hong Kong community is contextualized as comprised of schools, workplace and local communities , most of which are social units established for the pragmatic purposes of socialization, labor and accommodation. In the contrast, the national community is viewed as a "community of sentiment", wherein

individuals' moral values attached to the Chinese nation are stressed. These two are intrinsically different. Few would sacrifice themselves for their school, employer or other similar social groups, but one might do for the community that carries moral goodness, whether in a civic or an ethnic sense. It is true that nation has an instrumental function, since it is the nation-states which provide education, labor protection, and community development. But the official documents analyzed in this study prioritized sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment to the Chinese nation over the pragmatic rights associated with citizenship in the context of state.

So and Su (2012) argued that citizenship in China is divided into the "neoliberal citizenship" in Hong Kong and the "national citizenship" in mainland China. So and Su compared the situation of tertiary education integration in Hong Kong and China and observed that mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong do not receive any citizenship benefits and they pay higher tuition fees than local students (as all international students do), whilst Hong Kong students in the mainland need not to pay higher fees than local students (So and Su, 2012, p. 135). Under the "neoliberal citizenship" canopy, citizens are conceived as "atomized, self-serving" individuals, whilst "national citizenship" treasures national interests over individual rights (So and Su, 2012, p. 142). So and Su claimed that neoliberal citizenship and national citizenship will not converge in the foreseeable future, but "the Chinese state will continue to apply national citizenship principles towards the economic, social, and cultural cross-border activities in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan" (So and Su, 2012, p. 141).

It is evident that parts of the social and global contexts of citizenship education, and other citizenship practices in Hong Kong reveal the civic idea of citizenship. But Hong Kong's official documents on citizenship education show that a Chinese "national citizenship" which is based on the ethnic idea is promoted by the Hong Kong government. Perhaps the national citizenship regime is no longer limited to Hong Kong-China cross-border activities in the economic, social, cultural spheres, but has become within Hong Kong, which expresses the governing philosophy of the Hong Kong government.

From a historical perspective, the emphasis on Chinese "national citizenship" in the SAR era differs from the official citizenship discourse in the colonial period to a large extent. As I have discussed in 2.2.1, the colonial government's conception towards citizenship in Hong Kong can be understood from the Marshallian right-based framework, wherein political rights were repressed due to the legitimacy problem of the colonial government, whilst civil and social rights were stressed as means to maintain social stability. Now, the official discourse on citizenship education in the SAR era has shifted from a right-based framework to one that is based on a Chinese "national citizenship" discourse, which promotes the idea of the Chinese nation as a historically continuous community based on common ancestry and culture. Such notion of "national citizenship" emphasizes the Chinese nation as a collective entity and the national interests over the rights of individual citizens.

In the official documents on citizenship education, the citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral obligations towards the Chinese nation are seen as desirable qualities to be promoted among Hong Kong people. These citizenship characteristics focus on citizens' obligations towards the state rather than the Marshallian rights I mentioned above. These obligations-oriented citizenship characteristics and the "national citizenship" which defines individuals as nationals of the Chinese nation rather than as citizens entitled with rights institutionalized by the laws, reflect the Hong Kong government's intention to create a form of obedient citizenship in Hong Kong. Because of the increasing protests and other forms of social movement in Hong Kong, the Hong Kong government is concerned about the losing its credibility in the citizenship education discourse. Marked by the 1 July protest in 2003, the largest protest since the transfer of sovereignty participated by a historical number of 500, 000 people (Wong, 2004), which opposed the government's attempt to pass the Hong Kong Basic Law Article 23 in the LegCo. The Article, which originally aimed at enhancing state control over society to "prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government" (HKSAR Government, 2013), resulted in strong resistance from the civil society and posed a threat to the legitimacy of the Hong Kong government. Therefore, shaping politically obedient citizens becomes a crucial issue in the official discourse of citizenship education.

Gellner wrote in Nation and Nationalism that "nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 2008, p. 1). Gellner's account has not stated the types of government possible in order for a particular nation to develop. The Chinese nation has become the "political unit" that rules over Hong Kong, and so in Gellner's terms, the "political and national unit" is now congruent in Hong Kong. Gellner's view has great impacts on the political citizenship in Hong Kong. It implies that the nation is more important than political citizenship (i.e. participatory democracy). If the nation is the "constant" political unit, then the types of government would be the "variables". Once the Chinese nation is ruling Hong Kong and other sovereign territories of China, it does not matter much if the political units in the central and local levels are democratic, socialist or even monarchical. What matter the most is "moral" aspects of individual citizens' sense of belonging, emotional affiliation and moral obligations to the nation, but not the political citizenship.

Therefore, citizenship education in the context of "One Country, Two Systems" is not necessarily manifestation of tension between socialism and capitalism, as the Hong Kong government can only emphasize the ethnic elements of the Chinese nation and the modern development in China without addressing the ideological issues of socialism versus capitalism. The Hong Kong governments can manipulate words in the citizenship education documents to focus on particular aspects of citizenship, but it cannot resolve the intrinsic conflict between the civic and ethnic ideas of citizenship. Like any other communities, both the Hong Kong and Chinese national communities contain what can be called the "achieved" and "ascribed" elements. Official documents reveal a rather fragmented and divided understanding of the different communities in these two dimensions. Firstly, most of the contents of the documents are devoted to the discussion of citizenship in the national community, whilst the HKSAR citizenship and global citizenship only account for limited contents. Secondly, the civic elements of citizenship only appear in the local and global context, whilst the ethnic elements have dominated over the citizenship in the national context.

The fragmented distribution of different citizenship ideas in the Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship resemble Fraenkel's concept of the "dual state".

In his analysis of the former National Socialist regime in Germany, Fraenkel (2006) identified two co-existing components in the German state in the National Socialist era. The first is the "normative" state which is the administrative and judicial bureaucracy run by rules which secured and maintained the legal order. The other is the "prerogative" state in which agencies such as the Gestapo exercised arbitrary power and violence and were free from legal constraint. The "normative" and "prerogative" were never integrated together in the Third Reich, but there is a necessity for the "prerogative" National Socialist regime to allow the existence of the competing "normative" state. Because it needed the free market to provide economic and financial foundation for the Germen society and rule of law is necessary for the functioning of a free market.

Under the social forces of democratization at the local level and globalization at the international level, Hong Kong as a cosmopolitan city always has to respond to these forces, if not in actions, then certainly in form of discourse. The HKSAR citizenship education curriculum needs to cover the issues of democratic citizenship and global citizenship, but the state sponsored nation building project is always the major emphasis of the curriculum. It is clear that in Fraenkel's sense, national citizenship is the "prerogative" while the citizenship education for the local and global communities are only the "normative".

So and Su (2012) concluded that the citizenship regimes in Hong Kong and China can be characterized as "divided". But in this study's textual analysis on the Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship shows that the citizenship regime in Hong Kong itself is fragmented. On the one hand, forging a sense of national awareness has been the major task of citizenship education for the state in Hong Kong. On the other hand, citizenship education in Hong Kong has to respond to the social forces of democratization and globalization. As a result, most contents of the documents are devoted to the nation-building project, whilst the rest serve as rhetoric address to the democratic and global concerns.

9.2 The Implication on the Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

Hong Kong is a predominantly Chinese society. However, non-Chinese populations have a long history of residing in Hong Kong. Since the late 1990s, the population of non-Chinese ethnic origins has increased rapidly (Loper, 2004, p. 2). According to the *Population Census* published by the Census and Statistics Department (2012), the number of ethnic minorities residing in Hong Kong increased significantly by 31% from 2001 to 2011.[52] In 2011, there were 451,183 residents who come from ethnic minorities[53], accounting for 6.4% of the total population of Hong Kong.[54] There are 38, 048 of the ethnic minority populations under the age of 15, who are either currently studying in, or about to enter into the education system of Hong Kong.

The legal status of citizenship in Hong Kong refers to a "permanent resident with the rights of abode" (Ghai, 2001). The "right of abode" is deliberately designed to avoid nationality questions arising from the change of sovereignty. This is because nationality under Chinese law is ethnically based, and so in this sense a significant proportion of the population is excluded from citizenship status after 1997. The right of abode definition fits the cosmopolitan character of Hong Kong and recognizes the traditionally important role played by non-Chinese nationals in society. Under the right of abode definition, permanent residents of Chinese or non-Chinese ethnic origins are entitled with same citizen rights and status.

Although an equal legal status has been granted to both Chinese and non-Chinese residents, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong have significant difficulties in their integration into mainstream society. The two communities co-exist and little integration is evident. A research report about racial discrimination on South Asians in Hong Kong published by the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) in 2012[55] showed that there is limited interaction between the Chinese and South Asian communities in Hong Kong

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[52] The population of ethnic minority increased from 343,950 in 2001 to 451,183 in 2011(Census and Statistics Department, 2012).

[53]About 80% of the ethnic minorities are Asians other than Chinese (Census and Statistics Department, 2012).

[54] In the report, ethnicity of a person is determined by self-identification. And the statistics includes the Indonesian and Filipino domestic workers and other non-Chinese populations who are not permanent residents of Hong Kong.

[55] The study was conducted by the Centre for Civil Society and Governance (The University of Hong Kong) and Policy 21 Limited.

because of lack of a common language and understanding of each other's culture (EOC, 2012). Another study reported that 70.1% Pakistani youths residing in Hong Kong experienced difficulties due to language barriers, including Cantonese, Chinese or English (Ku, Chan, Chan and Lee, 2003). Ethnic minorities experience discrimination in Hong Kong[56] but this can be tolerated, as they have believed Hong Kong society to be relatively more aware of and concerned about racial discrimination compared to other societies (EOC, 2012).

Given the fact that the right of abode entitles same citizenship status to all the permanent residents in Hong Kong regardless of their ethnic origins, ethnic minority students should receive equal citizenship rights, including the social right of education. Education policy in a multi-cultural society has to consider the education needs of different ethnic groups (Banks, 2001).

Loper (2004) criticized the Hong Kong government's failure to provide equal opportunities to ethnic minority students. Students of non-Chinese origins found difficulties in learning Chinese and are frustrated under the mother-tongue policy; they also experience problems accessing school information because of the language barrier, and in interacting with Chinese schoolmates. Similarly, Ho (2001) pointed out that the Hong Kong government's policy on urban renewal failed to consider ethnic minority children's need. Many were forced to move from Hong Kong Island and Kowloon to remote areas in the New Territories, which causes problems for ethnic minority students to access suitable public schools. Moreover, the Muslim parents' appeal for Muslim education has been long ignored by the authorities.

In the *MNECG* of 2011, the CDC made a few attempts to address the problems facing ethnic minorities. It was mentioned that through topics relevant to the global context of citizenship, students can develop "care for others" *[關愛]*, "equality" *[平等]* and "respect for others" *[尊重他人]* when interacting with people from other ethnic groups (CDC, 2011, p. 91). Furthermore, the CDC claimed that the proposed new citizenship education curriculum in the MNE is indeed beneficent for ethnic minority

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[56] Extreme examples of such discrimination encountered in day-to-day life are Chinese people covering their nose when in proximity with South Asians and avoiding sitting with them in public transportation.

students. According to the document, these students "can further understand the diverse cultures of Hong Kong and learn to avoid conflicts or misunderstandings resulted from such differences", and "should learn to first understand the Hong Kong society and then develop an understanding of the national situations of China" (CDC, 2011, p. 97). From the Hong Kong government's point of view, it is the responsibility of the ethnic minority groups to learn to integrate into the Chinese community rather than building equally mutual understanding between the two groups. The issue of nurturing national consciousness towards the Chinese nation is prioritized over multi-cultural education. Given that the ethnicity-based Chinese citizenship idea conceives of the Chinese nation as an organic, fictive "super-family", it is essential to forge sentimental connection with the remote abstraction that is the national community. Such conception overshadows the legal status of rights of abode, which is by nature a civic conception that allows equal citizenship treatments regardless of one's ethnic origins.

Extending Marshall (1950)'s conception of civil, political and social rights of citizenship, Kymlicka (1995) called for the forth citizenship rights of cultural citizenship, which is achieved by reforming social institutions to allow for the accommodation of cultural differences and needs of ethnic groups in a society. For Kymlicka, cultural distinctiveness of ethnic minorities should be reflected in the mainstream culture. The education system of Hong Kong has been criticized as mono-cultural which causes student failure and teaching ineffectiveness (Heung, 2006). As reflected in the documents on citizenship education analyzed in this study, the Hong Kong government has been solely focusing on citizenship education for the national community and ethnic elements of the Chinese nation. The official conception of citizenship education has not taken the cultural distinctiveness of ethnic minority groups into account.

Brubaker (1996) identified the trend of nationalizing states in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Nationalizing state refers to a dynamic process wherein the state is seen as "unrealized" one and destined to become a nation-state through "promoting the language, culture, demographic position, economic flourishing, or political hegemony of the nominally state-bearing nation" (Brubaker, 1996, p. 63). In the context of Hong Kong, the nationalizing state, which endeavors to enhance Hong Kong residents' national awareness and sentimental connections with the Chinese nation, is in

effect creating a type of citizenship identity that is incompatible with non-Chinese citizens. This is not to say citizenship rights of the ethnic minority are being jeopardized and thus they are losing the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 1966). Equal rights to all permanent residents of Hong Kong have been secured by the *Basic Law*. However, citizenship is not only about rights, but also the identity as a member of a given community. Such collective identity requires willingness to put aside distinctiveness and come up with a minimum degree of cultural integration (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). Ethnic minorities as a part of the Hong Kong society, has been underrepresented in citizenship education documents. They are entitled with legal status as citizens and equal rights, and recognized as a member of the Hong Kong political community. But in the Hong Kong government's conception, the local community is not as crucial as the Chinese national community, an ethnic based community where non-Chinese individuals could never meet the criteria of being defined as a member.

Although I have discussed here the implication of the predominantly ethnic conception towards citizenship education of the Hong Kong government on the ethnic minorities in the Hong Kong, further empirical investigation is needed for a more full-fledged analysis on the issue.

9.3 The Implication on the Sociology of Citizenship

The nature of the social bond has been one of the central problems of inquiry in sociology since Durkheim, which concerns the social ties between individuals in a collective entity. In *The Division of Labor in Society*, Durkheim (1984) held that the shift in division of labor in modern society leads to the emergence of organic solidarity, with the weakening of collective sense of identity and common social rules and values. Division of labor has become complex in modern society, in which individuals are responsible for performing a wide range of highly specialized tasks.[57] This complex division of labor poses increasing heterogeneities among members of a community, and as a result common conscience deteriorates. Therefore, the social bond in modern society has been loosened and social values and beliefs no longer serve as the basis of important moral guidance for individuals.

As a post-industrial society, the division of labor in Hong Kong is complex and thus social order tends to be based on organic solidarity. And from the point of view of the citizenship regime in Hong Kong, moral values and beliefs do not seem to be fundamental elements in defining individuals' relationship with the state. Schnapper (1998) stressed that ethnie as a historical and cultural community possesses a strong social bond which is usually based on common descent, whilst the more civic idea of polity which is based on common rights and participation, is "supra-bond".[58] Although citizenship regime is still developing in Hong Kong, observers have recognized the importance of the non-ethnic idea in the citizenship practice. For instance, citizens are defined as permanent residents who have the "right of abode" regardless of ethnic origins, and economic citizenship has played a crucial role in the cause of developmental politics (Jessop, 2002; So, 2006).

However, the official documents on citizenship education policy reveal a contrasting conception of citizenship in Hong Kong. In the government's documents, the ethnic conception over citizenship has hugely dominated the civic idea. A central theme of the citizenship education curriculum has been the raising of common consciousness

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[57] Durkheim views division of labor in pre-modern society as simpler, in which people do similar tasks in economic production.
[58] With rather weak social bond.

for the Chinese national community. Ethnic elements such as the common ancestry, territorial land, history, cultural customs and traditions are given major emphasis in the official discourse. Rather than being portrayed as a political, juridical or legal concept, the Chinese state is conceived as the social representation of the Chinese national community. And therefore, the Chinese state's achievement in economic growth, science and technological inventions, and improvement of people's livelihood, are the pride of the Chinese nation. Polity as a rational association, no matter in the local, national and global levels, is underrepresented in the official documents analyzed in this study.

The Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship focuses on the sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral obligation to the national community, rather than the exercise of rights and participation. In other words, the Chinese national identity proposed by the Hong Kong government very much reconstructs elements of mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1984), in which there is a common value and sense of community with intense sentimental feelings and willingness to make contributions for the nation. These citizenship characteristics are identically matched with the three elements of morality highlighted by Durkheim (2002) in *Moral Education.* According to Durkheim, public education is a channel to dissimilate these moral values to children in order to educate them as functioning members of the society. Morality is constituted by three components – discipline, attachment and autonomy. Discipline limits the growth of egoistic impulse, attachment is willingness to be a committed member of a given community, and autonomy refers to individual's responsibility towards the community. The commonly shared features between the state in Hong Kong and Durkheim's conception towards citizenship are the emphasis on collective obligations over individual rights and the close social bond between members of a community, wherein the collective conscience and individual conscience becomes congruent.

The emphasis on the social bond based on common blood in Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship is embedded with religious element in Durkheim's sense. Durkheim once commented on the French Revolution of 1789, "under the influence of general enthusiasm, things purely secular in nature became transformed into sacred things: these were the Fatherland, liberty, and reason. A religion tended to become established which had its dogmas, symbols, altars and feasts"

(Durkheim, 1965, p. 244-245). The underlying values of the French Revolution and the state-sponsored nation building project in Hong Kong are intrinsically different. The former drew on the more civic ideas of liberty and reason, whilst the latter one is more ethnic based. But both of them define what are sacred. In the Hong Kong government's conception, the abstract Chinese nation, with its broad range of historical and cultural elements, and the nation-state, are sacred to members of the national community. The nation and its values and symbols, are conceived of as extraordinary and can engender intense sentiment among members. Durkheim holds that it is not the object, event, or ritual itself, but rather the symbolic power and social emotion which create a sense of sacred feelings among people (Durkheim, 1965). According to Smith, with the use of symbols such as flags, anthem and ceremonies, members of the national community are reminded of their common ethnic origin and cultural heritage and exalted by their common belonging and identity, and therefore become a "faith-achievement" group (Smith, 1991). These kinds of national symbols which have been promoted in the citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong are made use of by the Hong Kong government for the purpose of nurturing the collective sense of "faith-achievement".

The Hong Kong government is therefore trying to create what can be described as a new civil religion.[59] But different from that described in Bellah (1967)'s famous essay *Civil Religion in America*, the civil religion proposed by the state in Hong Kong appeals to the nation instead of God. In Hong Kong, a predominately Chinese society, the appeal to the Chinese nation bears relevance to most of the population.[60] A set of spiritual and moral impetus concerning the flourishing of the Chinese nation, to be commonly held by the citizens in Hong Kong, has been the central goal of the Hong Kong government's citizenship education policy. Such type of citizenship embraces many ideas described by Durkheim, in which the political community is conceived as a polity which is shaped as a historically and culturally continuously community, wherein a "good" citizen is

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[59] Civil religion refers to "any set of beliefs and rituals, related to the past, present and/or future of a people (nation), which are understood in some transcendental fashion" (Hammond, 1976, p. 171).
[60] Bellah (1967) maintained that to utilize the civil religion's capacity as a moral aspiration, it must be general enough to include the major members of a community. Therefore, it was the word God used in former U.S. President John F. Kennedy's inaugural speech in 1961, but not the specific "Jesus Christ", "Moses" or the God of any particular sects of Christianity and other religions, so that Christians, Jewish, Catholicons are all included.

expected to develop a sense of belonging, emotional attached and makes devotion to it, whilst the Marshallian assertion of rights is underrepresented.

The Hong Kong government's conception of citizenship resembles characteristics of the Germen tradition of citizenship (Brubaker, 1992) I discussed in the literature review (see 2.1.3), in which a kind of romantic conception of nationalism based on cultural and historical lineage is emphasized over citizenship rights. Similarly, the official discourse of citizenship in Hong Kong is centered on the loyalty to the Chinese nation, whilst individual rights and the associated civic ideas of citizenship were just addressed as rhetoric. The Hong Kong government's conception towards citizenship is to a large extent Germen-like, in terms of membership, rights and obligations, and participation in a political community.[61] First, it tends to define membership from the ethnicity-based approach (jus sanguinis). Second, it prioritizes obligations towards the Chinese nation over citizenship rights. Third, it is concerned about the fate of the Chinese nation which is conceived as a historically continuous community rather than citizens' participation in the administrative state system.

As I mentioned in 2.1.3, Brubaker (1992) explained that territory-based (jus soli) citizenship in France resulted from the homogenization of its populations through state administration, education, and military system by the old French regime in the nineteenth century, whilst ethnicity-based (jus sanguinis) in Germany is rooted in the decentralized Germen kingdoms and principalities. Brubaker's account on the historical origins of the French and Germen traditions of citizenship shed some light on the official discourse of citizenship in Hong Kong. Under the "One Country, Two Systems" model, Hong Kong as a SAR having "a high degree of autonomy" is "decentralized" from the state administrative systems of China by constitutional design. The absence of a full common state administrative system provides grounds for the prevalence of the Germen conception of citizenship in the Hong Kong government's discourse.

The ethnic tendency of the official discourse in Hong Kong is not the only case in East Asia, given the fact that the region is home to nations with rather long history of cultural, political and geographical continuity, such as the Chinese, Japanese and Korean

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[61] As I mentioned in the literature review on citizenship in 2.1.1, citizenship is a three-fold conception regarding membership, rights and obligations, and participation in a political community.

nations. In *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea*, Shin (2006) concluded that the type of nationalism developed in the Korean peninsula is a kind of "racial nationalism" (Shin, 2006, p. 223), which is essentially based on the idea of common descent and race. Taking a historical approach, Shin argued that the rise of ethnic nationalism in North Korea and South Korea was originally an attempt of de-colonization. According to Shin, Korean nationalism first took the form as pan-Asianism dating back to the late nineteenth century, which called for a regional alliance between members of the "yellow" race, including Chinese, Japanese and Koreans, to stand against the intruding Western powers in East Asia. Pan-Asianism in Korea dispersed after the Japanese annexation in 1910. Since then, Korean ethnic nationalism has replaced Pan-Asianism to become the dominant nationalist ideology, and is believed by Korean nationalists as a method for Koreans to free themselves from the Japanese colonial rule and regain popular sovereignty.[62]

Although I have been drawing extensively on literature on citizenship and nation in the West, the case of the official citizenship discourse in Hong Kong echoes the Korean ethnic nationalism, which is an important case of ethnic citizenship and nationhood in the East, in many ways. First, Shin pointed out that both North Korea and South Korea appeal to the nationalist ideology to appropriate their own particular form of government (i.e. the socialist government in the former, and the capitalist government in the latter); whilst in Hong Kong, the Chinese nationalistic elements have been the core emphasis of the official documents on citizenship education, wherein the socialist and capitalist ideologies have not been mentioned at all.[63] Second, Korean nationalists manipulated the civic ideas of citizenship, such as individual freedom, equality and popular sovereignty, in the early stage of nation building. But the civic elements are never the core emphasis of the Korean nationalism, which is similar to the fragmented discourse in the official citizenship education discourse in Hong Kong, wherein the civic idea is only

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[62] According to Shin (2006), Korean nationalist advocated the distinctiveness of the Korean nation in response to the colonial racism promoted by the Japanese colonial government which claimed that there are common racial origins between the Japanese and Korean people. Moreover, Shin argued that the Korean ethnic nationalism in the Japanese colonial period was also competing with the spread of international socialism which emphasized on class struggle when condemning the particularistic, exclusive idea of nationalism.

[63] As I argued in 9.1, citizenship under the "One Country, Two Systems" model is the struggle between the civic and ethnic ideas of citizenship rather one between a socialist and a capitalist system.

addressed as rhetoric, when the key emphasis are the ethnic contents. Third, "nation" became a contested field in South Korea, wherein the civil society advocated the "min-jung" nationalism, which claims to represent the marginalized, opposed people under the authoritarian regime[64], whereas in Hong Kong, part of the civil society has been demanding a more civic kind of citizenship education curriculum and opposing to the nationalistic, ethnicity-based conception of the Hong Kong government.

In both the Korean peninsula and Hong Kong, nationalism has been used by political elites to integrate populations into a particular political system. Nationalism can facilitate social integration in a political community, but sometimes at the expense of democracy, freedom and human rights (Shin, 2006). But perhaps from the Korean and Hong Kong government's points of view, the most fundamental nature of the nation is to integrate populations into a community of citizens (Schnapper, 1998) rather than the empowerment of citizenship rights.

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[64] South Korea was under authoritarian rule from 1948 to 1987.

9.4 Conclusion

To summarize, the findings of this study have implications on citizenship under the "One Country, Two Systems" model, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, and the sociology of citizenship. Firstly, the Hong Kong government possesses a fragmented conception towards citizenship in Hong Kong. Whilst an ethnicity-based citizenship has been promoted in the context of the national community, civic elements of citizenship are suggested for the local and global communities. But the national community is conceived of by the Hong Kong government as the core emphasis of its citizenship education policy. Secondly, the Hong Kong government's Chinese ethnicity-based conception towards citizenship is in tension with the legally defined "permanent residents" in Hong Kong. The former is particularistic, based on the ethnic criteria of common ancestry and culture, whilst the latter one entitles equal citizenship status, rights and duties to citizens regardless of their ethnic origins. Thus, the Hong Kong government's conception contradicts with the current citizenship practice in Hong Kong, and the ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the officially conceived citizenship education curriculum. Thirdly, the citizenship characteristics of sense of belonging, emotional attachment and moral commitment towards the Chinese nation have been the key emphasis of citizenship from the Hong Kong government's points of view instead of the concrete citizenship rights. Perhaps for the Hong Kong government, the most fundamental nature of nation is to integrate populations into a community of citizens (Schnapper, 1998) rather than the civic empowerment and participation of citizens.

Finally, this study aims to give an objective account of the Hong Kong government's conception towards citizenship education. But my discussion above can be strategically mobilized by social activists either to support or against the official citizenship education mandate. In fact, these issues I raised, including the civic/ethnic tension in the official discourse, underrepresentation of the ethnic minority in Hong Kong and the Hong Kong government's emphasis on the moral aspect of citizenship, all contain a set of binary oppositions, whether they are right or wrong, "pure" or "impure", "sacred" or "profane", is subject to civil society's moral judgment and interpretation. Since the meaning of these ideas are neutral per se, groups on both sides, either pro- or against the official "national education", can always define either the "civic" or "ethnic"

idea of citizenship, social inclusion or exclusion of ethnic minorities, and the instrumental, right-based or the moral, ethnicity-based aspects of citizenship, as desirable or not in their own terms, and so as to introduce new discourse to mobilize mass support for their interests.

9.5 Justifications and Limitations of the study

9.5.1 Justification of the study

This study investigates the conception toward citizenship and citizenship education of the Hong Kong government, instead of the Beijing government or the civil society of Hong Kong. As I mentioned in 1.3, the conditions of citizenship regime and citizenship education in Hong Kong under "One Country, Two Systems" provide a unique case for the sociological study of citizenship. On the one hand, the "One Country, Two System" model in the framework of a nation-state is a rather new phenomenon that can barely be found in other parts of the world.[65] On the other hand, under such constitutional arrangement, the Hong Kong government is trapped in a dilemma between democratization (and globalization) and nationalization, the "civic" and "ethnic" conceptions towards citizenship, and the "high degree of autonomy" and national solidarity. So, due to the unique situation of the Hong Kong government, the SAR citizenship constitutes a valuable case for the sociological study of citizenship.

My justifications to center this study on the Hong Kong government's point of view are, first, if I choose to only focus on either the civil society of Hong Kong or the Beijing government, then there will be a trade-off in terms of the uniqueness of the case. Because neither the civil society nor the Beijing government is trapped in a dilemma posed by the constitutional arrangement like the Hong Kong government is. Second, it is the Hong Kong government, not the civil society or the Beijing government which controls the official channel of citizenship education and plays an active role to shape future citizens in the formal curriculum. Last but not least, it would be useful to investigate the conception towards citizenship and citizenship education of other social actors, which support or oppose the official curriculum, but a study of the official discourse on the issues helps to understand what these actors are actually reacting to.

9.5.2 Limitations and recommendation for further study

In Chapter 8, I pointed out that the Hong Kong government has a fragmented conception towards citizenship education, wherein the more civic, inclusive idea of

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[65] Except Macau.

citizenship was attributed to the local and global contexts of citizenship education, whilst the highly ethnicity-based, particularistic elements dominate over the national citizenship education. In fact, these contrasting outlooks of citizenship and citizenship education reflected in the Hong Kong government's discourse take root in the civil society and the Beijing government since the 1980s (Ku, 2009; Lee, 2008; Tse, 2007b), the polarization of the civic and nationalistic views were greatly magnified during the dispute over "national education" after the release of the *MNECG* in May 2011.

A comprehensive understanding of citizenship education as a contested field, or more broadly how a binary conception towards citizenship and nationhood emerge in Hong Kong, has to take the views of other social actors, including the supporters, opponents of the official citizenship education curriculum in Hong Kong, and the agencies of Beijing into account. But since this study has a more focused interest concerning the official discourse on the issue, partly because of the limit of time and resources, the scope of this study only covers the Hong Kong government's conception towards citizenship and citizenship education.

For future research, studies should bring in the discourse from the other social actors mentioned above to further examine the tensions embedded in citizenship education in Hong Kong. The possible data sources and methods of study could include interviewing opinion leaders from teachers, parents, students' associations, NGOs, political parties, and the academia who played an active role in the dispute over "national education", or who have long been mobilizing supports for their conception towards citizenship education; and textual analysis of the relevant documents issued by these opinion leaders or their organizations such as social commentaries, speeches and discourse in public settings, and opinion letters submitted in response to the *MNECG* consultation document of 2011.

Another limitation of this study is the narrow basis of dataset, in which only three sets of official documents issued by the Hong Kong government are used to infer the Hong Kong government's conception over citizenship and citizenship education. But these documents are precious data sources, as all of them were written by core government agencies, which discloses the original view of the Hong Kong government on the issue.

Within the inclusion of different kinds of data mentioned in the above paragraph in further research, it is hopeful that the basis of data sources overall can be expanded.

Appendix I

A sample of text coding

In the following, I will show how I coded the text in this study. I will first show an excerpt from my documentary data and several tables which demonstrate how I analyze the keywords in the text. The excerpt chosen is from p.36-38 of the *PNEHK* report written by the TGNE, which is about the future strategies for promoting citizenship education, or "national education in Hong Kong" (TGNE, 2008, p. 36-38).

Firstly, the following is the excerpt with the keywords highlighted,

1. The Government has been moving in the right direction and the efforts in the past
2. decade have shown some positive results. The Government should refine its
3. promotion strategies and devise a plan to strengthen national education. In doing

4so, the Government should give due consideration to the following eight principles:

5. Clear objectives – Clear objectives should be set for the promotion of national 6.education. In addition to strengthening and consolidating the public knowledge 7.about Chinese culture, geography, history and nation, the Government should also 8.aim at deepening the public understanding of the Constitution of our country and 9.the Basic Law, and our country's political system, current developments, road to 10.building a harmonious society as well as opportunities and challenges for future 11.development, with a view to making the public understand that the Mainland and 12.Hong Kong are parts of a community sharing the same destiny, enabling them to 13.look at Hong Kong from the perspective of our nation's development and become 14.new Hongkongers who love our motherland and Hong Kong, embrace modern 15.values while upholding the core values of the traditional Chinese family, cherish 16.the personal freedom of individuals and pluralism and have a shared sense of 17.national identity, aspire to win honour for and make contributions to our country, 18.and have a strong sense of pride as nationals of the People's Republic of China;

19. Adequate coordination – A high-level coordination mechanism should be set up 20.to coordinate efforts on national education among different government 21.departments, and to formulate holistic and comprehensive strategies for the 22.promotion of national education.

23. Subtle persuasion and gradual inculcation, taking up the easy items before the 24.difficult ones – An approach of "persuasive influence" and "resolving the simple 25.issues before the difficult ones", rather than "hard-selling", should be adopted for 26.promoting national education. Cooperation with community organisations should 27.be fostered to avoid arousing resistance among the public;

28. Orderly manner – The promotion of national education should proceed neither 29.hastily nor sluggishly. While it takes time for the public to understand and grasp 30.national affairs, the public should not lose time in acquainting themselves with 31.the key development trends of our country in order to contribute to its cause;

32. Effective, target-specific and sustainable policies – National education is a long 33.educational process. During the course of its development, it is important to 34.formulate effective, target-specific and sustainable policies conducive to 35.enhancing the effectiveness of the relevant promotion efforts. The policies should 36.be target-specific, with priority accorded to promoting the understanding of 37.national affairs and the cultivation of a sense of national identity among teachers, 38.youth workers, media workers and civil servants. Policies should also be 39.sustainable so as to ensure continuous participation and interest of the public 40.(especially the youth) in national education activities;

41. Targeting at the youth – National education should be promoted at both the 42.general and specific levels, with the former taking the form of general education 43.among the public at large and the latter catering for the needs of specific groups. 44.Promotion of national education among the youth, in particular, should be

45.strengthened. In formulating strategies for the promotion of national education
46.among young people, an adequate understanding of their mindset and style of
47.communication is necessary in order to arouse their interest in receiving national
48.education. Promotion merely by "hard selling" should be avoided;

49.Better use of community resources – The promotion of national education could
50.be strengthened by making good use of community resources (including the
51.media) and leveraging on Mainland resources, including non-governmental
52.organisations, professional sectors, Mainland experts and academics; and

53.Well-defined performance indicators – Specific indicators should be formulated
54.as appropriate to assess regularly the effectiveness of the efforts in promoting
55.national education. The assessment results should then be used as benchmarks in
56.revising and improving relevant plans in the future. Indicators may include (1)
the 57.extent of self-identification as Chinese; (2) the level of knowledge of national
58.affairs; (3) the degree of concern over Mainland developments and current
affairs; 59.(4) the level of knowledge and understanding of the Basic Law; (5) the
degree of 60.recognition of and support for "One Country, Two Systems"; (6) the
sense of 61.pride in being Chinese; and (7) the extent to which one is dedicated to
62.safeguarding national interests.

Then, in the following, Table IA, IB, IC, ID and IE show how I analyzed the keywords in the excerpt above,

Table IA. Text coding for Keywords Relevant to China

Keyword	Count	Location (Line)
China	1	18
Mainland	4	11, 51, 52, 58
Country	4[66]	8, 9, 17, 31
National Affairs	3	30, 37, 57-58

Table IB. Text Coding for Keywords Relevant to Hong Kong

Keyword	Count	Location (Line)
Hong Kong	3	12, 13, 14
World	0	-

Table IC. Text Coding for Keywords Relevant to the Civic Idea

Keyword	Count	Location (Line)
Equality	0	-
Freedom	1	16
Democracy	0	-
Justice	0	-

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[66] The word "Country" appears in line 60 is not included in the word count. It is because it is part of the term "One Country, Two Systems".

Table ID. Text Coding for Keywords Relevant to the Ethnic Idea

Keyword	Count	Location (Line)
Nation	1	7
Chinese	4	7, 15, 57, 61
Culture	1	7
History	1	7

Table IE. Text Coding for Keywords Relevant to the Citizenship Characteristics in the _PNEHK_ Report

Keyword	Count	Location (Line)
National Identity	2	17, 37
Sense of Belonging	0	-
Love for the Country	0	-
National Affection or Sentiment	0	-
Pride	2	18, 61
Responsibility	0	-
Commitment	0	-
Contribution (or Contribute)	2	17, 31

Appendix II

Percentage Weight in the Documents of the Keywords Examined in the Tables

Chapter 5

Word Count in Total of the CE's *Policy Addresses* (2007-2011):

Chinese Version	419	428	215	408	92
English Version	519	585	344	629	159

Table 5B. Keywords Equivalent to "China" in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (Chinese Version)

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
Total	**6.69**	**4.91**	**6.51**	**1.96**	**3.26**

Table 5C. Keywords Equivalent to "China" in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (English Version)

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
Total	**4.82**	**3.93**	**4.07**	**2.54**	**3.14**

Table 5D. The Word "Hong Kong" in the CE's *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (Chinese and English Version)

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
Total	1.19; 0.96	0.47; 0.34	0.47; 0.29	0.74; 0.48	0

Table 5E. Keywords about Citizenship Quality in the CE's *Policy Address* from

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
National Identity	0.95	0.23	0	0.25	1.09
Emotion Attachment	1.43	0.70	0.47	0.25	0
Sense of Commitment	0.24	0.47	0	0	1.09

Table 5F. Keywords about Citizenship Quality in the *Policy Address* from 2007 to 2011 (English Version)*

	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
National Identity	0.77	0.34	0	0.16	0.63
Emotional Attachment	0.77	0.17	0.29	0.16	0
Sense of Commitment	0.19	0.17	0	0	0.63

Word Count in Total of the *PNEHK*: 14, 885 words

Table 6A. Keywords Relevant to "China" in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Percentage
China 中國	0.55
Mainland 內地	0.52
Country 國家	1.06
National Situation; National Affairs 國情	0.28
Total	**2.41**

Table 6B. Keywords "Hong Kong" and "World" in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Percentage
Hong Kong 香港	0.89
World 世界	0.02
Total	**0.091**

Table 6C. Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" Idea in the *PNEHK* Report

Keyword	Count
Equality 平等	0.0067
Freedom 自由	0.020
Democracy 民主	0.013
Justice 公義	0.0067
Total	**0.046**

Table 6D. Keywords Relevant to the "Ethnic" Idea in the _PNEHK_ Report

Keyword	Percentage
Nation 民族	0.11
Blood 血緣	0.027
Chinese 中華	0.15
Culture 文化	0.34
History 歷史	0.21
Total	**0.84**

Table 6F. Keywords Relevant to Citizenship Characteristics Promoted in the _PNEHK_ Report

Keyword	Percentage	Total
Sense of Belonging		
National Identity 國民身份認同	0.30	
Sense of Belonging 歸屬感	0.081	**0.38**
Emotional Attachment		
Love for the Country 愛國	0.10	
National Affection or Sentiment 情懷；情感	0.13	
Pride 自豪	0.10	**0.33**
Moral Commitment		
Responsibility 責任	0.08	
Contribution 貢獻	0.053	
Commitment 承擔	0.034	**0.17**

Chapter 7

Word Count in Total of the *MNECG*: 42, 668 words

Table 7A. Keywords Relevant to the Nation in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Percentage
China 中國	0.11
Mainland 內地	0.077
Country 國家	0.83
Situation of the Nation 國情	0.23
Motherland 祖國	0.026
Total	1.27

Table 7B. Keywords Relevant to the Hong Kong Society in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Percentage
Hong Kong 香港	0.18
Local 本地	0.030
Total	0.21

Table 7E. Keywords Relevant to the "Civic" Idea in the *MNECG*

Keyword	Percentage
Equality 平等	0.049
Freedom 自由	0.021
Democracy 民主	0.023
Justice 公義	0.023
Total	**0.11**

Table 7F. Keywords Relevant to the "Ethnic" Idea in the _MNECG_

Keyword	Percentage
Nation 民族	0.089
Chinese 中華	0.15
Culture 文化	0.31
History 歷史	0.15
Nature 自然資源	0.075
Total	**0.774**

Table 7H. Keywords Relevant to Citizenship Characteristics as Promoted in the _MNECG_

Keywords	Percentage	Total
Sense of Belonging		
National Identity 國民身份認同	0.078	
Sense of Belonging 歸屬感	0.070	0.15
Emotional attachment		
Love for the Country 愛國	0.037	
National Affection or Sentiment 情感, 情懷	0.15	
Pride 自豪	0.028	0.22
Moral Commitment		
Responsibility 責任	0.24	
Contribution 貢獻	0.084	
Commitment 承擔	51	0.12

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